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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO
THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

BY OLIVER GOLDSMITH, M. B.

A CONTINUATION

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III. TO THE PEACE
OF AMIENS, IN 1802.

BY THE REV. MANLEY WOOD, A. M.
OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE NINTH LONDON EDITION, CORRECTED.

WITH A
SUMMARY OF EVENTS TO THE YEAR 1815.

VOL. II.

BOSTON :
PUBLISHED BY CHESTER STEBBINS.

.....

1815.

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WM. S. SHAW,

Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

CROMWELL, who had secretly solicited and contrived the king's death, now began to feel wishes to which he [1649.] had been hitherto a stranger. His prospects widening as he rose, his first principles of liberty were all lost in the unbounded stretch of power that lay before him. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days after, the commons voted that the house of lords, being useless and dangerous, should be abolished. They voted it high-treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as successor to the throne. A great seal was made, on one side of which were engraven the arms of England and Ireland, with this inscription: "The great seal of England." On the reverse was represented the house of commons sitting, with this motto: "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England.

The triumphant party now proceeded to try those gallant men, whose attachment to their late sovereign had been the most remarkable. The duke of Hamilton and lord Capel were condemned and executed; the earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence; the earl of Norwich and sir John Owen were condemned, but afterwards pardoned by the commons.

The Scots, who had in the beginning shown themselves so

averse to the royal family, having by a long train of success totally suppressed all insurrections in its favour, now began to relent from their various persecutions. Their loyalty began to return; and the insolence of the independents, with their victories, served to inflame them still more. The execution of their favourite duke Hamilton also, who was put to death not only in defiance of the laws of war, but of nations, was no small vexation; they therefore determined to acknowledge prince Charles for their king. But their love of liberty was still predominant, and seemed to combat with their manifold resentments. At the same time that they resolved upon raising him to the throne, they abridged his power with every limitation which they had attempted to impose on their late sovereign.

Charles, after the death of his father, having passed some time at Paris, and finding no prospect of assistance from that quarter, was glad to accept of any conditions. He possessed neither the virtues nor the constancy of his father; and being attached to no religion as yet, he agreed to all their proposals, being satisfied with even the formalities of royalty. It is remarkable, that while the Scots were thus inviting their king over, they were, nevertheless, cruelly punishing those who had adhered to his cause. Among others, the marquis of Montrose, one of the bravest, politest, and most finished characters of that age, was taken prisoner, as he endeavoured to raise the Highlanders in the royal cause; and being brought to Edinburgh, was hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, then quartered, and his limbs stuck up in the principal towns of the kingdom. Yet, notwithstanding all this severity to his followers, Charles ventured into Scotland, and had the mortification to enter the gate of Edinburgh, where the limbs of that faithful adherent were still exposed.

Being now entirely at the mercy of the gloomy and austere zealots who had been the cause of his father's misfortunes, he soon found that he had only exchanged exile for imprisonment. He was surrounded and incessantly importuned by the fanatical clergy, who obtruded their religious instructions, and obliged him to listen to long sermons, in which they seldom failed to stigmatise the late king as a tyrant, to accuse his mother of idolatry, and himself of an untoward disposition. Six sermons a day were his usual allowance; and though they laboured to outgo each other in

absurdity, yet he was denied the small consolation of laughter. In short, the clergy, having brought royalty under their feet, were resolved to keep it still subservient, and to trample upon it with all the contumely of successful upstarts. Charles for a while bore all their insolence with hypocritical tranquillity, and even pretended to be highly edified by their instructions. He once, indeed, attempted to escape from among them; but being brought back, he owned the greatness of his error; he testified repentance for what he had done, and looked about for another opportunity of escaping.

In the mean time Cromwell, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Ireland, prosecuted the war in that kingdom with his usual success. He had to combat against the royalists, commanded by the duke of Ormond, and the native Irish, led on by O'Neal. But such ill-connected and barbarous troops could give very little opposition to Cromwell's more numerous forces, conducted by such a general, and emboldened by long success. He soon overran the whole country; and, after some time, all the towns revolted in his favour, and opened their gates at his approach. But in these conquests, as in all the rest of his actions, there appeared a brutal ferocity that would tarnish the most heroic valour. In order to intimidate the natives from defending their towns, he, with a barbarous policy, put every garrison that made any resistance to the sword. He entered the city of Drogheda by storm, and indiscriminately butchered men, women, and children; so that only one escaped the dreadful carnage to give an account of the massacre. He was now in the train of speedily reducing the whole kingdom to subjection, when he was called over by the parliament to defend his own country against the Scots, who, having espoused the royal cause, had raised a considerable army to support it. [1650.]

After Cromwell's return to England, upon taking his seat, he received the thanks of the house, by the mouth of the speaker, for the services he had done the commonwealth in Ireland. They then proceeded to deliberate upon choosing a general for conducting the war in Scotland, which Fairfax refusing upon principle, as he had all along declined opposing the presbyterians, the command necessarily devolved upon Cromwell. Fairfax, from that time forward, declined meddling in public affairs; but send-

ing his commission of generalissimo to the house, he retired to spend the remainder of his life in peace and privacy. Cromwell, eager to pursue the path of ambition that now lay before him, and being declared captain-general of the forces, boldly set forward for Scotland, at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, in the mean time, who had invited over their wretched king to be a prisoner, not a ruler, among them, prepared to meet the invasion. They had given the command of their army to general Lesley, a good officer, who formed a proper plan for their defence. This prudent commander knew, that though superior in numbers, his army was much inferior in discipline and experience to the English; and he kept himself carefully within his entrenchments. After some previous motions on one side and the other, Cromwell, at last, saw himself in a very disadvantageous post near Dunbar, and his antagonist waiting deliberately to take advantage of his situation. But the madness of the Scottish clergy saved him from the imminent disgrace that was likely to attend him, and to their vain inspirations he owed his security. These had, it seems, been night and day wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it; and they at last fancied that they had obtained the superiority. Revelations they said were made them, that the heretical army, together with Agag the general, would be delivered into their hands. Upon the assurances of these visions, they obliged their general, in spite of all his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, and give the English battle.

The English had also their visions and their assurances. Cromwell, in his turn, had been wrestling with the Lord, and had come off with success. When he was told that the Scots were coming down to engage, he assured his soldiers that the Lord had delivered the enemy into his hands; and he ordered his army to sing psalms, as if already possessed of a certain victory. The Scots, though double the number of the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter, while Cromwell, it is said, did not lose above forty men in all.

The unfortunate king, who hated all the Scottish army, and only dreaded Cromwell, was well enough pleased at the defeat, which belied all the assurances of his oppressors. It was attended also with this good consequence to him, that it served to introduce

him to a greater share of power than he had hitherto been permitted to enjoy. He now, therefore, put himself at the head of the Scottish troops that had survived the defeat; and these he strengthened by the royalists, whom the covenanters had some time before excluded from his service. Cromwell, however, still followed his blow, pursued the king's forces towards Perth, and, [1651.] cutting off their provision, made it impossible for Charles to maintain his forces in that country.

In this terrible exigence he embraced a resolution worthy of a prince, who was willing to hazard all for empire. Observing that the way was open to England, he resolved immediately to march into that country, where he expected to be reinforced by all the royalists. His generals were persuaded to enter into the same views; and with one consent the Scottish army, to the number of fourteen thousand men, made an irruption southwards.

But Charles soon found himself disappointed in the expectation of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell from him in great numbers. The English, affrighted at the name of his opponent, dreaded to join him; but his mortifications were still more increased as he arrived at Worcester, when informed that Cromwell was marching against him with hasty strides, with an army increased to thirty-five thousand men. The news had scarcely arrived, when that active general himself appeared; and, falling upon the town on all sides, broke in upon the disordered royalists. The streets were strewed with slaughter, the whole Scottish army were either killed or taken prisoners, and the king himself, having given many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to fly.

Imagination can scarcely conceive adventures more romantic, or distresses more severe, than those which attended the young king's escape from the scene of slaughter. After his hair was cut off, the better to disguise his person, he wrought for some days in the habit of a peasant, cutting faggots in a wood. He next made an attempt to retire into Wales, under the conduct of one Pendrel, a poor farmer, who was sincerely attached to his cause. In this attempt, however, he was disappointed, every pass being guarded to prevent his escape. Being obliged to return, he met one colonel Careless, who, like himself, had escaped the carnage at Worcester; and it was in his company that he was

obliged to climb a spreading oak, among the thick branches of which they passed the day together, while they heard the soldiers of the enemy in pursuit of them below. Thence he passed, with imminent danger, feeling all the varieties of famine, fatigue, and pain, till he arrived at the house of colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, in Staffordshire. There he deliberated about the means of escaping into France; and Bristol being supposed the most convenient port, it was agreed that he should ride thither, before this gentleman's sister, on a visit to Mrs. Norton, who lived in the neighbourhood of that city. During this journey he every day met with persons whose faces he knew; and at one time passed through a whole regiment of the enemy's army.

When they arrived at Mrs. Norton's, the first person they saw was one of his own chaplains sitting at the door, amusing himself with seeing people play at bowls. The king, after, having taken proper care of his horse in the stable, was shown to an apartment, which Mrs. Lane had provided for him, as it was said he had the ague. The butler, however, being sent to him with some refreshment, no sooner beheld his face, which was very pale with anxiety and fatigue, than he recollected his king and master, and falling upon his knees, while the tears streamed down his cheeks, cried out, "I am rejoiced to see your majesty." The king was alarmed, but made the butler promise that he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and the honest servant punctually obeyed him.

No ship being found that would for a month set sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He therefore repaired to the house of colonel Wyndham, in Dorsetshire, where he was cordially received; that gentleman's family having ever been loyal. His mother, a venerable matron, seemed to think the end of her life nobly rewarded, in having it in her power to give protection to her king. She expressed no dissatisfaction at having lost three sons, and one grandchild, in the defence of his cause, since she was honoured in being instrumental to his own preservation.

Pursuing thence his journey to the sea-side, he once more had a very providential escape from a little inn, where he put up for the night. The day had been appointed by parliament for a solemn fast; and a fanatical weaver, who had been a soldier in the

parliament army, was preaching against the king in a little chapel fronting the house. Charles, to avoid suspicion, was himself among the audience. It happened that a smith, of the same principles with the weaver, had been examining the horses belonging to the passengers, and came to assure the preacher that he knew, by the fashion of the shoes, that one of the strangers' horses came from the North. The preacher immediately affirmed that this horse could belong to no other than Charles Stuart, and instantly went with a constable to search the inn. But Charles had taken timely precautions, and had left the inn before the constable's arrival.

At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked. He was known to so many, that if he had not set sail in that critical moment, it would have been impossible for him to escape. After six weeks' wandering and concealment, he arrived safely at Fescamp in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had, at different times, been privy to his escape.

In the mean time Cromwell, crowned with success, returned in triumph to London, where he was met by the speaker of the house, accompanied by the mayor of London and the other magistrates, in all their formalities. His first care was to take advantage of his late success, by depressing the Scots who had so lately withstood the work of the Gospel, as he called it. An act was passed for abolishing royalty in Scotland, and annexing that kingdom, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth. It was empowered, however, to send some members to the English parliament. Judges were appointed to distribute justice; and the people of that country, now freed from the tyranny of the ecclesiastics, were not much dissatisfied with their present government. The prudent conduct of Monk, who was left by Cromwell to complete their subjection, served much to reconcile the minds of the people, harassed with dissensions, of which they never well understood the cause.

In this manner the English parliament, by the means of Cromwell, spread their uncontested authority over [1652.] all the British dominions. Ireland was totally subdued by Iretton and Ludlow. All the settlements in America, that had declared for the royal cause, were obliged to submit; Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were brought easily under

subjection. Thus mankind saw, with astonishment, a parliament, composed of sixty or seventy obscure and illiterate members, governing a great empire with unanimity and success. Without any acknowledged subordination, except a council of state consisting of thirty-eight, to whom all addresses were made, they levied armies, maintained fleets, and gave laws to the neighbouring powers of Europe. The finances were managed with economy and exactness. Few private persons became rich by the plunder of the public ; the revenues of the crown, the lands of the bishops, and a tax of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds each month, supplied the wants of the government, and gave vigour to all their proceedings.

The parliament, having thus reduced their native dominions to perfect obedience, next resolved to chastise the Dutch, who had given but very slight causes of complaint. It happened that one doctor Dorislaus, who was of the number of the late king's judges, being sent by the parliament as their envoy to Holland, was assassinated by one of the royal party, who had taken refuge there. Some time after, also, Mr. St. John, appointed their ambassador to that court, was insulted by the friends of the prince of Orange. These were thought motives sufficient to induce the commonwealth of England to declare war against them. The parliament's chief dependance lay in the activity and courage of Blake, their admiral ; who, though he had not embarked in naval command till late in life, yet surpassed all that went before him in courage and dexterity. On the other side, the Dutch opposed to him their famous admiral Van Tromp, to whom they had never since produced an equal. Many were the engagements between these celebrated admirals : but sea-fights rarely prove decisive ; and the vanquished are soon seen to make head against the victors. Several dreadful encounters, therefore, rather served to show the excellence of the admirals, than to determine their superiority. The Dutch, however, who felt many great disadvantages by the loss of their trade, and by the total suspension of their fisheries, were willing to treat for a peace ; but the parliament gave them a very unfavourable answer. It was the policy of that body, to keep their navy on foot as long as they could ; rightly judging, that while the force of the nation was exerted by sea, it would diminish the power of general Cromwell by land, which was now become very formidable to them.

This great aspirer quickly perceived their designs ; and from the first saw that they dreaded his growing power, and wished its diminution. All his measures were conducted with an intrepidity that marked his character ; and he now saw, that it was not necessary to wear the mask of subordination any longer. Secure in the attachment of the army, he resolved to make another daring effort ; and persuaded the officers to pre- [1653.] sent a petition for payment of arrears and redress of grievances, which he knew would be rejected with disdain. The petition was soon drawn up and presented, in which the officers, after demanding their arrears, desired the parliament to consider how many years they had sitten, and what professions they had formerly made of their intentions to new-model the house, and establish freedom on the broadest basis. They alleged that it was now full time to give place to others ; and, however meritorious their actions might have been, yet the rest of the nation had some right in turn to show their patriotism in the service of their country.

The house was highly offended at the presumption of the army, although they had seen but too lately, that their own power was wholly founded on that very presumption. They appointed a committee to prepare an act, ordaining that all persons who should present such petitions should be deemed guilty of high-treason. To this the officers made a very warm remonstrance, and the parliament as angry a reply ; while the breach between them every moment grew wider. This was what Cromwell had long wished, and had well foreseen. He was sitting in council with his officers when informed of the subject on which the house was deliberating ; upon which he rose up in seeming fury, and turning to major Vernon, cried out, " That he was compelled to do a thing that made the very hair of his head stand on end." Then hastening to the house with three hundred soldiers, and with the marks of violent indignation on his countenance, he entered, took his place, and attended to the debates for some time. When the question was ready to be put, he suddenly started up, and began to load the parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public ; upon which, stamping with his foot, which was the signal for the soldiers to enter, the place was immediately filled with armed men. Then addressing himself to the members ; " For shame," said he, " get you

gone. Give place to honest men ; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament ; I tell you you are no longer a parliament ; the Lord has done with you." Sir Henry Vane exclaiming against this conduct, " Sir Harry," cried Cromwell with a loud voice, " O sir Harry Vane ! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane !" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, he said, " thou art a whore-master ;" to another, " thou art an adulterer ;" to a third, " thou art a drunkard ;" and to a fourth, " thou art a glutton." " It is you," continued he to the members, " that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Then pointing to the mace, " Take away," cried he, " that bauble." After which, turning out all the members, and clearing the hall, he ordered the doors to be locked, and, putting the key in his pocket, returned to Whitehall.

Thus, by one daring exploit, the new republic was abolished, and the whole command, civil and military, centred in Cromwell only. The people, however, who were spectators in silent wonder of all these precipitate transactions, expressed no disapprobation at the dissolution of a parliament that had overturned the constitution, and destroyed the king. On the contrary, the usurper received congratulatory addresses from the fleet, the corporations, and the army, for having dismissed a parliament that had subjected them to the most cruel impositions.

But this politic man was too cautious to be seduced by their praise, or driven on by their exhortations. Unwilling to put forth all his power at once, he resolved still to amuse the people with the form of a commonwealth, which it was the delusion of the times to admire, and to give them a parliament that would be entirely subservient to his commands. For this purpose, consulting with some of the principal officers, it was decreed, that the sovereign power should be vested in one hundred and thirty-nine persons, under the denomination of a parliament ; and he undertook himself to make the choice.

The persons pitched upon for exercising this seemingly important trust were the lowest, meanest, and the most ignorant among the citizens, and the very dregs of the fanatics. He was well apprised that, during the administration of such a group of characters, he alone must govern, or that they must soon throw up the

reins of government, which they were unqualified to guide. Accordingly, their practice justified his sagacity. To go farther than others into the absurdities of fanaticism was the chief qualification which each of these valued himself upon. Their very names, composed of cant phrases borrowed from Scripture, and rendered ridiculous by their misapplication, served to show their excess of folly. Not only the names of Zerobabel, Habakkuk, and Mesopotamia, were given to those ignorant creatures, but sometimes whole sentences from Scripture. One of them particularly, who was called Praise-God Barebone, a canting leather-seller, gave his name to this odd assembly, and it was called Barebone's parliament.

Their attempts at legislation were entirely correspondent to their stations and characters. As they were chiefly composed of antinomians, a sect that, after receiving the spirit, supposed themselves incapable of error, and of fifth-monarchy men, who every hour expected Christ's coming on earth, they began by choosing eight of their tribe to seek the Lord in prayer, while the rest calmly sat down to deliberate upon the suppression of the clergy, the universities, the courts of justice; and instead of all this, it was their intent to substitute the law of Moses.

To this hopeful assembly was committed the treaty of peace with the Dutch; but the ambassadors from that nation, though themselves presbyterians, were quite carnal-minded to these. They were regarded by the new parliament as worldly men, intent on commerce and industry, and therefore not to be treated with. The saintly members insisted that the man of sin should be put away, and a new birth obtained by prayer and meditation. The ambassadors, finding themselves unable to converse with them in their way, gave up the treaty as hopeless.

The very vulgar began now to exclaim against so foolish a legislature; and they themselves seemed not insensible of the ridicule which every day was thrown out against them. Cromwell was probably well enough pleased to find that his power was likely to receive no diminution from their endeavours; but began to be ashamed of their complicated absurdities. He had carefully chosen many persons among them entirely devoted to his interests, and these he commanded to dismiss the assembly. Accordingly, by concert, they met earlier than the rest of their fraterni-

ty ; and observing to each other that this parliament had sitten long enough, they hastened to Cromwell, with Rouse, their speaker, at their head, and into his hands they resigned the authority with which he had invested them.

Cromwell accepted their resignation with pleasure ; but being told that some of the number were refractory, he sent colonel White to clear the house of such as ventured to remain there. They had placed one Moyer in the chair by that time the colonel had arrived ; and being asked what they did there, he replied very gravely, that "They were seeking the Lord." "Then you may go elsewhere," cried White ; "for, to my certain knowledge, the Lord has not been here these many years."

This shadow of a parliament being dissolved, the officers, by their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the commonwealth of England. Nothing now could withstand his authority ; the mayor and aldermen were sent for, to give solemnity to his appointment ; and he was instituted into his new office at Whitehall, in the palace of the kings of England. He was to be addressed by the title of highness : and his power was proclaimed in London and other parts of the kingdom. Thus an obscure and vulgar man, at the age of fifty-four, rose to unbounded power, first by following small events in his favour, and at length by directing great ones.

It was, indeed, in a great measure necessary that some person should take the supreme command ; for affairs were brought into such a situation by the furious animosities of the contending parties, that nothing but absolute power could prevent a renewal of bloodshed and confusion. Cromwell, therefore, might have said with some justice upon his installation, that he accepted the dignity of protector merely that he might preserve the peace of the nation ; and this, it must be owned, he effected with equal conduct, moderation, and success. The government of the kingdom was adjusted in the following manner. A council was appointed, which was not to exceed twenty-one, nor to be under thirteen persons. These were to enjoy their offices for life, or during good behaviour ; and, in case of a vacancy, the remaining members named three, of whom the protector chose one. The protector was appointed the supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, with such powers as the king had possessed. The power of the

sword was vested in him jointly with the parliament when sitting, or with the council at intervals. He was obliged to summon a parliament every three years, and to allow them to sit five months without prorogation. A standing army was established of twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The protector enjoyed his office during life; and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council. Of all those clauses the standing army was alone sufficient for Cromwell's purpose; for, while he possessed that instrument, he could mould the rest of the constitution to his pleasure at any time.

Cromwell chose his council among his officers, who had been the companions of his dangers and his victories, to each of whom he assigned a pension of one thousand pounds a year. He took care to have his troops, upon whose fidelity he depended for support, paid a month in advance; the magazines were also well provided, and the public treasure managed with frugality and care: while his activity, vigilance, and resolution, were such, that he discovered every conspiracy against his person, and every plot for an insurrection, before they took effect.

His management of foreign affairs, though his schemes were by no means political, yet well corresponded with his character, and, for a while, were attended with success. The Dutch having been humbled by repeated defeats, and totally abridged in their commercial concerns, were obliged at last to sue for peace, which he gave them upon terms rather too favourable. [1654.] He insisted upon their paying deference to the British flag. He compelled them to abandon the interests of the king, to pay eighty-five thousand pounds as an indemnification for former expenses, and to restore to the English East-India company a part of those dominions of which they had been dispossessed by the Dutch during the former reign, in that distant part of the world.

He was not less successful in his negotiations with the court of France. Cardinal Mazarine, by whom the [1655.] affairs of that kingdom were conducted, deemed it necessary to pay deference to the protector; and, desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence, submitted to Cromwell's imperious character, and thus procured ends equally beneficial to both.

The court of Spain was not less assiduous in its endeavours to gain his friendship, but was not so successful. This vast monarchy, which but a few years before had threatened the liberties of Europe, was now reduced so low as to be scarcely able to defend itself. Cromwell, however, who knew nothing of foreign politics, still continued to regard its power with an eye of jealousy, and came into an association with France to depress it still more. He lent that court a body of six thousand men to attack the Spanish dominions in the Netherlands; and, upon obtaining a signal victory by his assistance near Dunkirk, the French put that town, which they had just taken from the Spaniards, into his hands, as a reward for his attachment.

But it was by sea that he humbled the power of Spain with still more effectual success. Blake, who had long made himself formidable to the Dutch, and whose fame was spread over Europe, now became still more dreadful to the Spanish monarchy. He sailed with a fleet into the Mediterranean, whither, since the time of the crusades, no English fleet had ever ventured to advance. He there conquered all that ventured to oppose him. Casting anchor before Leghorn, he demanded and obtained satisfaction for some injuries which the English commerce had suffered from the duke of Tuscany. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace, and to restrain his piratical subjects from farther injuring the English. He then went to Tunis, and having made the same demands, he was desired by the Dey of that place to look at the two castles, Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake showed him that he was not slow in accepting the challenge; he entered the harbour, burned the shipping there, and then sailed out triumphantly to pursue his voyage. At Cadiz, he took two galleons, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight. At the Canaries he burned a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, and returning home to England to enjoy the fame of his noble actions, as he came within sight of his native country, he expired. This gallant man, though he fought for an usurper, yet was averse to his cause; he was a zealous republican in principle, and his aim was to serve his country, not to establish a tyrant. "It is still our duty," he would say to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall."

At the same time that Blake's expeditions were going forward, there was another carried on under the command of admiral Penn and Venables, with about four thousand soldiers, to attack the island of Hispaniola. Failing, however, in this, and being driven off by the Spaniards, they steered to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. So little was thought of the importance of this conquest, that, upon the return of the expedition, Penn and Venables were sent to the Tower, for their failure in the principal object of their expedition.

All these successes might rather be ascribed to the spirit of the times than the conductor of them. Cromwell was possessed of but two arts in perfection, that of managing the army, by which he ruled, and obtaining the secrets of his enemies that were plotting against him. For the first, his valour and canting zeal were sufficient; for the latter, it is said he paid sixty thousand pounds a year to his spies, to procure intelligence. But he took care to make the nation refund those extraordinary sums which he expended for such information. One or two conspiracies entered into by the royalists, which were detected and punished, served him as a pretext to lay a heavy tax upon all of that party, of a tenth penny on all their possessions. In order to raise this oppressive imposition, ten major-generals were instituted, who divided the whole kingdom into so many military jurisdictions. These men had power to subject whom they pleased to a payment of this tax, and to imprison such as denied their jurisdiction. Under colour of these powers, they exercised the most arbitrary authority; the people had no protection against their exactions; the very mask of liberty was thrown off, and all property was at the disposal of a military tribunal. It was in vain that the nation cried out for a free parliament; Cromwell assembled one, in consequence of their clamours; but as speedily dissolved it, when he found it refractory to his commands.

In this state of universal dejection, in which Scotland and Ireland were treated as conquered provinces, in which the protector issued his absolute orders, without even the mask of his former hypocrisy, and in which all trust and confidence were lost in every social meeting, the people were struck with a new instance of the usurper's ambition. As parliaments were ever dear to the

[1656.] people, it was resolved to give them one ; but such as should be entirely of the protector's choosing, and chiefly composed of his own creatures. Lest any of a different complexion should presume to enter the house, guards were placed at the door, and none admitted but such as produced a warrant from his council. The principal design of convening this assembly was, that they should offer him the crown, with the title of king, and all the other ensigns of royalty.

His creatures, therefore, infused into this assembly a high opinion of the merits of the protector ; hinted that confusion prevailed in legal proceedings, without the name of a king. No man, they said, was acquainted with the extent or limits of the present magistrate's authority ; but those of a king had been well ascertained by the experience of ages. At last the motion was made in form by alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the protector with the regal dignity. The majority of the house being Cromwell's creatures, it may easily be supposed that the bill was voted according to his secret wishes ; and nothing now remained, but his own consent, to have his name enrolled among the kings of England.

Whether it was his original intention, by having this bill carried through the house, to show that he was magnanimous enough to refuse the offer ; or whether, finding some of those on whom he most depended averse to his taking the title, cannot now be known. Certain it is, his doubts continued for some days ; and the conference which he carried on with the members who were sent to make him the offer, seems to argue that he was desirous of being compelled to accept what he feared openly to assume. The obscurity of his answers, the absurdity of his speeches on this occasion (for they still remain), show plainly a mind at variance with itself, and combating only with a wish to be vanquished. " I confess," said he, " for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would say I hope I may be understood in this ; for indeed I must be tender what I would say to such an audience as this ; I say I would be understood, that in this argument I do not make a parallel between men of a different mind, and a parliament, which shall have their desires. I know there is no comparison ; nor can it be urged upon me that my words have the least colour that way, because the parliament seems to me to give lib-

erty to me to say any thing to you. As that is a tender of my humble reasons and judgment and opinion to them, and if I think they are such, and will be such to them, and are faithful servants, and will be so to the supreme authority and the legislative, where-soever it is. If I say I should not tell you, knowing their minds to be so, I should not be faithful if I should not tell you so, to the end that you may report it to parliament.” In this manner did this most unaccountable of all characters answer their petitions for his assuming the kingly name and dignity. The conference, however, ended in his refusing their offer.

But it must not be supposed that his situation, with all these offered honours, was at this time enviable. Perhaps no station, however mean, or loaded with contempt, could be more truly distressful than his, at a time the nation was loading him with congratulations and addresses. He had now rendered himself hateful to every party; and he owed his safety to [1658.] their mutual hatred and diffidence of each other. His arts of dissimulation had been long exhausted; and none could be deceived by them, those of his own party and principles disdaining the use to which he had converted his zeal and professions. The truth seems to be, if we may use a phrase taken from common life, he began with being a dupe to his own enthusiasm, and ended with being a sharper.

The whole nation silently detested his administration, but he had not still been reduced to the extreme of wretchedness, if he could have found domestic consolation. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, actuated with the wildest zeal, detested that character which could use religious professions for the purposes of temporal advancement. His eldest daughter, married to Fleetwood, had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not behold even her own father intrusted with uncontrollable power. His other daughters were strongly attached to the royal cause; but above all, Mrs. Claypole, his favourite daughter, who, upon her death-bed, upbraided him with that criminal ambition which had led him to trample on the throne.

Every hour added some new disquietude. Lord Fairfax, sir William Waller, and many of the heads of the presbyterians, had secretly entered into an engagement to destroy him. His administration, so expensive both at home and abroad, had exhausted

his revenue, and he was left considerably in debt. One conspiracy was no sooner detected, than another rose from its ruins : and, to increase his calamity, he was now taught, upon reasoning principles, that his death was not only desirable, but his assassination would be meritorious. A book was published by colonel Titus, a man who had formerly been attached to his cause, entitled, *Killing no Murder*. Of all the pamphlets that came forth at that time, or perhaps of those that have since appeared, this was the most eloquent and masterly. "Shall we," said this popular declaimer, "who would not suffer the lion to invade us, tamely stand to be devoured by the wolf?" Cromwell read this spirited treatise, and was never seen to smile more.

All peace was now forever banished from his mind. He found that the grandeur to which he had sacrificed his former peace was only an inlet to fresh inquietudes. The fears of assassination haunted him in all his walks, and were perpetually present to his imagination. He wore armour under his clothes, and always kept pistols in his pockets. His aspect was clouded by a settled gloom ; and he regarded every stranger with a glance of timid suspicion. He always travelled with hurry, and was ever attended by a numerous guard. He never returned from any place by the road he went ; and seldom slept above three nights together in the same chamber. Society terrified him, as there he might meet an enemy ; solitude was terrible, as he was there unguarded by every friend.

A tertian ague kindly came at last to deliver him from this life of horror and anxiety. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared ; and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he himself began to dread his approaching fate ; but he was taught to consider his present disorder as no way fatal, by his fanatic chaplains, on whom he entirely relied. When his chaplain, Goodwin, told him that the elect would never be damned, "Then I am sure," said he, "that I am safe ; for I was once in a state of grace." His physicians were sensible of his dangerous case ; but he was so much encouraged by the revelations of his preachers, that he considered his recovery as no way doubtful. "I tell you," cried he to the physicians, "that I shall not die of this distemper ; I am well assured of my recovery. Favourable answers

have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but likewise to those of the godly, who have a closer correspondence with God than I. Ye may have skill in your profession; but nature can do more than all the physicians in the world; and God is far above nature." Upon a fast-day appointed on account of his sickness, his ministers thanked God for the undoubted pledges they had received of his recovery. Notwithstanding these assurances, the fatal symptoms every hour increased; and the physicians were obliged to declare that he could not survive the next fit. The council now therefore came to know his last commands concerning the succession; but his senses were gone, and he was just able to answer yes to their demand, whether his son Richard should be appointed to succeed him. He died on the third day of September, that very day which he had always considered as the most fortunate of his life; he was then fifty-nine years old, and had usurped the government nine years.

CHAP. XXXIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL TO THE RESTORATION.

W HATEVER might have been the differences of interest after the death of the usurper, the influence of his name was still sufficient to get Richard his son proclaimed protector in his room. It was probably to the numerous parties that were formed in the kingdom, and their hatred of each other, that Richard owed his peaceable advancement to this high station. He was naturally no way ambitious, being rather mild, easy, and good-natured; and honour seemed rather to pursue than to attract him. He had nothing active in his disposition; no talents for business, no knowledge of government, no influence among the soldiery, no importance in council.

It was found necessary, upon his first advancement, to call a parliament, to furnish the supplies to carry on the ordinary operations of government. The house of commons was formed legally enough; but the house of lords consisted only of those per-

Sept. 3,
1658.

sons of no real title, who were advanced to that dignified station by the late protector. But it was not on the parliament that the army chose to rely. The principal malcontent officers established a meeting at general Fleetwood's, which, as he dwelt in Wallingford-house, was called the Cabal of Wallingford. The result of their deliberations was a remonstrance, that the command of the army should be intrusted to some person [1659.] in whom they might all confide ; and it was plainly given to understand that the young protector was not that person.

A proposal so daring and dangerous did not fail to alarm Richard ; he applied to his council, and they referred it to the parliament. Both agreed to consider it as an audacious attempt, and a vote was passed that there should be no meeting, or general council of officers, without the protector's permission. This brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The palace of the protector was the next day surrounded by a body of officers ; and one Desborough, a man of a clownish brutal nature, penetrating into his apartment with an armed retinue, threatened him if he should refuse. Richard wanted resolution to defend what had been conferred upon him ; he dissolved the parliament then, and soon after he signed his own abdication in form.

Henry Cromwell, his younger brother, who was appointed to the command in Ireland, followed the protector's example, and resigned his commission without striking a blow. Richard lived many years after his resignation, at first on the continent, and afterwards upon his paternal fortune at home. He was thought by the ignorant to be unworthy of the happiness of his exaltation ; but he knew by his tranquillity in private, that he had made the most fortunate escape.

The officers being once more left to themselves, determined to replace the remnant of the old parliament which had beheaded the king, and which Cromwell had so disgracefully turned out of the house. The system which those members maintained was called the good old cause, from their attachment to republican principles ; and to these men the cabal of officers for a while delivered up their own authority. The members, who had been secluded by colonel Pride's purge, as it was called, attempted, but in vain, to resume their seats among them.

The Rump parliament, for that was the name it went by, al-

though reinstated by the army, was yet very vigorous in its attempts to lessen the power by which it was replaced. The members began their design of humbling the army by new modelling part of the forces, by cashiering such of the officers as they feared, and appointing others on whom they could rely, in their room. These attempts, however, were not unobserved by the officers; and their discontent would have broken out into some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the royalists, or presbyterians, who were considered as the common enemy.

In this exigence, the officers held several conferences, with a design to continue their power. They at length came to a resolution, usual enough in these times, to dissolve that assembly, by which they were so vehemently opposed. Accordingly, Lambert, one of the general officers, drew up a chosen body of troops; and placing them in the streets which led to Westminster-hall, when the speaker Lenthall proceeded in his carriage to the house, he ordered the horses to be turned, and very civilly conducted him home. The other members were likewise intercepted, and the army returned to their quarters to observe a solemn fast, which generally either preceded, or attended their outrages.

The officers, having thus resumed the power they had given, resolved not to part with it for the future upon easy terms. They elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were officers; these they called a committee of safety, and pretended to invest them with sovereign authority. Fleetwood, a weak zealot, was made commander-in-chief; Lambert, an artful ambitious man, major-general; Desborough, lieutenant-general; and Monk, who had been invested by Cromwell with the government of Scotland, was appointed major-general of the foot. A military government was now established, which gave the nation the melancholy prospect of endless servitude, and tyranny without redress: a succour came to relieve the nation from a quarter where it was the least expected.

During these transactions, general Monk was at the head of eight thousand veterans in Scotland, and beheld the distraction of his native country with slender hopes of relieving it. This personage, to whom the nation owes such signal obligations, was at first a soldier of fortune. After some time spent abroad, he

was intrusted with a regiment in the service of king Charles, and was usually called by the soldiery, for his good-nature, honest George Monk. He was taken prisoner at the siege of Nantwich, by Fairfax, and soon after sent to the Tower. He did not recover his liberty till after the total overthrow of the royal party, when Cromwell took him into favour and protection, and sent him to oppose the Irish rebels, against whom he performed signal services. Upon the reduction of that kingdom he was sent over into Scotland, and there intrusted with the supreme command, in which station he was not less esteemed by the Scots than loved and adored by his own army.

This general, upon hearing that the officers had, by their own authority, dissolved the parliament, protested against the measure, and resolved to defend their invaded privileges. But deeper designs, either in the king's favour or his own, were suspected to be the motive of his actions from the beginning. Whatever might have been his designs, it was impossible to cover them with greater secrecy than he did. As soon as he put his army into motion to inquire into the causes of the disturbances in the capital, his countenance was eagerly sought by all the contending parties. His brother, a clergyman, who was a zealous royalist, came to him with a message from sir John Granville, in the name of the king. The general asked him if he had communicated the contents of his commission to any other person. His brother replied, to none, except to Mr. Price, the general's own chaplain, a man of probity, and in the royal interests. The general altering his countenance, at once changed the discourse, and would enter into no farther conference with him. The same deep reserve was held through all his subsequent proceedings.

Hearing that the officers were preparing an army to oppose him, and that general Lambert was actually advancing northward to meet him, Monk sent three commissioners to London, with very earnest professions of an accommodation, by which means he relaxed their preparations. His commissioners even proceeded so far as to sign a treaty, which he refused to ratify. Still, however, he made proposals for fresh negociations; and the committee of officers again accepted his fallacious offers.

In the mean time, the people, perceiving that they were not entirely defenceless, began to gather spirit, and to exclaim loudly

against the tyranny of the army. Hazelrig and Morley, while Lambert was absent, took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. The city-apprentices rose in a tumult, and demanded a free parliament; admiral Lawson came into the river with his squadron and declared for the parliament; and even the regiments that had been left in London, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered, revolted again to the parliament. The Rump, thus being invited on all hands, again ventured to resume their seats, and to thunder their votes in turn against the officers, and that part of the army by which they had been ejected. Without taking any notice of Lambert, they sent orders to the troops he conducted, immediately to repair to the garrison they appointed for them. The soldiers were not slow in obeying the parliamentary orders; and Lambert at last found himself deserted by his whole army. He was soon after committed to the Tower; several of his brother officers were cashiered; and the parliament seemed now to stand on a firmer basis than before.

[1660.] But they were far from being so secure as they imagined. Monk, though he had heard of their restitution, and therefore might be supposed to have nothing more to do, still continued to march his army towards the capital; all the world equally in doubt as to his motives, and astonished at his reserve. The gentry, on his march, flocked around him with entreaties and addresses, expressing their desire of a new parliament. Fairfax brought him a body of troops, with which he offered to assist in the work of restoration; but Monk continued his inflexible taciturnity. When he had reached St. Alban's he sent the parliament a message, desiring them to remove such forces as remained in London to country quarters. With this some of the regiments refused to comply, but Monk was resolved to be obeyed; he entered London the next day, turned the soldiers out, and, with his army, took up his quarters in Westminster. He then waited upon the house, which was ready enough to vote him sincere thanks for the services he had done his country. But he, in a blunt manner, assured them, that his only merit was a desire to restore peace to the community; and, therefore, he entreated them that they would permit a free parliament to be called, as the only balm that could heal the wounds of the constitu-

tion. He observed also, that many oaths of admission upon this occasion were unnecessary; and the fewer the obligations of this kind, the clearer would their consciences be.

The hope of being insolent with security soon inspired the citizens to refuse submission to the present government. They resolved to pay no taxes, until the members, formerly excluded by colonel Pride, should be replaced. But the parliament found their general willing to give them the most ready instances of his obedience; he entered the city with his troops, arrested eleven of the most obnoxious of the common-council, and began to destroy the gates. Then he wrote a letter to the parliament, telling them what he had done; and begging they would moderate the severity of their orders. But being urged by the house to proceed, he, with all possible circumstances of contempt, broke the gates and portcullises; and having exposed the city to the scorn and derision of all who hated it, he returned in triumph to his quarters in Westminster. But the next day he began to think he had proceeded too vigorously in this act of obedience; he therefore marched into the city again, and desired the mayor to call a common-council, where he made many apologies for his conduct the day before. He assured them of his perseverance in the cause of freedom; and that his army would, for the future, co-operate only in such schemes as they should approve.

This union of the city and the army caused no small alarm in the house of commons. They knew that a free and general parliament was desired by the whole nation; and, in such a case, they were convinced that their own power must have an end. But their fears of punishment were still greater than their uneasiness at dismissal; they had been instrumental in bringing their king to the block, in loading the nation with various taxes, and some of them had grown rich by the common plunder; they resolved, therefore, to try every method to gain over the general from his new alliance; even some of them, desperate with guilt and fanaticism, promised to invest him with the dignity of supreme magistrate, and to support his usurpation. But Monk was too just, or too wise, to hearken to such wild proposals; he resolved to restore the secluded members, and by their means to bring about a new election, which was what he desired.

There was no other method to effect this, but by force of arms:

wherefore, having previously secured the consent of his officers, and exacted a promise from the excluded members, that they would call a full and free parliament, he accompanied them to Whitehall. Thence, with a numerous guard, he conducted them to the house of commons, the other members of which were then sitting. They were surprised to see a large body of men entering the place ; but soon recollected them for their antient brethren, who had been formerly tumultuously expelled, and were now as tumultuously restored. The number of the new comers so far exceeded that of the Rump, that the chiefs of this last party now, in their turn, thought proper to withdraw.

The restored members began by repealing those orders by which they had been excluded. They renewed and enlarged the general's commission ; they fixed a proper stipend for the support of the fleet and army ; and having passed these votes for the composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and gave orders for the immediate assembling a new parliament. Meanwhile Monk new-modelled his army to the purposes he had in view. Some officers, by his direction, presented him with an address, in which they promised to obey implicitly the orders of the ensuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be signed by all the regiments ; and this furnished him with a pretence for dismissing all the officers by whom it was rejected.

In the midst of these transactions his endeavours were very near being defeated by an accident as dangerous as unexpected. Lambert had escaped from the Tower, and began to assemble forces ; and, as his activity and principles were sufficiently known, Monk took the earliest precautions to oppose his measures. He dispatched colonel Ingoldsby with his own regiment against Lambert, before he should have time to assemble his dependents. That officer had taken possession of Daventry with four troops of horse ; but the greater part of them joined Ingoldsby, to whom he himself surrendered, not without exhibiting marks of pusillanimity that ill agreed with his former reputation.

The new parliament was not yet assembled, and no person had hitherto dived into the designs of the general. He still persevered in his reserve ; and although the calling a new parliament was but, in other words, to restore the king, yet his expressions

never once betrayed the secret of his bosom. Nothing but a security of confidence at last extorted the confession from him. He had been intimate with one Morrice, a gentleman of Devonshire, of a sedentary, studious disposition, and with him alone did he deliberate upon the great and dangerous enterprise of the restoration. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from the king, applied for access to the general; but he was desired to communicate his business to Morrice. Granville refused, though twice urged, to deliver his message to any but the general himself; so that Monk, now finding he could depend upon this minister's secrecy, freely opened to him his whole intentions; but, with his usual caution, still scrupled to commit any thing to paper. In consequence of this communication, the king left the Spanish territories, where he very narrowly escaped being detained at Breda by the governor, under pretence of treating him with proper respect and formality. Thence he retired into Holland, where he resolved to wait for farther advice.

In the mean time the elections in parliament went every where in favour of the king's party. The presbyterians had long been so harassed by the falsehood, the folly, and the tyranny of their independent coadjutors, that they longed for nothing so ardently as the king's restoration. These, therefore, joined to the royalists, formed a decisive majority on every contest; and, without noise, but, with steady resolution, determined to call back the king. Though the former parliament had voted that no one should be elected, who had himself, or whose father had borne arms for the late king, yet very little regard was any where paid to this ordinance; and in many places the former sufferings of the candidate were his best recommendation.

At length the long-expected day for the sitting of a free parliament arrived, and they chose sir Harbottle Grimstone for their speaker; a man who, though at first attached to the opposite party, was yet a royalist in his heart. The affections of all were turned towards the king; yet such were their fears, and such dangers attended a freedom of speech, that no one dared for some days to make any mention of his name. They were terrified with former examples of cruelty; and they only showed their loyalty in their bitter invectives against the late usurper, and in execrations against the murderers of their king. All this time, Monk,

with his usual reserve, tried their tempers, and examined the ardour of their wishes ; at length he gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one sir John Granville, a servant of the king, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the commons.

Nothing could exceed the joy and transport with which this message was received. The members for a moment forgot the dignity of their situations, and indulged in a loud exclamation of applause. Granville was called in, and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarcely allowed : all at once the house burst out into a universal assent to the king's proposals ; and to diffuse the joy more widely, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published.

The king's declaration was highly relished by every order of the state. It offered a general amnesty to all persons whatsoever, without any exceptions but such as should be made by parliament. It promised to indulge scrupulous consciences with liberty in matters of religion ; to leave to the examination of parliament the claims of all such as possessed lands with contested titles ; to confirm all these concessions by act of parliament ; to satisfy the army under general Monk with respect to their arrears, and to give the same rank to his officers, when they should be received into the king's service.

This declaration was not less pleasing to the lords than to the people. After voting the restitution of the antient form of government, it was resolved to send the king fifty thousand pounds, the duke of York his brother ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum. Then both houses erased from their records all acts that had passed to the prejudice of royalty. The army, the navy, the city of London, were eager in preparing their addresses to be presented to his majesty ; and he was soon after proclaimed with great solemnity at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar. The people, now freed from all restraint, let loose their transports without bounds. Thousands were seen running about frantic with pleasure ; and, as lord Clarendon says, such were the numbers of the loyalists that pressed forward on this occasion, that one could not but wonder where those people dwelt who had lately done so much mischief.

Charles took care to confirm the substance of his declarations

to the English commissioners, who were dispatched to attend him into his native dominions. Montague, the English admiral, waited upon his majesty to inform him that the fleet expected his orders at Scheveling. The duke of York immediately went on board, and took the command as lord high-admiral. The king went on board, and, landing at Dover, was received by the general, whom he tenderly embraced. Very different was his present triumphant return from the forlorn state in which he left the coast of Sussex. He now saw the same people, that had ardently sought his life, as warmly expressing their pleasure at his safety, and repentance for their past delusions. He entered London on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day. An innumerable concourse of people lined the way wherever he passed, and rent the air with their acclamations. They had been so long distracted by unrelenting factions, oppressed and alarmed by a succession of tyrannies, that they could no longer suppress these emotions of delight to behold their constitution restored, or rather, like a phoenix, appearing more beautiful and vigorous from the ruins of its former conflagration.

Fanaticism, with its long train of gloomy terrors, fled at the approach of freedom; the arts of society and peace began to return; and it had been happy for the people if the arts of luxury had not entered in their train.

CHAP. XXXV.

CHARLES II.

THIS is one of the most extraordinary epochas in English history, in which we see the people tossed into opposite factions, and, as the sea after a storm, still continuing those violent motions by which they were first impelled. We see them at one period of the following reign, with unbounded adulation, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power; at another, with equal animosity, banishing all the emissaries of unbounded power from the throne; now courting the monarch, and then threatening those on whom he most depended. There seems a clue that can unravel all these

inconsistencies. While the people thought the king a protestant, they were willing to intrust him with their lives and fortunes; but when they supposed that he was more inclined to popery, all their confidence vanished, and they were even willing to punish papists, as the most proper method of showing their resentment against himself.

When Charles came to the throne he was thirty years of age, possessed of an agreeable person, an elegant address, and an engaging manner. His whole demeanour and behaviour were well calculated to support and increase popularity. Accustomed during his exile to live cheerfully among his courtiers, he carried the same endearing familiarities to the throne; and from the levity of his temper no injuries were dreaded from his former resentments. But it was soon found that all these advantages were merely superficial. His indolence and love of pleasure made him averse to all kinds of business; his familiarities were prostituted to the worst as well as the best of his subjects; and he took no care to reward his former friends, as he had taken no steps to be avenged of his former enemies.

It required some time before the several parts of the state, disfigured by war and faction, could come into proper form; a council was composed, in which members of the church of England and presbyterians were indiscriminately admitted; and the king's choice of his principal ministers was universally pleasing to the people. Sir Edward Hyde, who had attended him in his exile, was now created a peer by the title of lord Clarendon, and appointed lord chancellor, and first minister of state. This excellent man is better known now by his merits as a historian than as a statesman; but his integrity and wisdom were equally excellent in both capacities. The marquis, afterwards created duke of Ormond, was appointed lord-steward of the household, the earl of Southampton high treasurer, and sir Edward Nicholas secretary of state. These men, combined by private friendship, and pursuing one common aim, laboured only for the public, and supported its interests with their own.

Notwithstanding the joy of the people was unbounded, yet something was thought to be due to justice, and some vengeance was necessary to be taken upon those who had lately involved the nation in its calamities. Though an act of indemnity was

passed, those who had an immediate hand in the king's death were excepted. Even Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, now dead, were considered as proper objects of resentment; their bodies were dug from their graves, dragged to the place of execution, and, after hanging some time, buried under the gallows. Of the rest, who sat in judgment on the late monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy of pardon. Ten only, out of fourscore, were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and who, in the general spirit of rage excited against them, showed a fortitude that might do honour to a better cause.

General Harrison, who was first brought to his trial, pleaded his cause with that undaunted firmness which he had shown through life. What he had done, he said, was from the impulses of the spirit of God. He would not, for any benefit to himself, hurt a hair of the poorest man or woman upon earth; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, when all the rest of the world acknowledged his right, or bowed down to his power, he had boldly upbraided the usurper to his face; and all the terrors of imprisonment, and all the allurements of ambition, had not been able to bend him to a compliance to that deceitful tyrant. Harrison's death was marked with the same admirable constancy which he showed at his trial; so that the greatness of some virtues which he possessed, in some measure counterbalanced the greatness of his guilt.

Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtell, shared the same fate. They bore the scorn of the multitude, and the cruelty of the executioner, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he expired. His head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked how he liked that work. Peters viewed him with an air of scorn: "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

This was all the blood that was shed in so great a restoration.

The rest of the king's judges were reprieved, and afterwards dispersed into several prisons. Charles being directed in all things by Clarendon, gave universal satisfaction, as well by the lenity as the justice of his conduct. The army was disbanded that had for so many years governed the nation; prelacy, and all the ceremonies of the church of England, were restored; at the same time that the king pretended to preserve an air of moderation and neutrality. In fact, with regard to religion, Charles, in his gayer hours, was a professed deist, and attached to none; but in the latter part of his life, when he began to think more seriously, he showed an inclination to the catholic persuasion, which he had strongly imbibed in his exile.

But this toleration, in which all were equally included, was not able to remove the fears, or quell the enthusiasm, of a few determined men, who, by an unexampled combination, were impelled by one common phrensy. One Venner, a desperate enthusiast, who had often conspired against Cromwell, [1661.] and had as often been pardoned, had by this time persuaded his followers that, if they would take arms, Jesus would come to put himself at their head. With these expectations, to the number of sixty persons, they issued forth into the streets of London in complete armour, and proclaimed king Jesus wherever they went. They believed themselves invulnerable and invincible, and expected the same fortune which had attended Gideon, and the other heroes of the Old Testament. Every one at first fled before them; one unhappy man being asked who he was for, answering that he was for God and the king, they slew him on the spot. In this manner they went from street to street, and made a desperate resistance against a body of the train-bands that were sent to attack them. After killing many of the assailants, they made a regular retreat into Caenwood, near Hampstead. Being dislodged thence, the next morning they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority were killed. At last the troops, who had untiled the house, and were tired of slaughter, rushed in, and seized the few that were left alive. They were tried, condemned, and executed; and to the last they declared, that if they were deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver.

The absurdity, and even ridicule, which attended the professions and expectations of these poor deluded men, struck the people very strongly: and from the gloomy moroseness of enthusiasm, they now went over into the opposite extreme of riot and debauchery. The court itself set them the example; nothing but scenes of gallantry and festivity appeared; the horrors of the late war were become the subject of ridicule; the formality and ignorance of the sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at from the pulpit. But while the king thus rioted, the old faithful friends and followers of his family were left unrewarded. Numbers who had fought for him and his father, and had lost their whole fortunes in his service, still continued to pine in want and oblivion; while, in the mean time, their persecutors, who had profited by the times, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, and were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain; the family of the Stuarts were never remarkable for their gratitude; and the amusers, the flatterers, and the concubines of this monarch, enjoyed all his consideration. The wretched royalists murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

Nevertheless his parliaments, both of England and Scotland, seemed willing to make reparation for their former disobedience, by their present concessions. In the English house, monarchy and episcopacy were carried to as great splendor as they had suffered misery and depression. The bishops were permitted to resume their seats in the house of peers; all military authority was acknowledged to be vested in the king; and he was empowered to appoint commissioners for regulating corporations, and expelling such members as had intruded themselves by violence, or professed principles dangerous to the constitution. An act of [1662.] uniformity in religion was passed, by which it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; that he should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and should take the oath of canonical obedience. In consequence of this law, above two thousand of the presbyterian clergy relinquished their cures in one day, to the great astonishment of the nation; thus sacrificing their interest to their religion.

But the Scotch parliament went still greater lengths in their prostrations to the king. It was there that his divine, indefeasible, and hereditary right was asserted in the fullest and most positive terms. His right was extended to their lives and possessions; and from his original grant was said to come all that his subjects might be said to enjoy. They voted him an additional revenue of forty thousand pounds; and all their former violences were treated with the utmost detestation.

This was the time for the king to have made himself independent of all parliaments; and it is said that Southampton, one of his ministers, had thought of procuring his master from the commons the grant of a revenue of two millions a year, which would effectually render him absolute; but in this his views were obstructed by the great Clarendon, who, though attached to the king, was still more the friend of liberty and the laws. Charles, however, was no way interested in these opposite views of his ministers; he only desired money, in order to prosecute his pleasures; and, provided he had that, he little regarded the manner in which it was obtained.

It was this careless and expensive disposition that first tended to disgust his subjects, and to dispel that intoxication of loyalty, which had taken place at his restoration. Though the people were pleased with the mirth and pleasantries of their monarch, they could not help murmuring at his indolence, his debaucheries, and profusion. They could not help remembering the strict frugality and active diligence that marked the usurper's administration; they called to mind the victories they had gained under him, and the vast projects he had undertaken. But they now saw an opposite picture; a court sunk in debauchery, and the taxes of the nation only employed in extending vice, and corrupting the morals of the people. The ejected clergy did not fail to inflame these just resentments in the minds of their audience; but particularly when the nation saw Dunkirk, which had been acquired during the late vigorous administration, now basely sold to the French for a small sum to supply the king's extravagance, they could put no bounds to their complaints. From this time he found the wheels of government clogged with continual obstructions, and his parliaments reluctantly granting those supplies, which he as meanly condescended to implore.

His continual exigencies drove him constantly to measures now way suited to his inclination. Among others, was his marriage, celebrated at this time with Catharine, the infanta of Portugal, who, though a virtuous princess, possessed, as it should seem, but few personal attractions. It was the portion of this princess that the needy monarch was enamoured of, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortress of Tangier in Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies. The chancellor Clarendon, the duke of Ormond, and the earl of Southampton, urged many reasons against this match, particularly the likelihood of her never having any children: the king disregarded their advice, and the inauspicious marriage was celebrated accordingly.

But still his necessities were greater than his supplies. He never much loved the steady virtue of lord Clarendon, and imputed to him some of those necessities to which he was reduced. It is said also that this great minister prevented him from repudiating the queen, which he had thoughts of doing, in order to marry one Mrs. Stuart, on whom he had placed his affections, by procuring that lady to be privately married to the duke of Richmond. However this be, he was now willing to give him up to the resentment of the parliament, to whom he was become obnoxious, in order to obtain some farther supplies. For [1663.] this purpose he assembled the commons in the Banqueting-house; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude and the warmest affection, he begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his humble supplications: they granted him four subsidies; and the clergy, in convocation, followed their example. On this occasion lord Bristol ventured to impeach the chancellor in the house of peers; but, not supporting his charge for this time, the affair dropped, only in order to be revived in the next session with greater animosity.

It was probably with a view of recruiting the supply [1664.] for his pleasures, that he was induced to enter into a war with the Dutch, as the money appointed for that purpose would go through his hands. A vote, by his contrivance, was procured in the house of commons, alleging, that the wrongs, af-

fronts, and indignities offered by the Dutch, in several quarters of the globe, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation. This was enough for his majesty to proceed upon. As his prodigality always kept him necessitous, he foresaw that he should be able to convert a part of the supplies to his private amusements. His brother also, the duke of York, longed for an opportunity of signalising his courage and conduct, as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for their republican principles, but also as being one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion.

This war began on each side with mutual depredations. The English, under the command of sir Robert Holmes, not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse castle, on the coast of Africa, but likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree. Sailing thence to America, the admiral possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New-York; a country which long continued annexed to the English government. On the other hand, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, sailing to Guinea, dispossessed the English of all their settlements there, except Cape Corse. He then sailed to America, and attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed. He afterwards committed hostilities on Long-Island. Soon after, the two most considerable fleets of each nation met, the one under the duke of [1665.] York, to the number of an hundred and fourteen sail; the other commanded by Opdam, of nearly equal force. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the engagement, and behaved with great spirit and composure, while his lords and attendants were killed beside him. In the heat of the action, when engaged in close fight with the duke, the Dutch admiral's ship blew up: this accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled towards their own coast; they had nineteen ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one. This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation; and De Wit, their great minister, whose genius and wisdom were admirable, was obliged to take the command of the fleet upon himself. This extraordinary man quickly became as much master of naval affairs as if he had been from his infancy educated in them. He even improved some parts of the naval art, beyond what expert mariners had ever expected to attain.

The success of the English naturally excited the jealousy of the neighbouring states, particularly France and Denmark, who resolved to protect the Dutch against the superior power of their [1666.] opposers. The Dutch being thus strengthened by so powerful an alliance, resolved to face their conquerors once more. De Ruyter, their great admiral, had returned from his expedition to Guinea, and was appointed, at the head of seventy-six sail, to join the duke of Beaufort, the French admiral, who, it was supposed, was then advancing toward the British Channel from Toulon. The duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert now commanded the English fleet, which did not exceed seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under Cromwell, had learned too much to despise the enemy, proposed to dispatch prince Rupert with twenty ships to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscough, well acquainted with the force of his enemies, protested against the temerity of this resolution; but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The English and Dutch thus engaging upon unequal terms, a battle ensued, the most memorable in the annals of the ocean. The battle began with incredible fury: the Dutch admiral, Evertzen, was killed by a cannon ball, and one vessel of their fleet was blown up, while one of the English ships was taken: darkness parted the combatants for the first day. The second day they renewed the combat with increased animosity; sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch, and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight. Upon retreating towards their own coast, the Dutch followed them, where another dreadful conflict was beginning, but parted by the darkness of the night, as before. The morning of the third day, the English were obliged to continue their retreat, and the Dutch persisted in pursuing. Albemarle, who still kept in the rear, and presented a dreadful front to the enemy, made a desperate resolution to blow up his ship rather than submit to the enemy; when he happily found himself reinforced by prince Rupert with sixteen ships of the line. By this time it was night; and the next morning, after a distant cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence till they were parted by a mist. Sir George Ayscough, in a ship of one hundred guns, had the misfortune to strike on the Galoper sands, where he was surrounded and taken.

The English retired first into their harbours; both sides claimed the victory, but the Dutch certainly obtained the advantage, though not the glory of the combat.

A second engagement, equally bloody, followed soon after, with larger fleets on both sides, commanded by the same admirals; and in this the Dutch were obliged to own themselves vanquished, and retreat into their own harbours. But they were soon in a capacity to out-number the English fleet, by the junction of Beaufort the French admiral. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames, conducted by their great admiral; and [1667.] threw the English into the utmost consternation: a chain had been drawn across the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to the forts along the banks; but all these were unequal to the present force. Sheerness was soon taken, the Dutch passed forward, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships sunk there by Albemarle's orders. Destroying the shipping in their passage, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as Upnore castle, where they burned three men of war. The whole city of London was in consternation; it was expected that the Dutch might sail up next tide to London bridge, and destroy, not only the shipping, but even the buildings of the metropolis. But the Dutch were unable to prosecute that project, from the failure of the French, who had promised to give them assistance; spreading, therefore, an alarm along the coast, they returned to their own ports, to boast of their success against their formidable enemies.

Nothing could exceed the indignation felt by the people at this disgrace. But they had lately sustained some accidental calamities, which in some measure moderated their rage and their pride. A plague had ravaged the city, which swept away ninety thousand of its inhabitants. This calamity was followed, in the year 1666, by another still more dreadful, as more unexpected: a fire breaking out at a baker's house, who lived in Pudding-lane, near the bridge, it spread with such rapidity, that no efforts could extinguish it till it laid in ashes the most considerable part of the city. The conflagration continued three days; while the wretched inhabitants fled from one street only to be spectators of equal calamities in another. At length, when all hope vanished, and a total destruction was expected, the flames ceased unex-

pectedly, after having reduced thousands from affluence to misery. As the streets were narrow, and the houses were mostly built with wood, the flames spread the faster; and the unusual dryness of the season prevented the proper supplies of water. But the people were not satisfied with these obvious causes; having been long taught to impute their calamities to the machinations of their enemies, they now ascribed the present misfortune to the same cause, and imputed the burning of the city to a plot laid by the papists. But, happily for that sect, no proofs were brought of their guilt, though all men were willing to credit them. The magistracy, therefore, contented themselves with ascribing it to them, on a monument raised where the fire began, and which still continues as a proof of the blind credulity of the times. This calamity, though at first it affected the fortunes of thousands, in the end proved both beneficial and ornamental to the city. It rose from its ruins in greater beauty than ever; and the streets being widened, and the houses built of brick instead of wood, it became more wholesome and more secure.

These complicated misfortunes did not fail to excite many murmurs among the people; fearful of laying the blame on the king, whose authority was formidable, they very liberally ascribed all their calamities to papists, jesuits, and fanatics. The war against the Dutch was exclaimed against, as unsuccessful and unnecessary; as being an attempt to humble that nation, who were equal enemies of popery themselves. Charles himself also began to be sensible that all the ends for which he had undertaken the Dutch war were likely to prove ineffectual. Whatever projects he might have formed for secreting the money granted him by parliament for his own use, he had hitherto failed in his intention; and instead of laying up, he found himself considerably in debt. Proposals were, therefore, thrown out for an accommodation, which, after some negotiation, the Dutch consented to accept. A treaty was concluded at Breda, by which the colony of New-York was ceded by the Dutch to the English, to whom it was a most valuable acquisition.

Upon the whole of this treaty, it was considered as inglorious to the English, as they failed in gaining any redress upon the complaints which gave rise to it. Lord Clarendon, therefore, incurred blame, both for having first advised an unnecessary war, and

then for concluding a disgraceful peace. He had been long declining in the king's favour, and he was no less displeasing to the majority of the people. His severe virtue, his uncomplying temper, and his detestation of factious measures, were unlikely to gain him many partisans in such a court as that of Charles, that had been taught to regard every thing serious as somewhat criminal. There were many accusations now, therefore, brought up against him; the sale of Dunkirk, the bad payment of the seamen, and disgrace at Chatham, were all added to the accumulation of his guilt; but particularly his imputed ambition was urged among his crimes. His daughter had, while yet in Paris, commenced an amour with the duke of York; and had permitted his gallantries to transgress the bounds of virtue. Charles, who then loved Clarendon, and who was unwilling that he should suffer the mortification of a parent, obliged the duke to marry his daughter: and this marriage, which was just in itself, became culpable in the minister. A building likewise of more expense than his slender fortune could afford had been undertaken by him; and this was regarded as a structure raised by the plunder of the public. Fewer accusations than these would have been sufficient to disgrace him with Charles; he ordered the seals to be taken from him, and given to sir Orlando Bridgman.

This seemed the signal for Clarendon's enemies to step in, and effect his entire overthrow. The house of commons, in their address to the king, gave him thanks for the dismissal of that nobleman; and immediately a charge was opened against him in the house, by Mr. Seymour, consisting of seventeen articles. These, which were only a catalogue of the popular rumours before mentioned, appeared at first sight false or frivolous. However, Clarendon finding the popular torrent, united to the violence of power, running with impetuosity against him, thought proper to withdraw to France. The legislature then passed a bill of banishment and incapacity, while the earl continued to reside in a private manner at Paris, where he employed his leisure in reducing his history of the civil war into form, for which he had before collected materials.

A confederacy of great importance, which goes by the name of the Triple Alliance, was formed by Charles [1668.] soon after the fall of this great statesman, as if to show that he

could still supply his place. It was conducted by sir William Temple, one of the great ornaments of English literature, who united the philosopher and the statesman, and was equally great in both. This alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden, to prevent the French king from completing his conquests in the Netherlands. That monarch had already subdued the greater part of that delightful country; when he was unexpectedly stopped in the midst of his career by this league, in which it was agreed by the contracting powers, that they would constitute themselves arbiters of the differences between France and Spain, and check the inordinate pretensions of either.

To this foreign confederacy succeeded one of a domestic nature, that did not promise such beneficial effects as the former. The king had long been fluctuating between his pride and his pleasures; the one urged him to extend his prerogative, the other to enjoy the good things that fortune threw in his way. He therefore would be likely to find the greatest satisfaction in those ministers who could flatter both his wishes at once. He was excited, by the active spirit of his brother, to rise above humble solicitations to his parliament; and was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence. The principal of those were [1670.] Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of the Cabal, a word containing the initial letters of their names. Never was there a more dangerous ministry in England, nor one more fitted to destroy all that liberty had been establishing for ages.

Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of a daring and impetuous spirit, rendered more dangerous by eloquence and intrigue. Lord Ashley, soon after known by the name of lord Shaftesbury, was the most extraordinary man of his age; he had been a member of the long parliament, and had great influence among the presbyterians; he was a favourite of Cromwell, and afterwards had a considerable hand in the Restoration; he was turbulent, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising; well acquainted with the blind attachment of parties, he surmounted all shame; and while he had the character of never betraying any of his friends, yet he changed his party as it suited his convenience. The duke of Buckingham was gay, capricious, of some wit, and great vivacity,

well fitted to unite and harmonise the graver tempers of which this junto was composed. Arlington was a man of moderate capacity; his intentions were good, but he wanted courage to persevere in them. The duke of Lauderdale was not defective in natural, and still less in acquired talents; but neither was his address graceful, nor his understanding just; he was ambitious, obstinate, insolent, and sullen. These were the men to whom Charles gave up the conduct of his affairs, and who plunged the remaining part of his reign in difficulties which produced the most dangerous symptoms.

A secret alliance with France, and a rupture with Holland, were the first consequences of their advice. The duke of York had the confidence boldly to declare himself a catholic; and, to alarm the fears of the nation still more, a liberty of conscience was allowed to all sectaries, whether protestant dissenters or papists. These measures were considered by the people as destructive, not only of their liberties, but of their religion, which they valued more. A proclamation was issued, containing very rigorous clauses in favour of pressing; another full of menaces against those who ventured to speak undutifully of his majesty's measures; and even against those who heard such discourses, unless they informed in due time against the offenders. These measures, though still within bounds, were yet no way suitable to that legal administration which, upon his restoration, he had promised to establish.

The English now saw themselves engaged in a league with France against the Dutch; and, consequently, whether victorious or vanquished, their efforts were like to be equally unsuccessful. The French had for some years been growing into power, and now, under the conduct of their ambitious monarch, Louis XIV., they began to threaten the liberties of Europe, and particularly the protestant religion, of which that prince had shown himself a determined enemy. It gave the people, therefore, a gloomy prospect to see an union formed, which, if successful, must totally subvert that balance of power which the protestants aimed at preserving; nor were they less apprehensive of their own sovereign, who, though he pretended to turn all religion to ridicule in his gayer hours, yet was secretly attached to the catholics, or was very much suspected of being so. The first

events of this war were very correspondent to their fears of French treachery. The English and French combined [1672.] fleets, commanded by the duke of York, and the mareschal d'Etrées, met the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by admiral De Ruyter ; and a furious battle ensued. In this engagement, the gallant Sandwich, who commanded the English van, drove his ship into the midst of the enemy, beat off the admiral that ventured to attack him, sunk one ship that attempted to board him, and also three fire-ships. Though his vessel was torn with shot, and out of a thousand men there only remained four hundred, he still continued to thunder with his artillery in the midst of the engagement. At last a fire-ship, more fortunate than the former, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Sandwich, however, refused to quit his ship, though warned by Sir Edward Haddock his captain ; he perished in the flames, while the engagement continued to rage all around him. Night parted the combatants ; the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the two maritime powers was nearly equal ; but the French suffered very little, not having entered into the heat of the engagement. It was even supposed that they had orders for this conduct, and to spare their own ships, while the Dutch and English should grow weak by their mutual animosities.

The combined powers were much more successful against the Dutch by land. Louis conquered all before him, crossed the Rhine, took all the frontier towns of the enemy, and threatened the new republic with a final dissolution. Terms were proposed to them by the two conquerors. Louis offered them such as would have deprived them of all power of resisting an invasion from France by land. Those of Charles exposed them equally to every invasion from sea. At last, the murmurs of the English, at seeing this brave and industrious people, the supporters of the protestant cause, totally sunk, and on the brink of destruction, were too loud not to impress the king. He was [1673.] obliged to re-assemble the parliament, to take the sense of the nation upon his conduct ; and he soon saw how his subjects stood affected.

The eyes of all men, both abroad and at home, were fixed upon this meeting of the parliament. Before the commons entered

upon business, there lay before them an affair, which discovered, beyond a possibility of doubt, the arbitrary projects of the king. It had been a constant practice in the house for many years, in case of any vacancy, to issue out writs for new elections ; but, by Shaftesbury's advice, several members had taken their seats upon irregular writs issued by the chancellor ; so that the whole house in time might be filled with members clandestinely called up by the court. The house was no sooner assembled, and the speaker placed in his chair, than a motion was made against this method of election ; and the members themselves, thus called to parliament, had the modesty to withdraw.

The king's late declaration of indulgence to all sectaries was next taken into consideration, and a remonstrance drawn up against that exercise of the prerogative. The commons persisted in their opposition to it ; and represented that such a practice, if admitted, might tend to interrupt the free course of the laws, and alter the legislative power, which had always been acknowledged to reside in the king and the two houses. Charles, therefore, found himself obliged reluctantly to retract his declaration ; but, that he might do it with a better grace, he asked the opinion of the house of peers, who advised him to comply. The commons expressed the utmost satisfaction with this measure, and the most entire duty to the king. He, on his part, assured them, that he would willingly pass any law which might tend to give them satisfaction in all their just grievances.

Having abridged the king's stretches of power in these points, they went still farther, and resolved to make the conformity of national principles still more general. A law was passed, entitled the Test Act, imposing an oath on all who should enjoy any public office. Besides the taking the oaths of allegiance, and the king's supremacy, they were obliged to receive the sacrament once a year in the established church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. As the dissenters had also seconded the efforts of the commons against the king's declaration for indulgence, a bill was passed for their ease and relief, which, however, went with some difficulty through the house of peers.

But still the great object of their meeting was to be inquired into ; for the war against the Dutch continued to rage with great animosity. Several sea-engagements succeeded each other very

rapidly, which brought on no decisive action; both nations claiming the victory after every battle. The commons, therefore, weary of the war, and distrustful even of success, resolved that the standing army was a grievance. They next declared, that they would grant no more supplies to carry on the Dutch war, unless it appeared that the enemy continued so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions. To cut short these disagreeable alterations, the king resolved to prorogue the parliament; and, with that intention, he went unexpectedly to the house of peers, and sent the usher of the black rod to summon the house of commons to attend. It happened that the speaker and the usher nearly met at the door of the house; but the speaker being within, some of the members suddenly shut the door, and cried, "To the chair!" Upon which the following motions were instantly made in a tumultuous manner: That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors of the king were a grievance; that the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance: and then the house rose in great confusion. The king soon saw that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on the war, which was so odious to them; he resolved, therefore, to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on terms which they had proposed through the channel of the Spanish ambassador. For form's sake, he asked [1674.] the advice of his parliament, who, concurring heartily in his intentions, a peace was concluded accordingly.

This turn in the system of the king's politics was very pleasing to the nation in general; but the cabal quickly saw that it would be the destruction of all their future attempts and power. Shaftesbury, therefore, was the first to desert them, and to go over to the country party, who received him with open arms, and trusted him with unbounded reserve. Clifford was dead. Buckingham was desirous of imitating Shaftesbury's example. Lauderdale and Arlington were exposed to all the effects of national resentment. Articles of impeachment were drawn up against the former, which, however, were never prosecuted; and as for the other, he every day grew more and more out of favour with the king, and contemptible to the people. This was an end of the power of a junta that had laid a settled plan for overturning the constitution, and fixing unlimited monarchy upon its ruins.

In the mean time, the war between the Dutch and the French

went on with the greatest vigour; and although the latter were repressed for a while, they still continued making encroachments upon the enemy's territories. The Dutch forces were commanded by the prince of Orange, who was possessed of courage, activity, vigilance, and patience; but he was inferior in genius to the consummate generals who were opposed to him. He was, therefore, always unsuccessful; but still found means to repair his losses, and to make head in a little time against his victorious enemies. These ineffectual struggles for the preservation of his country's freedom interested the English strongly in his favour; so that, from being his opposers, they now wished to lend him assistance. They considered their alliance with France as threatening a subversion to the protestant religion; and they longed for an union with him, as the only means of security. The commons therefore addressed the king, representing the [1677.] danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the growing greatness of France; and they assured him, in case of a war, that they would not be backward in their supplies. Charles was not displeased with the latter part of their address, as money was necessary for his pleasures. He therefore told them, that unless they granted him six hundred thousand pounds, it would be impossible for him to give them a satisfactory answer. The commons refused to trust to his majesty's professions; his well-known profusion was before their eyes. The king reproved them for their diffidence, and immediately ordered them to adjourn. The marriage of the duke of York's eldest daughter, the princess Mary, who had a fair prospect of the crown, with the prince of Orange, was a measure that gave great satisfaction in these general inquietudes about religion. The negotiation was brought about by the king's own desire; and the protestants now saw a happy prospect before them of a succession that would be favourable to their much-loved Reformation. A negotiation for peace between the French and the Dutch followed soon after, which was rather favourable to the latter. But the mutual animosities of these states not being as yet sufficiently quelled, the war was continued for some time. The king, therefore, to satisfy his parliament, who declared loudly against the French, sent over an army of three thousand men to the continent under the command of the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. A fleet also [1678.]

was fitted out with great diligence; and a quadruple alliance was projected between England, Holland, Spain, and the emperor. These vigorous measures brought about the famous treaty of Nimwegen, which gave a general peace to Europe. But though peace was secured abroad, the discontents of the people still continued at home.

CHAP. XXXVI.

CHARLES II. (Continued.)

THIS reign presents the most amazing contrasts of levity and cruelty, of mirth and gloomy suspicion. Ever since the fatal league with France, the people had entertained violent jealousies against the court. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a popish successor, an abandoned court, and a parliament which, though sometimes assertors of liberty, yet continued for seventeen years without change; these naturally rendered the minds of mankind timid and suspicious, and they only wanted objects on which to wreak their ill humour.

When the spirit of the English is once roused, they either find objects of suspicion or make them. On the twelfth of August, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the Park. "Sir," said he, "keep within the company: your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being questioned, in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken the same task by poison. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers relating to this pretended conspiracy, and was referred to the lord-treasurer Danby. He declared to him that the papers were thrust under his door, and that he knew the author of them, who desired that his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the Jesuits.

This information appeared so vague and unsatisfactory, that the king concluded the whole was a fiction. However, Tongue was not to be repressed in the ardour of his loyalty; he went again to the lord-treasurer, and told him, that a packet of letters, written by Jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put into the post-house for Windsor, directed to one Bedingfield, a Jesuit, who was confessor to the duke of York, and who resided there. These letters had actually been received a few hours before by the duke; but he had shown them to the king as a forgery, of which he knew not the drift or the meaning. This incident tended to confirm the king in his incredulity. He desired, however, that it might be concealed, as it might raise a flame in the nation; but the duke, solicitous to prove his innocence, insisted upon a more deliberate discussion, which turned out very different from his expectations.

Titus Oates, who was the fountain of all this dreadful intelligence, was produced soon after, who, with seeming reluctance, came to give his intelligence. This man affirmed that he had fallen under the suspicion of the Jesuits, and that he had concealed himself in order to avoid their resentment. This Titus Oates was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, vulgar, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, was afterwards chaplain to a man-of-war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer's, where he was for some time maintained, in the English seminary of that city. The fathers of that college sent him with some dispatches to Spain; but after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue among them; so that he was obliged to return to London, where he was ready to encounter every danger for his support. At a time when he was supposed to have been intrusted with a secret involving the fate of kings, he was allowed to remain in such necessity that Kirby was obliged to supply him with daily bread.

He had two methods of proceeding; either to ingratiate himself by this information with the ministry, or to alarm the people, and thus turn their fears to his advantage. He chose the latter method. He went, therefore, with his two companions to sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and

before him deposed to a narrative dressed up in terrors fit to make an impression on the vulgar. The pope, he said, considered himself as entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, and had accordingly assumed the sovereignty of those kingdoms. This, which was St. Peter's patrimony, he had delivered up to the Jesuits; and Oliva, the general of that order, was his delegate. Several English catholic lords, whose names he mentioned, were appointed by the pope to the other offices of state; lord Arundel was created chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman, the duke's secretary, was made secretary of state, Langhorne attorney-general, lord Bellasis general of the forces, lord Petre lieutenant-general, and lord Stafford pay-master. The king, whom the Jesuits called the Black Bastard, was solemnly tried by them, and condemned as a heretic. He asserted, that father Le Shee, meaning the French king's confessor La Chaise, had offered ten thousand pounds to any man who should kill the king. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to sir George Wakeman to poison him: but he was mercenary, and demanded fifteen thousand; which demand was complied with. Lest these means should fail, four Irish ruffians had been employed by the Jesuits, at the rate of twenty guineas for each, to stab the king at Windsor. Coleman was deeply involved in the plot, and had given a guinea to the messenger who carried orders for the assassination. Grove and Pickering, to make sure work, were employed to shoot the king, and that too with silver bullets. The former was to receive fifteen hundred pounds for his pains; the latter, being a pious man, thirty thousand masses. Pickering would have executed his purpose, had not the flint dropped out of his pistol at one time, and at another the priming. Oates went on to say that he himself was chiefly employed in carrying notes and letters among the Jesuits, all tending to the same end of murdering the king. A wager of a hundred pounds was made, and the money deposited, that the king should eat no more Christmas pies. The great fire of London had been the work of the Jesuits; several other fires were resolved on, and a paper-model was already framed for firing the city anew. Fire-balls were called among them Tewkesbury mustard-pills. Twenty thousand catholics in London were prepared to rise; and Coleman had remit-

ted two hundred thousand pounds to assist the rebels in Ireland. The crown was to be offered to the duke of York, in consequence of the success of these probable schemes, on condition of extirpating the protestant religion. Upon his refusal—"To pot James must go," as the Jesuits were said to express it.

In consequence of this dreadful information, sufficiently marked with absurdity, vulgarity, and contradiction, Titus Oates became the favourite of the people, although, during his examination before the council, he so betrayed the grossness of his impostures, that he contradicted himself in every step of his narration. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man his old acquaintance Don John was? Oates replied, that he was a tall lean man; which was directly contrary to the truth, as the king well knew. Though he pretended a great intimacy with Coleman, yet he knew him not when placed very near him, and had no other excuse than that his sight was bad by candle-light. He was guilty of the same mistake with regard to sir George Wakeman.

But these improbabilities had no weight against the general wish, if I may so express it, that they should be true. The violent animosity which had been excited against the catholics in general, made the people find a gloomy pleasure in hoping for an opportunity of satiating their hatred. The more improbable any account seemed, the more unlikely it was that any impostor should invent improbabilities, and therefore appeared more like truth.

A great number of the Jesuits mentioned by Oates were immediately taken into custody. Coleman, who was said to have acted so strenuous a part in the conspiracy, at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers, by Oates's directions, were secured. These papers, which were such as might be naturally expected from a zealous catholic in his situation, were converted into very dangerous evidence against him. He had without doubt maintained, with the French king's confessor, the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and other catholics abroad, a close correspondence, in which there was a distant project on foot for bringing back popery, upon the accession of the duke of York. But these letters contained nothing that served as proof in the present information; and their very

silence in that respect, though they appeared imprudent enough in others, was a proof against Oates's pretended discovery. However, when the contents of those letters were publicly known, they diffused the panic which the former narrative had begun. The two plots were brought to strengthen each other, and confounded into one. Coleman's letters showed there had actually been designs on foot, and Oates's narrative was supposed to give the particulars.

In this fluctuation of passions, an accident served to confirm the prejudices of the people, and put it beyond a doubt that Oates's narrative was nothing but the truth. Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, who had been so active in developing the whole mystery of the popish machinations, after having been missing some days, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose hill, in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound; so that it appeared he was dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. He had money in his pockets; and there was a broad livid mark quite round his neck, which was dislocated. The cause of his death remains, and must still continue, a secret; but the people, already enraged against the papists, did not hesitate a moment to ascribe it to them. All doubts of the veracity of Oates vanished; the voice of the whole nation united against them; and the populace were exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of that unhappy sect. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen; and every one who saw it, made no doubt that his death could be caused by the papists only. Even the better sort of people were infected with this vulgar prejudice; and such was the general conviction of popish guilt, that no person, with any regard to personal safety, could express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

It only remained for the parliament to repress these delusions, and to bring back the people to calm and deliberate inquiry. But the parliament testified greater credulity than even the vulgar. The cry of plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; the country party would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the people; the courtiers were afraid

of being thought disloyal, if they should doubt the innocence of the pretended assassins of their king. Danby, the prime minister, entered into it very furiously; and though the king told him that he had thus given the houses a handle to ruin himself, and to disturb the affairs of government, yet this minister persevered till he found the king's prognostic but too true.

The king himself, whose safety was thus threatened and defended, was the only person who treated the plot with becoming contempt. He made several efforts for stifling an inquiry, which was likely to involve the kingdom in confusion, and must at any rate hurt his brother, who had more than once professed his resolution to defend the catholic religion.

In order to continue and propagate the alarm, an address was voted for a solemn fast. It was requested that all papers tending to throw light upon so horrible a conspiracy might be laid before the house, that all papists should remove from London, that access should be denied at court to all unknown and suspicious persons, and that the train-bands in London and Westminster should be in readiness to march. They voted, after hearing Oates's evidence, that there was a damnable and hellish plot contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, and for rooting out the protestant religion. Oates, who had acknowledged the accusations against his morals to be true, was, however, recommended by parliament to the king. He was lodged in Whitehall, and encouraged by a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year to proceed in forging new informations.

The encouragement given to Oates did not fail to bring in others also who hoped to profit by the delusion of the times. William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous than Oates, appeared next upon the stage. He was, like the former, of very low birth, had been noted for several cheats and thefts, had travelled over many parts of Europe under borrowed names, and had frequently passed himself for a man of quality. This man, at his own desire, was arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London, where he declared before the council that he had seen the body of sir Edmondsbury Godfrey at Somerset-house, where the queen lived. He said that a servant of lord Bellasis offered to give him four thousand pounds if he would carry it off. He was questioned about the plot, but utterly denied all knowledge of it, and also as-

serted that he had no acquaintance with Oates. Next day, however, he thought it would be better to share the emoluments of the plot, and he gave an ample account of it. This narrative he made to tally as well as he could with the information of Oates, which had been published; but to render it the more acceptable, he added some circumstances of his own, still more tremendous, and still more absurd, than those of Oates. He said that ten thousand men were to be landed from Flanders in Burlington-bay, and were immediately to seize Hull. He affirmed that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire; that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London; that he himself had been tampered with to murder a *man*, and was to receive four thousand pounds for that service, beside the pope's blessing; that the king was to be assassinated, the protestants butchered, and the kingdom offered to One, if he would consent to hold it of the church; if not, the pope should continue to govern without him. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenell, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. But the most terrible part of all was, that Spain was to invade England with forty thousand men, who were ready at St. Iago in the character of pilgrims; though at this time Spain was actually unable to raise ten thousand men to supply her own garrisons in Flanders.

These narrations carry their own refutation; the infamy of the witnesses, the contradiction in their testimony, the improbability of it, the low vulgarity of the information, unlike what men trusted with great affairs would be apt to form, all these serve to raise our horror against these base villains, and our pity at the delusion of the times that could credit such reports. In order to give a confident air to the discovery, Bedloe published a pamphlet, with this title, "A Narrative and impartial Discovery of the horrid Popish Plot carried on for burning and destroying the Cities of London and Westminster with their Suburbs, &c. by Captain William Bedloe, lately engaged in that horrid design, and one of the Popish Committees for carrying on such Fires." The Papists were thus become so obnoxious, that vote after vote passed against them in the house of commons. They were called idolaters; and such as did not concur in acknowledging the truth of the epithet were expelled the house without ceremony. Even the duke of York

was permitted to keep his place in the house by a majority of only two. "I would not," said one of the lords, "have so much as a popish man or a popish woman to remain here, not so much as a popish dog, or a popish bitch, not so much as a popish cat to mew or pur about our king." This was wretched eloquence; but it was admirably suited to the times.

Encouraged by the general voice in their favour, the witnesses, who all along had enlarged their narratives, in proportion as they were greedily received, went a step farther, and ventured to accuse the queen. The commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; the lords rejected it with becoming disdain. The king received the news of it with his usual good humour. "They think," said he, "that I have a mind to a new wife; but I will not suffer an innocent woman to be abused." He immediately ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants. But his favour with parliament soon procured his release.

Coleman was the first who was brought to trial, as being most obnoxious to those who pretended to fear the introduction of popery. His letters were produced against him. They plainly testified a violent zeal for the catholic cause; and that alone at present was sufficient to convict him. But Oates and Bedloe came in to make his condemnation sure. The former swore that he had sent fourscore guineas to a ruffian, who undertook to kill the king. The date of the transaction he fixed in the month of August, but would not fix the particular day. Coleman could have proved that he was in the country the greatest part of that month, and therefore the witness would not be particular. Bedloe swore that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the Jesuits, appointing him papal secretary of state, and that he had consented to the king's assassination. After this unfortunate man's sentence, thus procured by these vipers, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession; but as he was, in reality, possessed of no treasonable secrets, he would not procure life by falsehood and imposture. He suffered with calmness and constancy, and to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

The trial of Coleman was succeeded by those of Ireland, Pickering, and Grove. Ireland, a Jesuit, was ac- [1679.]

cused by Oates and Bedloe, the only witnesses against him ; and they swore that he was one of the fifty Jesuits, who had signed the great resolve against the king. He affirmed, and proved, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of August, a time when Oates asserted he was in London. The jury brought him in guilty, and the judge commended their verdict. It was in the same manner sworn that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath to assassinate the king, and had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets. Without regard to their own opposite declarations, they were found guilty. All these unhappy men went to execution protesting their innocence ; a circumstance which made no impression on the spectators ; their being Jesuits banished even pity from their sufferings.

The animosities of the people, however, seemed a little appeased by the execution of these four ; but a new train of evidence was now discovered, that kindled the flame once more. One Miles Prance, a goldsmith, and a professed Roman-catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in sir Edmondsbury's murder ; and, upon his denial, had been loaded with heavy irons, and thrown into the condemned hold, a place cold, dark, and noisome. There the poor wretch lay groaning, and exclaiming that he was not guilty ; but being next day carried before lord Shaftesbury, and there threatened with severe punishment in case of obstinacy, he demanded if a confession would procure his pardon. Being assured of that, he had no longer courage to resist, but confessed himself an accomplice in Godfrey's murder. He soon after, however, retracted his evidence before the king ; but the same rigours being employed against him, he was induced to confirm his first information. The murder he said was committed in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerard and Kelly, two Irish priests ; that Laurence Hill, footman to the queen's treasurer, Robert Green, cushion-keeper to her chapel, and Henry Berry, porter of the palace, followed sir Edmondsbury at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening ; but that passing by Somerset-house, Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, he was soon strangled, and the body carried to a high chamber in Somerset-house, whence it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe.

Hill, Green, and Berry, were tried upon this evidence : though

Bedloe's narrative and Prance's information were totally irreconcilable, and though their testimony was invalidated by contrary evidence, all was in vain : the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied their guilt at execution ; and as Berry died a protestant, this circumstance was regarded as very considerable. But, instead of stopping the current of credulity, it only increased the people's animosity against a protestant, who could at once be guilty of a popish plot, of murder, and of denying it in his last moments.

This frightful persecution continued for some time ; and the king, contrary to his own judgment, was obliged to give way to the popular fury. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were brought to their trial : Langhorne soon after. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners. This man spread the alarm still farther, and even asserted that two hundred thousand papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omer's, that Oates was in that seminary at the time he swore he was in London. But, as they were papists, their testimony could gain no manner of credit. All pleas availed them nothing ; the Jesuits and Langhorne were condemned and executed, with their latest breath denying the crimes for which they died.

The informers had less success on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who, though they swore with their usual animosity, was acquitted. His condemnation would have involved the queen in his guilt ; and it is probable the judge and jury were afraid of venturing so far.

The viscount Stafford was the last man that fell a sacrifice to these bloody wretches : the witnesses produced against him were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore that he saw Fenwick, the Jesuit, deliver to Stafford a commission from the general of the Jesuits, constituting him pay-master of the papal army. Dugdale gave testimony that the prisoner had endeavoured to engage him in the design of murdering the king. Turberville affirmed that Stafford, in his own house at Paris, had made him the same proposal. The clamour and outrage of the populace against the prisoner, were very great ; he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged and quartered ; but the king changed the

sentence into that of beheading. He was executed on Tower-hill, where even his persecutors could not forbear shedding tears at the serene fortitude which shone in every feature, motion, and accent of this aged nobleman. Some other lords, who were taken up and imprisoned upon the former evidence, were tried and acquitted some time after, when the people began to recover from their phrensy.

But while these prosecutions were going forward, raised by the credulity of the people, and seconded by the artifice of the parliament, other designs equally vindictive were carried on. The lord-treasurer Danby was impeached in the house of commons by Seymour his enemy. The principal charge against him was his having written a letter to Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris, directing him to sell the king's good offices at the treaty of Nimeguen to the king of France, for a certain sum of money; contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even those of his own kingdom. This was a charge he could not deny; and though the king was more culpable than the minister, yet the prosecution was carried on against him with rigour. But he had the happiness to find the king resolved to defend him. Charles assured the parliament that, as he had acted in every thing by his orders, he deemed him entirely blameless; and though he would deprive him of all his employments, yet he would positively insist on his personal safety. The lords were obliged to submit: however, they went on to impeach him, and Danby was sent to the Tower; but no worse consequences ensued.

These furious proceedings had all been carried on by a house of commons that had now continued undissolved for above seventeen years; the king, therefore, was resolved to try a new one, which he knew could not be more unmanageable than the former. However, the new parliament did not in the least abate of the activity and obstinacy of their predecessors. The king, indeed, changed his council, by the advice of sir William Temple, and admitted into it many of both parties, by which he hoped to appease his opponents; but the antipathy to popery had taken too fast a possession of men's minds to be removed by so feeble a remedy. This house resolved to strike at the root of the evil which threatened them from a popish successor; and, after some deliberations, a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the

duke of York from the crowns of England and Ireland. It was by that intended that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession to the duke ; and that all acts of royalty which this prince should afterwards perform should not only be void, but deemed treason. This important bill passed the lower house by a majority of seventy-nine.

Nor did their efforts rest here : the commons voted the king's standing army and guards to be illegal. They proceeded to establish limits to the king's power of imprisoning delinquents at will. It was now that the celebrated statute called the Habeas Corpus act was passed, which confirms the subject in an absolute security from oppressive power. By this act, it was prohibited to send any one to prisons beyond the sea : no judge, under severe penalties, was to refuse to any prisoner his writ of habeas corpus, by which the gaoler was to produce in court the body of the prisoner, whence the writ had its name, and to certify the cause of his imprisonment and detention. If the gaol lie within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances. Every prisoner must be indicted the first term of his commitment, and brought to trial the subsequent term. And no man, after being enlarged by court, can be re-committed for the same offence.

This law alone would have been sufficient to endear the parliament that made it to posterity ; and it would have been well if they had rested there. The duke of York had retired to Brussels during these troubles ; but an indisposition of the king led him back to England, to be ready, in case of any sinister accident, to assert his right to the throne. After prevailing upon his brother to disgrace the duke of Monmouth, a natural son of the king's, by one Mrs. Walters, and now become very popular, he himself retired to Scotland, under pretence of still quieting the apprehensions of the English nation ; but, in reality, to strengthen his interests there. This session served still more to inflame the country party, who were strongly attached to the duke of Monmouth, and were resolved to support him against the duke of York. Mobs, petitions, pope-burnings, were artifices employed to keep up the terrors of popery, and alarm the court. The parliament had shown favour to the various tribes of informers,

and that served to increase the number of these miscreants ; but plots themselves also became more numerous. Plot was set up against plot ; and the people kept still suspended in dreadful apprehension.

The Meal-Tub Plot, as it was called, was brought forward to the public on this occasion. One Dangerfield, more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for felony and coining, hatched a plot in conjunction with a midwife, whose name was Cellier, a Roman-catholic, of abandoned character. Dangerfield began by declaring that there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king and the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of colonel Mansel ; and then conducted the custom-house officers to his apartment, to search for smuggled merchandise. The papers were found ; and the council, having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched ; and in the house of Cellier the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub ; whence the plot had its name. Dangerfield, being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which, though probably entirely of his own contrivance, he ascribed to the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower. He said that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates, to assassinate the earl of Shaftesbury, to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Halifax, and others, of having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. Upon this information the earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower, and the king himself was suspected of encouraging this imposture.

But it was not by plots alone the adverse parties endeavoured to supplant each other. Tumultuous petitions on the one hand, and flattering addresses on the other, were sent up from all quarters. Wherever the country party prevailed, petitions, filled with grievances and apprehensions, were sent to the king with an air of humble insolence. Wherever the church, or the court-

party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavoured to disturb the public tranquillity. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*. Whig and Tory also were first used as terms of mutual reproach at this time. The Whigs were so denominated from a cant name given to the four Scotch conventiclers (whig being milk turned sour). The Tories were denominated from the Irish banditti so called, whose usual manner of bidding people deliver was by the Irish word *toree*, or give me.

As this parliament seemed even to surpass the former in jealousy and resentment, the king was induced to dissolve it; and could willingly have never applied to another. But his necessities, caused by his want of economy, and his numberless needy dependants, obliged him to call another. However, every change seemed only to inflame the evil; and his new parliament seemed willing to outdo even their predecessors. [1680.]

Every step they took betrayed that zeal with which they were animated. They voted the legality of petitioning to the king; they fell with extreme violence on the abhorrrers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of those petitions. Great numbers of these were seized by their order, from all parts of England, and committed to close custody: and the liberty of the subject, which had been so carefully guarded by their own recent law, was every day violated by their arbitrary and capricious commitments. One Stawell of Exeter was the person that put a stop to their proceedings; he refused to obey the serjeant at arms who was sent to apprehend him; he stood upon his defence, and said he knew no law by which they pretended to commit him. The house, finding it equally dangerous to proceed or to recede, got off by an evasion. They inserted in their votes, that Stawell was indisposed; and a month's time was allowed him for his recovery. It is happy for the nation, that, should the commons at any time overleap the bounds of their authority, and order men capriciously to be committed to prison, there is no power, in case of resistance, that can compel the prisoner to submit to their decrees.

But the chief point which the commons laboured to obtain, was the *Exclusion Bill*, which, though the former house had voted it,

was never passed into a law. Shaftesbury, and many considerable men of the party, had rendered themselves so obnoxious to the duke of York, that they could find safety in no measure but his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of James would make room for their own patron. The catholic bigotry of the duke of York influenced numbers; and his tyrannies, which were practised without control, while he continued in Scotland, rendered his name odious to thousands. In a week, therefore, after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in an exclusion bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides; the bill was defended by lord Russel, sir William Jones, sir Francis Winnington, sir Henry Capel, sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was opposed by sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state; sir John Ernley, chancellor of the exchequer; by Hyde, Seymour, and Temple; the bill passed by a great majority in the house of commons, but was opposed in the house of peers with better success. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex, argued for it. Halifax chiefly conducted the arguments against it. The king was present during the whole debate, and had the pleasure of seeing the bill thrown out by a great majority. All the bishops, except three, voted against it; for they were of opinion that the church of England was in much greater danger from the prevalence of presbyterianism than of popery.

The commons were extremely mortified and enraged at the rejection of their favourite bill; and to show how strongly they resented the indulgence that was shown to popery, they passed a bill for easing the protestant dissenters, and for repealing such acts as tended to their persecution. They proceeded to bring in bills, which though contributing to secure the liberty of the subject, yet probably at that period were only calculated to excite them to insurrection. They had thoughts of renewing the triennial act; of continuing the judges in their offices during good behaviour; of ordering an association for the defence of his majesty's person, and the security of the protestant religion. They voted that till the exclusion bill should be enacted, they could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, grant the king any supply; and to prevent his taking other methods to get money,

they voted, that whoever should advance money upon any branches of the king's revenue, should be responsible to parliament for his conduct. The king, finding that there were no hopes of extorting either money or obedience from the commons, came to a resolution of once more dissolving the parliament. His usher of the black-rod accordingly came to dissolve them, [1681.] while they were voting that the dissenters should be encouraged, and that the papists had burned the city of London.

The parliament thus dissolved, it was considered as a doubt, whether the king would ever call another: however, the desire he had of being supplied with money surmounted his fears from every violence a parliament might offer. But it had always been supposed that the neighbourhood of London, at once both potent and factious, was an improper place for assembling a parliament that would be steadfast in the king's interests: he therefore resolved at once to punish the Londoners, by showing his suspicions of their loyalty, and to reward the inhabitants of Oxford by bringing down his parliament to that city. Accordingly a parliament was ordered to assemble at Oxford; and measures were taken on both sides to engage the partisans to be strenuous in their resolutions. In this, as in the late parliament, the country party predominated: the parliamentary leaders came to that city, attended not only by their servants, but with numerous bands of their retainers. The four London members were followed by great multitudes wearing ribands, in which were woven these words, "No popery! No slavery!" The king was not behind them in the number and formidable appearance of his guards; so that the parliament rather bore the appearance of a military congress than of a civil assembly.

This parliament trod exactly in the steps of the former. The commons, having chosen the same speaker who had filled the chair in the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. The bill for exclusion was more fiercely urged than ever. Ernley, one of the king's ministers, proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England; and that, upon the king's death, the next heir should be constituted regent, with regal power. Yet even this expedient, which left the duke the bare title of king, could not obtain

the attention of the house. Nothing but a total exclusion could satisfy them.

Each party had now for some time reviled and ridiculed each other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice, at last, was attended with an incident that deserves notice. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependant on the duchess of Portsmouth, one of the king's mistresses, used to supply her with these occasional publications. But he was resolved to add to their number, by his own endeavours; and employed one Everard, a Scotchman, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the opposite party; and, supposing this a trick to entrap him, he discovered the whole to sir William Waller, an eminent justice of peace; and, to convince him of the truth of his information, posted him and two other persons privately, where they heard the whole conference between Fitzharris and himself. The libel composed between them was replete with rancour and scurrility. Waller carried the intelligence to the king, and obtained a warrant for committing Fitzharris, who happened at that very time to have a copy of the libel in his pocket. Seeing himself in the hands of a party from which he expected no mercy, he resolved to side with them, and throw the odium of the libel upon the court, who, he said, were willing to draw up a libel which should be imputed to the exclusionists, and thus render them hateful to the people. He enhanced his services with the country party by a new popish plot, still more tremendous than any of the foregoing. He brought in the duke of York as a principal accomplice in this plot, and as a contriver in the murder of sir Edmondsbury Godfrey.

The king imprisoned Fitzharris; the commons avowed his cause. They voted that he should be impeached by themselves, to screen him from the ordinary forms of justice; the lords rejected the impeachment; the commons asserted their right; a commotion was likely to ensue; and the king, to break off the contest, went to the house and dissolved the parliament, with a fixed resolution never to call another.

This vigorous measure was a blow that the parliament did not expect; and nothing but the necessity of the times could have justified the king's manner of proceeding. From that moment, which ended the parliamentary commotions, Charles seemed to

rule with despotic power ; and he was resolved to leave the succession to his brother, but clogged with all the faults and misfortunes of his own administration. His temper, which had always been easy and merciful, now became arbitrary, and even cruel ; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs.

He resolved to humble the presbyterians : these were divested of their employments and their places, and their offices given to such as held with the court, and approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy began to testify their zeal and their principles by their writings and their sermons ; but though among these the partisans of the king were the most numerous, those of the opposite faction were the most enterprising. The king openly espoused the cause of the former ; and thus placing himself at the head of a faction, he deprived the city of London, which had long headed the popular party, of their charter. It was not till after an abject submission that he restored it to them, having previously subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Terrors also were not wanting to confirm this new species of monarchy. Fitzharris was brought to his trial before a jury, and condemned and executed. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners, who had long been encouraged and supported by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their antient drivers, and offered their evidence against those who had first put them in motion. The king's ministers, with a horrid satisfaction, gave them countenance and encouragement ; so that soon the same cruelties and the same injustice were practised against presbyterian schemes that had been employed against catholic treasons.

The first person that fell under the displeasure of the ministry was one Stephen College, a London joiner, who had become so noted for his zeal against popery, that he went by the name of the Protestant joiner. He had attended the city-members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol ; he had sometimes been heard to speak irreverently of the king, and was now presented by the grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. The sheriffs of London were in strong opposition to the court ; and the grand jury named by them, rejected the bill against College. However, the

court were not to be foiled so ; they sent the prisoner to Oxford, where the treason was said to have been committed, and there tried him before a partial judge and a packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others who had already given evidence against the catholics ; and the nation saw themselves reduced to a ridiculous dilemma upon their testimony. The jury, who were royalists, could not accept their evidence, as they believed them to be abandoned liars ; nor yet could they reject it, as they were taught by their opponents to think their evidence sufficient for conviction. College defended himself with great presence of mind, and invalidated their testimony. But all was in vain. The jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought him in guilty, and the spectators testified their inhuman pleasure with a shout of applause. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at the place of execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

But higher vengeance was demanded by the king, whose resentment was chiefly levelled against the earl of Shaftesbury ; and not without reason. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses, against this intriguing and formidable man. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, witnesses were examined, who swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even if they had not been branded as perjured villains. Among his papers, indeed, a draught of an association was found, which might have been construed into treason ; but it was not in the earl's hand-writing, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any body, or signified his approbation of any such project. The sheriffs had summoned a jury whose principles coincided with those of the earl : and that probably, more than any want of proof, procured his safety.

The power of the crown by this time became irresistible. The punishment of the city of London was so mortifying a [1683.] circumstance, that all the other corporations in England soon began to fear the same treatment, and most of them were successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring these charters ; and all the offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown. Resistance now, however justifiable, could

not be safe; and all prudent men saw no other expedient, but peaceably submitting to the present grievances. But there was a party in England that still cherished their former ideas of freedom, and were resolved to hazard every danger in its defence.

This, like all other combinations, was made up of men, some guided by principle to the subversion of the present despotic power, some by interest, and many more by revenge. Some time before, in the year 1681, the king had been seized with a fit of sickness, at Windsor, which gave a great alarm to the public. Shaftesbury had even then attempted to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and united with the duke of Monmouth, lord Russel, and lord Grey: in case of the king's death, they conspired to rise in arms, and vindicate their opinions by the sword. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial for some time put a stop to these designs; but they soon revived with his release. Monmouth engaged the earl of Macclesfield, lord Brandon, sir Gilbert Gerard, and other gentlemen in Cheshire. Lord Russel fixed a correspondence with sir William Courtenay, sir Francis Rowles, and sir Francis Drake, who promised to raise the West. Shaftesbury, with one Ferguson, an independent clergyman, and a restless plotter, managed the city, upon which the confederates chiefly relied. It was now that this turbulent man found his schemes most likely to take effect. After the disappointment and destruction of a hundred plots, he at last began to be sure of the present. But this scheme, like all the former, was disappointed. The caution of lord Russel, who induced the duke of Monmouth to put off the enterprise, saved the kingdom from the horrors of civil war; while Shaftesbury was so struck with a sense of his impending danger, that he left his house, and lurking about the city, attempted, but in vain, to drive the Londoners into open insurrection. At last, enraged at the numberless cautions and delays which clogged and defeated his projects, he threatened to begin with his friends alone. However, after a long struggle between fear and rage, he abandoned all hopes of success, and fled out of the kingdom to Amsterdam, where he ended his turbulent life soon after, without being pitied by his friends, or feared by his enemies.

The loss of Shaftesbury, though it retarded the views of the conspirators, did not suppress them. A council of six was erect-

ed, consisting of Monmouth, Russel, Essex, Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson to the great man of that name. These corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents in Scotland, and resolved to prosecute the scheme of the insurrection, though they widely differed in principles from each other. Monmouth aspired at the crown; Russel and Hampden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was for restoring the republic, and Essex joined in the same wish. Lord Howard was an abandoned man, who, having no principles, sought to embroil the nation, to gratify his private interest in the confusion.

Such were the leaders of this conspiracy, and such their motives. But there was also a set of subordinate conspirators, who frequently met together, and carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and his council. Among these men were colonel Rumsey, an old republican officer, lieutenant-colonel Walcot, of the same stamp, Goodenough, under-sheriff of London, a zealous and noted party-man, the dissenter Ferguson, and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen. But Rumsey and Ferguson were the only persons who had access to the great leaders of the conspiracy. These men in their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions. They proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket: Rumbold, one of the party, possessed a farm upon that road called the Rye-house; and thence the conspiracy was denominated the Rye-house-Plot. They deliberated upon a scheme of stopping the king's coach, by overturning a cart on the highway at this place, and shooting him through the hedges. The house in which the king lived at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and he was obliged to leave Newmarket eight days sooner than was expected, to which circumstance his safety was ascribed.

Among the conspirators was one Keiling, who, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for arresting the lord-mayor of London, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidence, and they surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard, another conspirator, being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and general orders were soon issued out for apprehending the rest of the lead-

ers of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russel was sent to the Tower; Grey escaped; Howard was taken, concealed in a chimney; Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were soon after arrested, and had the mortification to find lord Howard an evidence against them.

Walcot was first brought to trial and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, two associates in the conspiracy, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard. They died penitent, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by which they were executed. A much greater sacrifice was shortly after to follow. This was the lord Russel (son of the earl of Bedford), who had numberless good qualities, and had been led into this conspiracy from a conviction of the duke's intentions to restore popery. He was liberal, popular, humane, and brave. All his virtues were so many crimes in the present suspicious disposition of the court. The chief evidence against him was lord Howard, a man of very bad character, one of the conspirators, who was now contented to take life upon such terms, and to accept of infamous safety. This witness swore that Russel was engaged in the design of an insurrection; but he acquitted him, as did also Rumsey and West, of being privy to the assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned; but his own confession was not sufficient to convict him. To the fact which principally aimed at his life there was but one witness, and the law required two: this was overruled; for justice, during this whole reign, was too weak for the prevailing party. The jury, who were zealous royalists, after a short deliberation, pronounced the prisoner guilty. After his condemnation the king was strongly solicited in his favour. Even money, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, was offered to the duchess of Portsmouth by the earl of Bedford. But Charles was inexorable. He dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Russel, and resented his former activity in promoting the bill of exclusion. Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Russel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room. The duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, offering to surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Russel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate

with admirable fortitude. His consort, the daughter and heiress of the earl of Southampton, finding that all supplications were vain, took leave of her husband without shedding a tear; while, as he parted from her, he turned to those about him—"Now," said he, "the bitterness of death is over." Before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch—"I have now done with time," said he, "and must henceforth think of eternity." The scaffold for his execution was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; he laid his head on the block without the least change of countenance, and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The celebrated Algernon Sidney, son to the earl of Leicester, was next brought to his trial. He had been formerly engaged in the parliamentary army against the late king, and was even named on the high court of justice that tried him, but had not taken his seat among the judges. He had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation, and went into voluntary banishment upon the Restoration. His affairs, however, requiring his return, he applied to the king for a pardon, and obtained his request. But all his hopes, and all his reasonings were formed upon republican principles. For his adored republic he had written and fought, and went into banishment, and ventured to return. It may easily be conceived how obnoxious a man of such principles was to a court that now was not even content with limitations to its power. The ministry went so far as to take illegal methods to procure his condemnation. The only witness that deposed against Sidney was lord Howard, and the law required two. In order, therefore, to make out a second witness, a very extraordinary expedient was adopted. In ransacking his closet some discourses on government were found in his own hand-writing, containing principles favourable to liberty, and in themselves no way subversive of a limited government. By overstraining some of these, they were construed into treason. It was in vain he alleged that papers were no evidence; that it could not be proved they were written by him; that, if proved, the papers themselves contained nothing criminal. His defence was overruled; the violent and inhuman Jefferies, who was now chief-justice, easily prevailed on a partial jury to declare him guilty; and his execution soon followed after.

One can scarcely contemplate the transactions of this reign

without horror. Such a picture of factious guilt on each side, a court at once immersed in sensuality and blood, a people armed against each other with the most deadly animosity, and no single party to be found with sense enough to stem the general torrent of rancour and factious suspicion.

Hampden was tried soon after; and as there was nothing to affect his life, he was fined forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, who had fled to the West Indies, was brought over, condemned, and executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong also, who had fled to Holland, was brought over, and shared the same fate. Lord Essex, who had been imprisoned in the Tower, was found in an apartment with his throat cut; but whether he was guilty of suicide, or whether the bigotry of the times might not have induced some assassin to commit the crime, cannot now be known.

This was the last blood that was shed for an imputation of plots or conspiracies, which continued during the greatest part of this reign. Nevertheless the cruelty and the gloomy suspicion of the duke of York, who, since the dissolution of the last parliament, daily advanced in power, were dreadful to the nation. Titus Oates was fined a hundred thousand pounds for calling him a popish traitor, and he was imprisoned till he could pay it, which he was utterly incapable of. A like illegal sentence was passed upon Dutton Colt for the same offence. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined ten thousand pounds, for having, in some private letters, reflected on the government. Of all those who were concerned in the late conspiracy, scarcely one escaped the severity of the court except the duke of Monmouth, and he was the most culpable of any.

At this period the government of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Europe; but to please his subjects by an act of popularity, he judged it proper to marry the lady Anne, his niece, to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark. This was one of the last transactions of this extraordinary reign. The king was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he was recovered from it by bleeding, yet he languished only for a few days, and then expired, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his [1685.] reign. During his illness some clergymen of the church of En-

gland attended him, to whom he discovered a total indifference. Catholic priests were brought to his bed-side, and from their hands he received the rites of their communion. Two papers were found in his closet, containing arguments in favour of that persuasion. These were soon after published by James his successor, by which he greatly injured his own popularity, and his brother's memory.

CHAP. XXXVII.

JAMES II.

Feb. 6, 1685. **T**HE duke of York, who succeeded his brother by the title of king James the Second, had been bred a papist by his mother, and was strongly bigoted to his principles. It is the property of that religion almost ever to contract the sphere of the understanding; and, until people are in some measure disengaged from its prejudices, it is impossible to lay a just claim to extensive views, or consistency of design. The intellects of this prince were naturally weak; and the education he had received rendered him still more feeble. He therefore conceived the impracticable project of reigning in the arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and of changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion passionately loved. The people, though they despised the administration of his predecessor, yet loved the king. They were willing to bear with the faults of one whose whole behaviour was a continued instance of affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to James, as they knew him to be gloomy, proud, bigoted, and cruel.

His reign began with acts of imprudence. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, that had been voted to the late king for his life only, were levied by James, without a new act for that purpose. He likewise went openly to mass with all the ensigns of his dignity, and even sent one Caryl as his agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the catholic church.

These were but inauspicious symptoms in the very beginning of his reign; but the progress no way fell short of the commencement.

He had, long before the beginning of his reign, had an intrigue with Mrs. Sedley, whom he afterwards created countess of Dorchester; but being now told that, as he was to convert his people, the sanctity of his manners ought to correspond with his professions, Mrs. Sedley was discarded, and he resigned himself to the advice of the queen, who was as much governed by priests as he. From the suggestions of these men, and particularly the Jesuits, all measures were taken. One day, when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his majesty against placing too much confidence in such kind of people,—“Is it not the custom in Spain,” said James, “for the king to consult with his confessor?” “Yes,” answered the ambassador; “and that is the reason our affairs succeed so very ill.”

But though his actions might serve to demonstrate his aims, yet his first parliament, which was mostly composed of zealous Tories, were strongly biassed to comply with all the measures of the crown. They voted unanimously that they would settle on the present king, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his decease. For this favour James assured them of his resolution to secure them in the full enjoyment of their laws; but no answer could be extorted from him with regard to religion; for that he was secretly resolved to alter.

To pave the way for his intended conversion of his people, it was necessary to undeceive them with regard to the late rumour of a popish plot; and Oates, the contriver, was the first object of royal indignation. He was tried for perjury on two indictments. One, for swearing that he was present at a consultation of Jesuits in London the twenty-fourth of April, 1679; and another for swearing that father Ireland was in London in the beginning of September of the same year. He was convicted on the evidence of above two and twenty persons on the first, and of twenty-seven on the latter indictment. His sentence was to pay a fine of a thousand marks on each indictment; to be whipped, on two different days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Oates, long accustomed to a life of infamy and

struggle, supported himself under every punishment that justice could inflict. He avowed his innocence; called Heaven to witness his veracity; and he knew that there was a large party who were willing to take his word. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it appeared evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that dreadful punishment, yet Oates survived it all, and lived to king William's reign, when he had a pension of four hundred pounds a year settled upon him. Thus Oates remains as a stain upon the times in every part of his conduct. It is a stain upon them that he was first believed; it is a stain upon them that he was caressed, that he was tyrannically punished, and that he was afterwards rewarded.

The duke of Monmouth, who had been, since his last conspiracy, pardoned, but ordered to depart the kingdom, had retired to Holland. Being dismissed from that country, by the prince of Orange, upon James's accession, he went to Brussels, where, finding himself still pursued by the king's severity, he resolved to retaliate, and make an attempt upon the kingdom. He had ever been the darling of the people; and some averred that Charles had married the duke's mother, and owned his legitimacy at his death. The earl of Argyle seconded his views in Scotland, and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection; so that while Monmouth should attempt to make a rising in the West, Argyle was also to try his endeavours in the North.

Argyle was the first who landed in Scotland, where he published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and strove to influence the people in his cause. But a formidable body of the king's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken prisoner by a peasant, who found him standing up to his neck in a pool of water. He was then carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed.

The fate of Argyle was but a bad encouragement to the unfortunate Monmouth, who landed in Dorsetshire with scarcely a hundred followers. However, his name was so popular, and so great was the hatred of the people both for the person and religion of James, that in four days he had assembled a body of above two thousand men. They were indeed all of them the lowest of

the people, and his declarations were suited entirely to their prejudices. He called the king the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, a murderer, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey and Essex, and even the poisoning the late king.

The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty, zeal, and assistance. The duke of Albemarle, raising a body of four thousand militia, advanced, in order to block him up in Lyme; but finding his soldiers disaffected to the king, he soon after retreated with precipitation.

In the mean time the duke advanced to Taunton, where he was reinforced by considerable numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours, their handy-work, together with a copy of the Bible. There he assumed the title of king, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. His numbers had now increased to six thousand men; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss numbers who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome, and was proclaimed in all those places; but he lost the hour of action, in receiving and claiming these empty honours.

The king was not a little alarmed at his invasion; but still more at the success of an undertaking that at first appeared so desperate. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland, and a body of regulars, to the number of three thousand men, were sent, under the command of the earl of Feversham, and Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels. They took post at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, and were joined by the militia of the country in considerable numbers. It was there that Monmouth resolved, by a desperate effort, to lose his life or gain the kingdom. The negligent disposition made by Feversham invited him to the attack; and his faithful followers showed what courage and principle could do against discipline and superior numbers. They drove the royal infantry from their ground, and were upon the point of gaining the victory, when the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of lord Grey, who commanded the horse, brought all to ruin. This nobleman fled at the first onset; and the rebels being charged in flank by the victorious army, gave way, after three hours' contest. About three

hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit; and thus ended an enterprise rashly begun and feebly conducted.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him; he then exchanged clothes with a shepherd, and fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they both lay down in a field, and covered themselves with fern. The discovery of the shepherd in Monmouth's clothes increased the diligence of the search; and by the means of blood-hounds he was detected in his miserable situation with raw pease in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and petitioned, with abject submission, for life. He wrote the most submissive letters to the king; and that monarch, willing to feast his eyes with the miseries of a fallen enemy, gave him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most humiliating terms. He even signed a paper, offered him by the king, declaring his own illegitimacy; and then the stern tyrant assured him, that his crime was of such a nature as could not be pardoned. The duke, perceiving that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose up, and retired with an air of disdain. He was followed to the scaffold with great compassion from the populace. He warned the executioner not to fall into the same error which he had committed in beheading Russel, where it had been necessary to redouble the blow. But this only increased the severity of his punishment. The man was seized with an universal trepidation, and he struck a feeble blow; upon which the duke raised his head from the block, as if to reproach him; he gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He at last threw the axe down; but the sheriff compelled him to resume the attempt, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body. Such was the end of James, duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and consequently seduced into an enterprise which exceeded his capacity.

But it would have been well for the insurgents, and fortunate

for the king, if the blood that was now shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle. The earl of Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged up above twenty prisoners; and he was proceeding in his executions, when the bishop of Bath and Wells warned him that these unhappy men were now by law entitled to trial, and that their execution would be deemed a real murder. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, a man of a savage and bloody disposition. This vile fellow, practised in the arts of slaughter at Tangier, where he had served in garrison, took a pleasure in committing instances of wanton barbarity. He ordered a certain number to be put to death, while he and his company were drinking the king's health. Observing their feet to shake in the agonies of death, he cried that they should have music to their dancing, and ordered the trumpets to sound. He ravaged the whole country, without making any distinction between friend or foe. His own regiment, for their peculiar barbarity, went by the name of Kirke's Lambs. A story is told of his offering a young woman the life of her brother, in case of her consenting to his desires, which when she had done, he showed her her brother hanging out of the window. But this is told of several others who have been notorious for cruelty, and may be the tale of malignity.

But the military severities of the commanders were still inferior to the legal slaughters committed by judge Jefferies, who was sent down to try the delinquents. The natural brutality of this man's temper was inflamed by continual intoxication. He told the prisoners that if they would save him the trouble of trying them they might expect some favour, otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity. Many poor wretches were thus allured into a confession, and found that it only hastened their destruction. No less than eighty were executed at Dorchester; and, on the whole, in the western counties, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. Women were not exempted from the general severity, but suffered for harbouring their nearest kindred. Lady Lisle, though the widow of a regicide, was herself a loyalist. She was apprehended for having sheltered in her house two fugitives

from the battle of Sedgemoor. She proved that she was ignorant of their crime when she had given them protection, and the jury seemed inclined to compassion: they twice brought in a favourable verdict; but they were as often sent back by Jefferies, with menaces and reproaches, and at last were constrained to give a verdict against the prisoner.

But the fate of Mrs. Gaunt was still more terrible. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she had extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels, knowing her humane character, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. The abandoned villain, hearing that a reward and indemnity were offered to such as informed against criminals, came in, and betrayed his protectress. His evidence was incontestable; the proofs were strong against her; he was pardoned for his treachery, and she burned alive for her benevolence.

The work of slaughter went forward. One Cornish, a sheriff, who had been long obnoxious to the court, was accused by Good-enough, now turned a common informer, and, in the space of a week, was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death, the perjury of the witnesses appeared so flagrant, that the king himself expressed some regret, granted his estate to the family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. Jefferies, on his return, was immediately created a peer, and was soon after vested with the dignity of chancellor. This showed the people that all the former cruelties were pleasing to the king, and that he was resolved to fix his throne upon severity.

It was not to be supposed that these slaughters could acquire the king the love or the confidence of his people; yet he thought this a very favourable juncture for carrying on his schemes of religion and arbitrary power. Such attempts in Charles, however unjust, were in some measure politic, as he had a republican faction to contend with; and it might have been prudent then to overstep justice, in order to obtain security. But the same designs in James were as imprudent as they were impracticable; the republicans were then diminished to an inconsiderable number, and the people were sensible of the advantages of a limited monarchy. However, James began to throw off the mask; and in the house of commons, by his speech, he seemed to think him-

self exempted from all rules of prudence or necessity of dissimulation. He told the house that the militia were found by experience to be of no use ; that it was necessary to augment the standing army ; and that he had employed many catholic officers, in whose favour he had thought proper to dispense with the test required to be taken by all intrusted by the crown : he found them useful, he said, and he was determined to keep them employed. These stretches of power naturally led the lords and commons into some degree of opposition ; but they soon acquiesced in the king's measures ; and then the parliament was dissolved for tardy compliance. This was happy for the nation ; for it was perhaps impossible to pick out another house of commons that could be more ready to acquiesce in the views of the crown.

The parliament being dismissed, the next step was to secure a catholic interest in the privy-council. Accord- [1686.]
ingly, four catholic lords were admitted ; Powis, Arundel, Bel-
lasis, and Dover. The king made no secret of his desires to have
his courtiers converted to his own religion ; and the earl of Sun-
derland, who saw that the only way to preferment was by popery,
scrupled not to gain favour at that price. Rochester, the treas-
urer, was discarded, because he refused to conform. In these
schemes, James was entirely governed by the counsels of the queen
and of his confessor, father Edward Petre, a Jesuit, whom he soon
after created a privy-counsellor. Even in Ireland, where the
duke of Ormond had long supported the royal cause, this noble-
man was displaced as being a protestant ; and the lord Tyrconnel,
a furious Roman catholic, was placed in his stead. The king one
day, in his attempts to convert his subjects, stooped so low as
colonel Kirke ; but this daring soldier told him that he was pre-
engaged, for he had promised the king of Morocco, when he was
quartered at Tangier, that if he should ever change his religion,
he would turn Mahometan.

It could not be expected that the favour shown by James to the
catholics would be tamely borne by the members of the English
church. They had hitherto, indeed, supported the king against
his republican enemies, and to their assistance he chiefly owed
his crown ; but finding his partiality to the catholics, the clergy
of the church of England began to take the alarm, and commenced
an opposition to court measures. The pulpits now thundered

against popery ; and it was urged that it was more formidable from the support granted it by the king. It was in vain that James attempted to impose silence on these topics : instead of avoiding the controversy, the protestant preachers pursued it with still greater warmth.

Among those who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one doctor Sharp, a clergyman of London, who declaimed with just severity against those who had been induced to change their religion by such arguments as the popish missionaries were able to produce. This being supposed to reflect upon the king, gave great offence at court ; and positive orders were given to the bishop of London to suspend Sharp till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The bishop refused to comply ; and the king resolved to punish the bishop himself for disobedience.

To effect his designs, he determined to revive the high-commission court, which had given the nation so much disgust in the times of his father, and which had been forever abolished by act of parliament. But the laws were no obstacles to James, when they combated his inclination. An ecclesiastical commission was issued out anew, by which seven commissioners were invested with a full and unlimited authority over the whole church of England. This was a blow to the church which alarmed the kingdom ; and could the authority of this court take place, the king's intentions of converting the nation would naturally follow. Before this tribunal, the bishop was summoned ; and not only he, but Sharp the preacher, were suspended.

The next step was to allow a liberty of conscience to all sectaries ; and he was taught to believe that the truth of the catholic religion would then, upon a fair trial, gain the victory. In such a case, the same power that granted liberty of conscience might restrain it, and the catholic religion alone be then permitted to predominate. He therefore issued a declaration of general indulgence, and asserted that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. In order to procure a favourable reception to this edict, he began by paying court to the dissenters, as if it had been principally intended for their benefit. But those sectaries were too cunning and suspicious to be so deceived. They knew that the king only meant to establish his own religion at the expense of theirs ; and that both his own temper, and the genius

of popery, had nothing of the true spirit of toleration in them. They dissembled, however, their distrust for a while; and the king went on silently applauding himself on the success of his schemes.

But his measures were caution itself in England, compared with those which were carried on in Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland, he ordered his parliament to grant a toleration to the catholics only, without ever attempting to intercede for the dissenters, who were much more numerous. In Ireland, the protestants were totally expelled from all offices of trust and profit, and the catholics were put in their places. Tyrconnel, who was vested with full authority there, carried over, as chancellor, one Fitton, a man who had been taken from a gaol, and who had been convicted of forgery and other crimes. This man, a zealous catholic, was heard to say, from the bench, that all protestants were rogues, and that, among forty thousand, there was not one who was not a traitor, a rebel, and a villain.

These severe measures had sufficiently disgusted every part of the British empire; but to complete his work, for James did nothing by halves, he publicly sent the earl of Castlemain, ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the pope, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic communion. Never was so much contempt thrown upon an embassy that was so boldly undertaken. The court of Rome expected little success from measures so blindly conducted. They were sensible that the king was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, that the king should be excommunicated, for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of popery that yet subsisted in England. The only proof of complaisance which the king received from his holiness, was his sending a nuncio into England, in return for the embassy that was sent to him.

This failed not to add to the general discontent; and the people supposed that he could never be so rash, as, contrary to express act of parliament, to admit of a communication with the pope, But what was their surprise, when they saw the nuncio make his public and solemn entry into Windsor: and [1687.] because the duke of Somerset refused to attend the ceremony, he

was dismissed from his employment of one of the lords of the bed-chamber !

But this was merely the beginning of the king's attempts. The Jesuits soon after were permitted to erect colleges in different parts of the kingdom ; they exercised the catholic worship in the most public manner, and four catholic bishops, consecrated in the chapel royal, were sent through the kingdom to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed through all parts of the kingdom. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders ; and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. Every great office the crown had to bestow was gradually transferred from the protestants ; Rochester and Clarendon, the king's brothers-in law, though they had been ever faithful to his interests, were, because protestants, dismissed from their employments. Nothing now remained but to open the doors of the church and universities to the intrusion of the catholics ; and this effort was soon after begun.

Father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the king to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. But his religion was a stumbling-block which the university could not get over ; and they presented a petition, beseeching the king to recal his mandate. Their petition was disregarded ; and the vice-chancellor being summoned to appear before the high-commission court, was deprived of his office ; yet the university persisted, and father Francis was refused. The king, thus foiled, thought proper at that time to drop his pretensions, but he carried on his attempts upon the university of Oxford with still greater vigour.

The place of president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, being vacant, the king sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, and a man of a bad character in other respects. The fellows of the college made very submissive applications to the king for recalling his mandate ; but, before they received an answer, the day came on which, by their statutes, they were required to proceed to an election. They therefore chose doctor Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption ; and, in order to punish them, some ecclesiastical commissioners were

sent down, who, finding Farmer a man of scandalous character, issued a mandate for an election. The person now recommended by the king was doctor Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of prostitute character, but who atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the catholic religion. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction; which so incensed the king, that he repaired to Oxford, and ordered the fellows to be brought before him. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience in the most imperious terms; and commanded them to choose Parker without delay. Another refusal on their side served still more to exasperate him; and finding them resolute in the defence of their privileges, he ejected them all, except two, from their benefices, and Parker was put in possession of the place. Upon this the college was filled with catholics; and Charnock, who was one of the two that remained, was made vice-president.

Every invasion of the ecclesiastical and civil privileges of the nation only seemed to increase the king's ardour for greater violations of right. A second declaration for liberty of conscience was published, almost in the same terms with [1688.] the former; but with this peculiar injunction, that all divines should read it after service in their churches. As he thus put it in the power of thousands to refuse, he armed against himself the whole body of the nation. The clergy were known universally to disapprove the suspending power; and they were now resolved to disobey an order dictated by the most bigoted motives. They were determined to trust their cause to the favour of the people, and that universal jealousy which prevailed against the encroachments of the crown. The first champions on this service of danger were Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. These, together with Sancroft the primate, concerted an address, in the form of a petition to the king, which, with the warmest expressions of zeal and submission, remonstrated that they could not read his declaration consistently with their consciences, or the respect they owed the protestant religion. This modest address only inflamed the king's resentment; and he blindly rushed into measures as precipitate as they were tyrannical. He was resolved not to let the slightest and most respectful contradiction pass unpunished. He received the petition with

marks of surprise and displeasure. He said to the bishops, that he did not expect such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them, and insisted on full obedience to his mandate. The bishops left his presence under some apprehensions from his fury, but secure in the favour of the people, and the rectitude of their intentions.

The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that, although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their respective districts, the audience could not hear them with any patience. One minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it, and therefore they might leave the church; a hint which was quickly adopted. It may easily be supposed that the petitioning bishops had little to dread from the utmost efforts of royal resentment.

As the petition was delivered in private, the king summoned the bishops before the council, and there questioned them whether they would acknowledge it? They for some time declined giving an answer; but being urged by the chancellor, they at last owned the petition. On their refusing to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and the crown-lawyers received directions to prosecute them for a seditious libel.

The king gave orders that they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion in their favour. The people were no sooner informed of their danger, than they ran to the river side, which was lined with incredible multitudes. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees; and some even ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon Heaven to protect them, and encouraging them to suffer nobly in the cause of religion. The bishops were not wanting, by their submissive and humble behaviour, to raise the pity of the spectators; and they still exhorted them to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded kneeled down before them, and implored their forgiveness. Upon landing, the bishops immediately went to the Tower chapel to render thanks for those afflictions which they suffered in the cause of truth.

The twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial ; and their return was still more splendidly attended than their imprisonment. Twenty-nine peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense crowd of people, waited upon them to Westminster-hall. The cause was looked upon as involving the fate of the nation ; and future freedom, or future slavery, awaited the decision. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Holloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the night. The next morning, they returned into court, and pronounced the bishops "not guilty." Westminster-hall instantly rang with loud acclamations, which were communicated to the whole extent of the city. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, where the king was at dinner in lord Feversham's tent. His majesty demanding the cause of these rejoicings, and being informed that it was nothing but the soldiers shouting at the delivery of the bishops ; "Call you that nothing?" cried he ; "but so much the worse for them."

If the bishops testified the readiness of martyrs in support of their religion, James showed no less ardour in his attempts toward the establishment of his own. Grown odious to every class of his subjects, he still resolved to persist ; for it was a part of his character, that those measures he once embraced he always persevered in pursuing. He dismissed the judges Powel and Holloway, who had favoured the bishops. He issued orders to prosecute all those clergymen who had not read his declaration ; and all had refused it, except two hundred. He sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura.

As he found the clergy every where averse to the harshness of his proceedings, he was willing to try next what he could do with the army. He thought if one regiment should promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to comply. He therefore ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty of conscience should lay down their arms. He was surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a few Roman catholic soldiers.

Opposition only served to inflame the zeal of this infatuated monarch. He was continually stimulated by the queen, and the priests about him, to go forward without receding. A fortunate circumstance happened in his family. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops, the queen was brought to bed of a son, who was baptized by the name of James. This would, if any thing could at any time, have served to establish him on the throne; but so great was the animosity against him, that a story was propagated that the child was supposititious, and brought to the queen's apartment in a warming-pan. Such was this monarch's pride, that he scorned to take any precautions to refute the calumny. Indeed all his measures were marked with the characters of pride, cruelty, bigotry, and weakness. In these he was chiefly supported by Father Petre, his confessor, an ambitious, ignorant, and intriguing priest, whom some scruple not to call a concealed creature belonging to the prince of Orange. By that prince's secret directions, it is asserted, though upon no very good authority, that James was hurried on, under the guidance of Petre, from one precipice to another, until he was obliged to give up the reins of that government which he went near to overthrow.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

JAMES II. (Continued.)

WILLIAM, prince of Orange, had married Mary, the eldest daughter of king James. This princess had been bred a protestant; and, as she was presumptive heir of the crown, the people tamely bore the encroachments of the king, in hopes that his protestant successor would rectify those measures he had taken towards the establishment of popery, and the extension of the prerogative of the crown. For this reason, the prince gave the king not only advice but assistance in all emergencies, and had actually supplied him with six thousand troops upon Monmouth's invasion. But now, when a young prince was born, that entirely excluded his hopes by succession, he lent more attention to the

complaints of the nation, and began to foment those discontents which before he had endeavoured to suppress.

William was a prince who had, from his earliest entrance into business, been immersed in dangers, calamities, and politics. The ambition of France, and the jealousies of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents, and to give him a propensity to intrigue. This great politician and soldier concealed beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a most violent and boundless ambition; all his actions were levelled at power, while his discourse never betrayed the wishes of his heart. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without ostentation, and politic without address. Disdaining the elegance and pleasures of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence, through his whole life he was indefatigable; and though an unsuccessful general in the field, he was a formidable negotiator in the cabinet. By his intrigues, he saved his own country from ruin, he restored the liberties of England, and preserved the independence of Europe. Thus, though neither his abilities nor his virtues were of the highest kind, there are few persons in history whose actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general interests of society and of mankind.

This politic prince now plainly saw that James had incurred the most violent hatred of his subjects. He was minutely informed of their discontents; and, by seeming to discourage, still farther increased them. He therefore began by giving Dyckvelt, his envoy, instructions to apply in his name to every sect and denomination in the kingdom. To the church-party he sent assurances of favour and regard; and protested that his education in Holland had no way prejudiced him against episcopacy. To the non-conformists he sent exhortations not to be deceived by the insidious caresses of their crown enemy, but to wait for a real and sincere protector. Dyckvelt executed his commission with such dexterity, that all orders of men cast their eyes towards Holland, and expected thence a deliverance from those dangers with which they were threatened at home.

The prince soon found that every rank was ripe for defection, and received invitations from some of the most considerable persons in the kingdom. Admiral Herbert, and admiral Russel, assured him in person of their own and the national attachment.

Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, went over to him with assurances of an universal combination against the king. Lord Dumblaine, son of the earl of Danby, being master of a frigate, made several voyages to Holland, and carried from many of the nobility tenders of duty, and even considerable sums of money, to the prince of Orange. Soon after the bishop of London, the earls of Danby, Nottingham, Devonshire, Dorset, and several other lords, gentlemen, and principal citizens, united in their addresses to him, and entreated his speedy descent.

The people of England, though long divided between Whig and Tory, were unanimous in their measures against the king. The Whigs hated him upon principles of liberty, the Tories upon principles of religion. The former had ever shown themselves tenacious of their political rights; the latter were equally obstinate in defence of their religious tenets. James had invaded both; so that for a time all factions were laid asleep, except the general one of driving the tyrant from the throne, which upon every account he was so ill qualified to fill. William determined to accept the invitations of the kingdom; and still more readily embarked in the cause, as he saw that the malcontents had conducted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

The time when the prince entered upon his enterprise was just when the people were in a flame from the recent insult offered to their bishops. He had before this made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, and the ships were then lying ready in the harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and sums of money raised for other purposes were converted to the advancement of this expedition. The Dutch had always reposed an entire confidence in him; and many of the neighbouring princes regarded him as their guardian and protector. He was sure of their protection of his native government, while he should be employed in England; and the troops of some of the German powers were actually marched down to Holland for that purpose. Every place was in motion: all Europe saw and expected the descent, except the unfortunate James himself, who, secure in the piety of his intentions, thought nothing could injure his schemes as they were calculated to promote the cause of heaven.

The king of France was the first who apprised him of his dan-

ger, and offered to assist him in repelling it. He was willing to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. James, however, could not be convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion: fully satisfied himself of the sacredness of his authority, he imagined that a like belief prevailed among his subjects. He therefore rejected the French king's proposal, unwilling perhaps to call in foreign aid, when he had an army sufficient at home. When this offer was rejected, Louis again offered to march down his numerous army to the frontiers of the Dutch provinces, and thus to detain their forces at home to defend themselves. This proposal met with no better reception. Still Louis was unwilling to abandon a friend and ally, whose interest he regarded as closely connected with his own. He ventured to remonstrate with the Dutch against the preparations they were making to invade England. They considered his remonstrance as an officious impertinence, and James himself declined his mediation.

James, having thus rejected the assistance of his friends, and being left to face the danger alone, was astonished with an advice from his minister in Holland, that an invasion was not only projected, but avowed. When he first read the letter containing this information, he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. He saw the gulf into which he had fallen, and knew not where to seek for protection. His only resource was in retreating from those various precipitate measures into which he had plunged himself. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for their common security. He replaced in all the counties the deputy-lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and penal laws. He restored the charters of different corporations; annulled the high-commission court; reinstated the president and fellows of Magdalen-college; and was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted.

But all his concessions were now too late. They were regarded as the symptoms of fear, not of repentance; as the cowardice of guilt, not the conviction of error. Indeed, he soon showed the people the uncertainty of his reformation; for, hearing that

the Dutch fleet was dispersed, he recalled those concessions which he had made in favour of Magdalen-college; and to show his attachment to the Romish church, at the baptism of his new-born son, he named the pope as one of the sponsors.

In the mean time the declaration of the prince of Orange was industriously dispersed over the kingdom. In this he enumerated all the grievances of which the nation complained; promised his assistance in redressing them; and assured the people that his only aim was to procure the lasting settlement of their liberty and their religion, in a full and free parliament. This declaration was quickly followed by preparations for a vigorous invasion. So well concerted were William's measures, that in three days above four hundred transports were hired, the army fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen, with all necessary stores; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men.

Fortune seemed at first every way unfavourable to his enterprise. He encountered a dreadful storm, which put him back; but he soon refitted his fleet, and once more ventured to England. It was given out that this invasion was intended for the coasts of France; and many of the English who saw the fleet pass along their coasts, little expected to see it land on their own shores. It happened that the same wind which sent them to their destined port, detained the English fleet in the river; so that the Dutch passed the straits of Dover without molestation. Thus, after a voyage of two days, the prince landed his army at the village of Broxholme in Torbay, on the fifth of November, which was the anniversary of the gun-powder treason.

Although the invitation from the English was very general, the prince for some time had the mortification to find himself joined by very few. He marched first to Exeter; but the inhabitants of the western counties had been so lately terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion, that they continued to observe a strict neutrality. Slight repulses, however, were not able to intimidate a general who had, from his early youth, been taught to encounter adversity. He continued for ten days in expectation of being joined by the malcontents, and at last began to despair of success; but just when he began to deliberate about re-embarking his forces, he was joined by sev-

eral persons of consequence, and the whole country soon after came flocking to his standard. The first person who joined the prince was major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel (son to the earl of Bedford), Wharton, Godfrey, Howe, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delaware took up arms in Cheshire; the earl of Danby seized York; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby; the nobility and gentry of Nottingham embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that general combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection of the army, which seemed almost universally tinctured with the spirit of the times. Lord Colchester, son of earl Rivers, was the first officer who deserted to the prince. Lord Lovelace was taken in the like attempt by the militia, under the duke of Beaufort. Lord Cornbury, son to the earl of Clarendon, carried off a considerable part of three regiments of cavalry to the prince. Several officers of distinction informed Feversham, in general, that they could not in conscience fight against the prince of Orange.

The defection of the officers was followed by that of the king's own servants and creatures. Lord Churchill had been raised from the rank of a page, and had been invested with a high command in the army; had been created a peer, and owed his whole fortune to the king's bounty; even he deserted among the rest, and carried with him the duke of Grafton, natural son to the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some others.

In this alarming defection, the unfortunate James, not knowing where to turn, and on whom to rely, began to think of requesting assistance from France, when it was now too late. He wrote to Leopold, emperor of Germany, but in vain. That monarch only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. James imagined that he might have some dependance on his fleet; but the officers and seamen in general were disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself.

He had by this time arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army; and he found that this body amounted to twenty thousand men. It is possible that, had he led these to the combat, without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour, and secured him on the throne. But he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the defection of those he most confided in took away his confidence in all, and deprived him even of the power of deliberation. It was no small addition to his present distress, that the prince of Denmark, and Anne, his favourite daughter, perceiving the desperation of his circumstances, resolved to leave him, and take part with the prevailing side. When he was told that the prince and princess had followed the rest of his favourites, he was stung with the most bitter anguish. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!"

During this distraction and perplexity, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army, and retiring towards London; a measure which could only serve to betray his fears, and provoke further treachery. Thus driven to the precipice of his fortunes, invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, despised by his subjects, and hated by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty, he assembled the few noblemen that still adhered to his interests. There in his forlorn council he demanded the advice of those he most confided in. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, father to lord Russel, who had been executed in the former reign by the intrigues of James, "My lord," said the king, "you are an honest man, have credit, and can do me signal service." "Ah, sir!" replied the earl, "I am old and feeble; I can do you but little service. I had indeed a son!" James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The king's fortune now exposed him to the contempt of his enemies; and his behaviour was such as could not procure him the esteem of his friends and adherents. He was naturally timid: and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or secretly attached to the prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of his father, and aggravated the turbulence and inconstancy of the people. They at length persuaded him to fly from a nation he could no longer

govern, and seek for refuge at the court of France, where he was sure of assistance and protection. The popish courtiers, and above all the priests, were sensible that they would be made the first sacrifice upon the prevalence of the opposite party. They were therefore desirous of taking James with them, as his presence would be still their honour and protection abroad.

The prince of Orange was no less desirous of the king's flying over to France than his most zealous counsellors could be. He was determined to use every expedient to intimidate James, and drive him out of the kingdom. He declined a personal conference with the king's commissioners, and sent the earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them. The terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty; and to urge his measures, he stopped not a moment in his march towards London.

The king, alarmed every day more and more with the prospect of a general disaffection, resolved to hearken to those who advised him to quit the kingdom. To prepare for this he first sent away the queen, who arrived safely at Calais, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself soon after disappeared in the night-time, attended only by sir Edward Hales, a new convert; and, disguising himself in a plain dress, went down to Feversham, where he embarked in a small vessel for France. But his misfortunes still continued to pursue him. The vessel was detained by the populace, who, not knowing the person of the king, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the earl of Winchelsea to return to London; where the mob, moved by his distresses, and guided by their natural levity, received him, contrary to his expectations, with shouts and acclamations.

Nothing could be more disagreeable to the prince of Orange than to hear that James was brought back, and, in some measure, triumphantly, to his capital. He had before taken measures to seize upon that authority which the king's dereliction had put into his hands. The bishops and peers, who were now the only authorised magistrates in the state, gave directions, in the present dissolution of government, for keeping the peace of the city. They issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the garrisons, and the army. They made applications to the prince,

whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. It was not, therefore, without extreme mortification, that he found the king returned to embarrass his proceedings.

The prince of Orange, however, determined to dissemble, and received the news of his return with a haughty air. His aim from the beginning was to push him by threats and severities to relinquish the throne; and his proceedings argued the refined politician. The king having sent lord Feversham on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference previous to the settlement of the throne; that nobleman was put under an arrest, on pretence of his wanting a passport. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall, where the king then lodged, and to displace the English. James was soon after commanded by a message, which he received in bed at midnight, to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the duchess of Lauderdale. He desired permission to retire to Rochester, a town not far from the sea-coast, and opposite France. This was readily granted him; and it was now perceived that the harsh measures of the prince had taken effect, and that James was meditating an escape from the kingdom.

The king, while he continued at Rochester, seemed willing to receive invitations to resume the crown; but the prince had not been at all this expense and trouble in taking him from a throne to place him there again. James therefore, observing that he was entirely neglected by his own subjects, and oppressed by his son-in-law, resolved to seek safety from the king of France, the only friend he had still remaining. He accordingly fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, and embarked for the continent. He arrived in safety at Ambleteuse in Picardy, whence he hastened to the court of France, where he still enjoyed the empty title of a king, and the appellation of a saint, which flattered him more.

After this manner, the courage and abilities of the prince of Orange, seconded by surprising fortune, effected the delivery of the kingdom. It now remained that he should reap the rewards of his toil, and obtain that crown for himself, which had fallen from the head of his father-in-law. Previously to any regular authority, he continued in the management of all public affairs,

By the advice of the house of lords, the only member of the legislature remaining, he was desired to summon a parliament by circular letters; but the prince, unwilling to act upon so imperfect an authority, convened all the members who had sitten in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles the Second, and to these were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. This was the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned, during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince, being thus supported by legal authority, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England, to choose a new parliament. His orders were universally complied with; every thing went on in the most regular peaceful manner, and the prince became possessed of all authority, as if he had regularly succeeded to the throne.

When the house met, which was mostly composed of the Whig party, after thanks were given to the prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them, they proceeded to the settlement of the kingdom. In a few days they passed a vote, by a great majority, which was sent up to the house of lords for their concurrence. It was to this effect: That king James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt the king and people; and having, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and the throne was thereby vacant. This vote readily passed the house of commons; but it met with some opposition in the house of lords, and was at length carried by a majority of two voices only.

Jan. 22,
1689.

The king being thus deposed, the next consideration was the appointment of a successor. Some declared for a regent; others proposed that the princess of Orange should be invested with regal power, and the young prince considered as supposititious. The debates ran high. A conference was demanded between the lords and commons, while the prince, with his usual prudence, entered into no intrigues either with electors or members, but kept a total silence, as if he had been no way concerned in the transaction. At last, perceiving that his own name was little

mentioned in these disputes, he called together the lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Danby, with a few more. He then told them that he had been called over to defend the liberties of the English nation, and that he had happily effected his purpose; that he had heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government; that, if they should choose a regent, he would never accept that office, the execution of which he knew would be attended with insuperable difficulties; that he would not accept the crown under the princess his wife, though he was convinced of her merits: that, therefore, if either of these schemes should be adopted, he would give them no further assistance in the settlement of the nation; but would return to his own country, satisfied with his aims to secure the freedom of theirs. This declaration produced the intended effect. After a long debate in both houses, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. It was agreed that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England, while the administration of government should be placed in the hands of the prince only. The marquis of Halifax, as speaker of the house of lords, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the name of the peers and commons of England. The prince accepted the offer in terms of acknowledgement; and that very day William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen of England.

CHAP. XXXIX.

WILLIAM III.

Feb. 13, 1689. **T**HE constitution, upon the accession of William to the crown, took a different form from what it had before. As his right to the crown was wholly derived from the choice of the people, they chose to load the benefit with whatever stipulations they thought requisite for their own security. His power was limited on every side; and the jealousy which his new subjects entertained of foreigners still farther obstructed the exercise of his authority. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with

the people. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents, which, previous to his coronation, William was obliged to confirm.

This declaration of rights maintained that the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by king James, were unconstitutional; that all courts of ecclesiastical commission, the levying money or maintaining a standing army in times of peace without consent of parliament, grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction, and juries of persons not qualified or not fairly chosen, or (in trials for treason) who were not freeholders, were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sovereign. It provided, that excessive bails should not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments be inflicted; and it concluded with an injunction that parliaments should be frequently assembled. Such was the bill of rights, calculated to secure the liberties of the people; but, having been drawn up in a ferment, it bears all the marks of haste, insufficiency, and inattention.

William was no sooner elected to the throne, than he began to experience the difficulty of governing a people who were more ready to examine the commands of their superiors than to obey them. From the peaceful and tractable disposition of his own countrymen, he expected a similar disposition among the English; he hoped to find them ready and willing to second his ambition in humbling France, but he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties.

His reign commenced with an attempt similar to that which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and which had excluded the monarch from the throne. William was a Calvinist, and consequently averse to persecution; he therefore began by attempting to repeal those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship; and though he could not entirely succeed in his design, a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The papists themselves, who had every thing to fear, experienced the lenity of his government; and though the laws against them were unrepealed, yet they were seldom put into rigorous execution. Thus, what was criminal in James became

virtuous in his successor, as James wanted to introduce persecution by pretending to disown it, while William had no other view than to make religious freedom the test of civil security.

Though William was acknowledged king in England, Scotland and Ireland were still undetermined. The revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of Whigs and Tories; but in Scotland it was effected by the Whigs almost alone. They soon came to a resolution, that king James had, to use their own expression, *forfaulted* his right to the crown, a term which, in the law-language of that country, excluded not only him, but all his posterity. They therefore quickly recognised the authority of William, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation.

Nothing now remained to the deposed king, of all his former possessions, but Ireland; and he had some hopes of maintaining his ground there, by the assistance which was promised to him from France. Louis XIV. had long been at variance with William, and took every opportunity to form confederacies against him, and to obstruct his government. On the present occasion, being either touched with compassion at the sufferings of James, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom, by promoting its internal dissensions, he granted the deposed monarch a fleet and some troops, to assert his pretensions in Ireland, the only part of his dominions that had not openly declared against him.

On the other hand, William was not backward in warding off the threatened blow. He was pleased with an opportunity of gratifying his natural hatred against France; and he hoped to purchase domestic quiet to himself, by turning the spirit of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy. The parliament, though divided in all things else, was unanimous in conspiring with him in this; a war was declared against France, and measures were pursued for driving James from Ireland, where he had landed, assisted rather by money than by forces granted him from the French king.

That unhappy prince, having embarked at Brest, arrived at Kinsale in March, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He found the appearances of things in that country equal to his most sanguine expectations. Tyrconnel, the lord-lieutenant, was devoted to his

interests; his whole army was steady, and a new one raised, amounting together to near forty thousand men. The protestants over the greatest part of Ireland were disarmed; the province of Ulster alone denied his authority; while the papists, confident of success, received him with shouts of joy, and with superstitious processions, which gave him still greater pleasure.

In this situation, the protestants of Ireland underwent the most oppressive and cruel indignities. Most of those who were attached to the revolution were obliged to retire into Scotland and England, or hid themselves, or accepted written protections from their enemies. The bravest of them, however, to the number of ten thousand men, gathered round Londonderry, resolved to make their last stand at that place for their religion and liberty. A few also rallied themselves at Enniskillen, and, after the first panic was over, became more numerous by the junction of others.

James continued for some time irresolute what course to pursue; but as soon as the spring would permit, he went to lay siege to Londonderry, a town of small importance in itself, but rendered famous by the stand which he made on this occasion. Colonel Lundie had been appointed governor of the town by William, but was secretly attached to king James; and at a council of war, prevailed upon the officers and townsmen to send messengers to the besiegers with an offer of surrender the day following. But the inhabitants, being apprised of his intention, and crying out that they were betrayed, rose in a fury against the governor and council, shot one of the officers whom they suspected, and boldly resolved to maintain the town, though destitute of leaders.

The town was weak in its fortifications, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick, and weaker still in its artillery, there being not above twenty serviceable guns upon the works. The new-made garrison, however, made up every deficiency by courage; one Walker, a dissenting minister, and major Baker, put themselves at the head of these resolute men; and thus abandoned to their fate, they prepared for a vigorous resistance. The batteries of the besiegers soon began to play upon the town with great fury; and several attacks were made, but always repulsed with resolution. All the success that valour could promise was on the side of the besieged; but they, after some time, found

themselves exhausted by continual fatigue; they were afflicted also with a contagious distemper which thinned their numbers; and as there were many useless mouths in the city, they began to be reduced to extremities for want of provision. They had even the mortification to see some ships, which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by a boom and by the batteries of the enemy. General Kirke attempted in vain to come to their assistance. All he could do was to promise them speedy relief, and to exhort them to bear their miseries a little longer, with assurances of a glorious termination of them all. They had now consumed the last remains of their provision; and supported life by eating horses, dogs, and all kinds of vermin, while even this loathsome food began to fail them. They had still further the misery of seeing above four thousand of their fellow-protestants, from different parts of the country, driven by Rosen, James's general, under the walls of the town, where they were kept three whole days without provisions. Kirke, in the mean time, who had been sent to their relief, continued inactive, debating with himself between the prudence and necessity of his assistance. At last, receiving intelligence that the garrison, sunk with fatigue and famine, had sent proposals of capitulation, he resolved upon an attempt to throw provisions into the place, by means of three victuallers, and a frigate to cover them. As soon as these vessels sailed up the river, the eyes of all were fixed upon them; the besiegers eager to destroy, and the garrison as resolute for their defence. The foremost of the victuallers at the first shock broke the boom, but was stranded by the violence of her own shock. Upon this, a shout burst from the besiegers, which reached the camp and the city. They advanced with fury against a prize which they considered as inevitable; while the smoke of the cannon on both sides wrapped the whole scene in darkness. But, to the astonishment of all, in a little time the victualler was seen emerging from imminent danger, having gotten off by the rebound of her own guns, while she led up her little squadron to the very walls of the town. The joy of the inhabitants, at this unexpected relief, was only equalled by the rage and disappointment of the besiegers, who were so dispirited by the success of this enterprise, that they abandoned the siege in the night, and retired with precipitation, after having lost

above nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed on to embark for England, with an address of thanks to king William, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Enniskilliners were no less remarkable than the former for the valour and perseverance with which they espoused the interests of William. And indeed the bigotry and cruelty of the papists upon that occasion were sufficient to rouse the tamest into opposition. The protestants, by an act of the popish parliament, under king James, were divested of those lands which they had possessed since the Irish rebellion. Two thousand five hundred persons of that persuasion, who had sought safety by flight, were found guilty of treason, and attainted. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free quarter; the people were plundered; the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of the citizens, were pillaged, to supply a quantity of brass, which was converted into coin, and passed, by royal mandate, for above forty times its real value. Not content with this, James imposed, by his own authority, a tax of twenty thousand pounds a month on personal property, and levied it by a commission under the great seal. All vacancies in public schools were supplied by popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off, and that institution converted into a popish seminary. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; many perished with hunger, still more from being forced from their homes during the severest inclemencies of the season.

But their sufferings were soon to have an end. William at length perceived that his neglect of Ireland had been an error that required more than usual diligence to redress. He was afraid to send the late king's army to fight against him, and therefore ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised for that purpose. These, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, together with the Enniskilliners, were appointed for the reduction of Ireland; and next to king William himself, Schomberg was appointed to command.

Schomberg was an officer of German extraction, who had long been the faithful servant of William, and had now passed a life

of eighty years almost continually in the field. The method of carrying on the war in Ireland, however, was a mode of operation with which he was entirely unacquainted. The forces he had to combat were incursive, barbarous, and shy; those he had to command were tumultuary, ungovernable, and brave. He considered not the dangers which threatened the health of his troops by being confined to one place; and he kept them in a low moist camp, near Dundalk, almost without firing of any kind; so that the men fell into fevers and fluxes, and died in great abundance. The enemy were not less afflicted with similar disorders. Both armies remained for some time in sight of each other, and at last the rainy season approaching, both, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the same time, and retired into winter quarters, without attempting to take the advantage of each other's retreat.

[1690.] The bad success of the campaign, and the miserable situation of the protestants in Ireland, at length induced king William to attempt their relief in person, at the opening of the ensuing spring; and he accordingly landed at Carrickfergus, where he found himself at the head of an army of six and thirty thousand effective men, which was more than a match for the forces of James, although they amounted to above ten thousand more.

William having received news that the French fleet had sailed for the coast of England, resolved, by measures of speed and vigour, to prevent the impression which that circumstance might make upon the minds of his soldiers; and therefore hastened to advance against James, who, he heard, had quitted Dublin, and had stationed his army at Ardee and Dundalk.

All the measures taken by William were dictated by prudence and valour; those pursued by his opponents seemed dictated by obstinacy and infatuation. They neglected to harass him in his difficult march from the North; they neglected to oppose him at the strong pass at Newry; as he advanced they fell back first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee; and at last they fixed their camp in a strong station, on the other side of the Boyne. It was upon the opposite banks of this river that both armies came in sight of each other, inflamed with all the animosities arising from religion, hatred, and revenge. The river Boyne at this place was

not so deep but that men might wade over on foot ; however, the banks were rugged, and rendered dangerous by old houses and ditches, which served to defend the latent enemy. William had no sooner arrived, than he rode along the bank of the river, in sight of both armies, to make proper observations upon the plan of battle ; but in the mean time, being perceived by the enemy, a cannon was privately brought out and planted against him, where he was sitting. The shot killed several of his followers ; and he himself was wounded in the shoulder. A report of his being slain was instantly propagated through the Irish camp, and even reached Paris ; but William, as soon as his wound was dressed, rode through the camp, and quickly undeceived his army.

Upon retiring to his tent, after the danger of the day, he continued in meditation till nine o'clock in the evening, when, for the sake of form, he summoned a council of war, in which, without asking advice, he declared his resolution to force a passage over the river the next morning. The duke of Schomberg attempted at first to expostulate with him upon the danger of the undertaking ; but finding his master inflexible, he retired to his tent with a discontented aspect, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune.

Early in the morning, at six o'clock, king William gave orders to force a passage over the river. This the army undertook in three different places ; and, after a furious cannonading, the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, though reckoned equal to any in Europe abroad, have always fought indifferently at home. After an obstinate resistance, they fled with precipitation, leaving the French and Swiss regiments, who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood aloof, during the action, on the hill of Donore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse ; and at intervals was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing those of the enemy, "O spare my English subjects !"

The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the protestants about one third of that number. The victory was splendid and almost decisive ; but the death of the duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing the water, seemed to outweigh the

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1690.

whole loss sustained by the enemy. This old soldier of fortune had fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years, and he died at the age of eighty-two. He was killed by a discharge from his own troops, who, not knowing that he had been accidentally hurried into the midst of the enemy, fired upon the body of men by whom he was surrounded, and mortally wounded him.

James, while his troops were yet fighting, quitted his station; and leaving orders to defend the pass at Duleek, he made the best of his way to Dublin, despairing of future success. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, that if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle with them over again.

This blow totally depressed the hopes of James. He fled to Dublin, advised the magistrates to obtain the best terms they could from the victor, and then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel fitted for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and he returned to retrieve his affairs abroad, while he deserted them in the only place where they were defensible.

His friends, however, were determined to second those interests which he himself had abandoned. Limerick, a [1691.] strong city in the province of Munster, still held out for the late king, and braved all the attempts of William's army to reduce it. Sarsfield, a popular and experienced general, put himself at the head of the army that had been routed at the Boyne, and went farther into the country to defend the banks of the river Shannon, where he resolved to await the enemy. James, who would not defend the country himself, determined that none but such as were agreeable to him should defend it. He therefore appointed St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the protestants in France, to command over Sarsfield, which gave the Irish universal discontent, as it showed that the king could neither rely on their skill nor their fidelity. On the other hand, general Ginckel, who had been appointed to command the English army in the absence of William, who was gone

over to England, advanced with his forces towards the Shannon, in order to pass that broad and dangerous river. The only place where it was fordable, was at Athlone, a strong walled town, built on both sides of the river, and defending that important pass. The part of the town on the hither side of the river was taken sword in hand by the English ; but the part on the opposite bank being defended with great vigour, for a while was thought impregnable. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a body of forlorn hope should ford the stream in the face of the enemy, which desperate attempt was performed with great resolution ; the enemy were driven from their works, and the town surrendered at discretion. St. Ruth marched his army to give relief, but too late ; for when he approached the walls, his own guns were turned against him. He no sooner saw this than his fears increased in proportion to his former confidence ; and dreading the impetuosity of a victorious enemy in his very camp, he marched off instantly, and took post at Aghrim, ten miles off. There he determined to await the English army, and decide the fate of Ireland at one blow.

Ginckel, having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his force did not exceed eighteen thousand men, while that of the enemy was above twenty-five thousand. The Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation, being drawn out upon a rising ground, before which lay a bog that, to appearance, was passable only in two places. Their right was fortified by entrenchments, and their left secured by the castle of Aghrim. Ginckel, having observed their situation, gave the necessary orders for the attack ; and, after a furious cannonading, the English army at twelve o'clock began to force the two passages of the bog, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed ; but at length the troops on the right, by the help of some field-pieces, carried their point. At six o'clock in the evening the left wing of the English army was advanced to the right of the Irish, and at length obliged it to give ground. In the mean time, a more general attack was made upon the centre ; the English, wading through the middle of the bog up to the waist in mud, and rallying with some difficulty upon the firm ground on

the other side, renewed the combat with great fury. At length St. Ruth being killed by a cannon ball, his fate so dispirited his troops, that they gave way on all sides, and retreated to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, after having lost above five thousand of the flower of their army. Limerick, the last retreat of the Irish forces, made a brave defence ; but soon seeing the enemy advanced within ten paces of the bridge foot, and perceiving themselves surrounded, they determined to capitulate ; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The catholics by this capitulation were restored to the enjoyment of those liberties in the exercise of their religion which they had possessed in the reign of king Charles the Second. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. In consequence of this, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought for king James went over into France, having transports provided by government for conveying them thither. When they arrived in France, they were thanked for their loyalty by king James, who told them that they should still fight for their old master ; and that he had obtained an order from the king of France for their being new-clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

In this manner all the expectations which might arise from the attachment of the Irish were entirely at an end ; that kingdom submitted peaceably to the English government, and James was to look for other assistance to prop his declining pretensions. His chief hopes lay in a conspiracy among his English adherents, and in the succours which were promised to him by the French king. The success of the conspiracy was the first to disappoint his expectations. This was originally hatched in Scotland by sir James Montgomery, a person who, from being an adherent to William, now turned against him ; but as the project was ill conceived, so it was lightly discovered by the instigator. To this another succeeded, which seemed to threaten more serious consequences, as it was chiefly managed by the Whig party, who were the most formidable in the state. A number of these joined themselves to the Tory party, and both made advances to the adherents of the late king. They assembled together ; and the result of their deliberations was, that the restoration of James

was to be entirely effected by foreign forces ; that he should sail for Scotland, and be there joined by five thousand Swedes, who, because they were of the protestant religion, it was thought would remove a part of the odium which attended an invasion by foreigners ; that assistance should at the same time be sent from France, and that full liberty of conscience should be proclaimed throughout the kingdom. In order to lose no time, it was resolved to send over two trusty persons to France to consult with the banished monarch ; and lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were the persons appointed for this dangerous embassy. Accordingly, Ashton hired a small vessel for this purpose ; and the two conspirators went secretly on board, happy in the supposed secrecy of their schemes ; but there had been previous information given of their intentions ; and lord Carmarthen had them both seized, just at the time they thought themselves out of all danger. The conspirators refused to inform ; their trials were therefore hurried on about a fortnight after they were taken, in order, by the terrors of death, to force a discovery. They were both condemned ; Ashton was executed, without making any confession ; lord Preston had not the same resolution. Upon an offer of pardon, he discovered a great number of associates, among whom the duke of Ormond, lord Dartmouth, and lord Clarendon, were foremost.

The reduction of Ireland, and the wretched success of the late conspiracy, made the French at last sensible of their impolitic parsimony in losing a kingdom, whose divisions would no longer be of use to them. They were willing, therefore, to concur with the fugitive king, and resolved to make a descent upon England in his favour. In pursuance of this scheme, the French king supplied James with an army consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scottish refugees, and the Irish regiments which had been transported from Limerick into France, now become excellent soldiers by long discipline and severe duty. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue, and [1692.] was commanded by king James in person. More than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the opposite English coast ; and Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent. His orders were, at all events, to attack the enemy, in

case they should oppose him ; so that every thing promised the banished king a change of fortune.

These preparations on the side of France were soon known at the English court, and every precaution taken for a vigorous opposition. All the secret machinations of the banished king's adherents were discovered to the English ministry by spies ; and by these they found, with some mortification, that the Tories were more faithful than even the Whigs, who had placed king William on the throne. The duke of Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, and even the princess Anne herself, were violently suspected of disaffection ; the fleet, the army, and the church, were seen mistaking their desire of novelty for a return of duty to their banished sovereign. However, preparations were made to resist the growing storm with great tranquillity and resolution. Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition ; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships ; an immense force, and what Europe had seldom seen before that time. At the head of this formidable squadron he set sail for the coast of France, and at last, near La Hogue, discovered the enemy under admiral Tourville, who prepared to give him battle. Accordingly the engagement began between the two admirals with great fury ; the rest of the fleet on each side followed the example. This memorable engagement lasted for ten hours, and all James's hopes depended on the event. Victory at last declaring on the side of numbers, the French fled for Conquet Road. The pursuit continued for two days following ; three French ships of the line were destroyed, and eighteen more burned by sir George Rooke, which had taken refuge in the bay of La Hogue. In this manner all the preparations on the side of France were frustrated ; and so decisive was the blow, that from that time France seemed to relinquish all claims to the ocean.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence ; his designs upon England were quite frustrated, so that nothing was left to his friends, but the hope of assassinating the monarch on the throne. These base attempts, as barbarous as they were useless, were not entirely disagreeable to the temper of James. It is said he encouraged and proposed them ; but they all proved unserviceable to his cause, and only ended in the destruction of the undertakers. From that time till he died, which was above

nine years, he continued to reside at St. Germain's, a pensioner on the bounties of Louis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter and friends in England. He died on the fifth day of September, in the year 1701, after having laboured under a tedious sickness; and many miracles, as the people thought, were wrought at his tomb. Indeed the latter part of his life was calculated to inspire the superstitious with reverence for his piety. He subjected himself to acts of uncommon penance and mortification. He frequently visited the poor monks of La Trappe, who were edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper seemed to have vanished with his greatness; he became affable, kind, and easy, to all his dependants; and, in his last illness, conjured his son to prefer religion to every worldly advantage—a counsel which that prince strictly obeyed. He died with great marks of devotion, and was interred, at his own request, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris, without any funeral solemnity.

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed king William's safety, and secured his title to the crown. The Jacobites were ever feeble, but they were now a disunited faction; new parties arose among those who had been friends to the revolution; and the want of a common enemy produced dissensions among themselves. William now began to find as much opposition and uneasiness from his parliament at home as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown was to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been the object of his wish, and the scope of his ambition, to humble the French, whom he considered as the most formidable enemies of that liberty which he idolized; and all his politics consisted in forming alliances against them. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same terrors of their increasing power. These, therefore, considered the interest of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connexions; and complained that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent were added the king's partiality to his own countrymen, his proud reserve, and his sullen silence, so unlike the behaviour of former kings. William little regarded those discontents which he knew must be consequent on all govern-

ment; accustomed to opposition, he heard their complaints with the most phlegmatic indifference, and employed all his attention only on the balance of power, and the interest of Europe. Thus, while he incessantly watched over the schemes of contending kings and nations, he was unmindful of the cultivation of internal polity; and as he formed alliances abroad, increased the influence of party at home. Patriotism began to be ridiculed as an ideal virtue; the practice of bribing a majority in parliament became universal; the example of the great was caught up by the vulgar; principle, and even decency, was gradually banished; talents lay uncultivated, and the ignorant and profligate were received into favour,

When he accepted the crown, the king was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, that share of prerogative which still was left him. He was as yet entirely unacquainted with the nature of a limited monarchy, which was not at that time thoroughly understood in any part of Europe, except England alone. He, therefore, often controverted the views of his parliament, and suffered himself to be directed by weak and arbitrary counsels. One of the first instances of this was in the opposition he gave to a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments to the space of three years. This bill had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent as usual: but the nation was surprised to find that the king was resolved to exert his prerogative on this occasion, and to refuse his assent to an act which was then considered as beneficial to the nation. Both houses took the alarm; the commons came to a resolution, that whoever advised the king to this measure was an enemy to his country; and the people were taught to echo their resentment. The bill, thus rejected, lay dormant for another season; but being again brought in, the king found himself obliged, though reluctantly, to comply.

The same opposition, and the same event, attended a bill for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with counsel to plead in his defence. It was further enacted, that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two faithful witnesses; a law that gave the subject a perfect security from the terrors of the throne.

It was in the midst of these laws, beneficial to the subject, that

the Jacobites still conceived hopes of restoring their fallen monarch ; and being uneasy themselves, supposed the whole kingdom shared their inquietudes. While one part proceeded against William in the bolder manner, by attempting to excite an insurrection, another, consisting of the most desperate conspirators, formed a scheme of assassination. Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, who had served as an officer in [1696.] James's army, a man of undaunted courage, which was still more inflamed by his bigotry to the religion of the church of Rome, undertook the bold task of seizing or assassinating the king. This design he imparted to Harrison, Charnock, Porter, and sir William Perkins, by whom it was approved ; and, after various consultations, it was resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he commonly hunted on Saturdays ; and the scene of their ambuscade was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-Green. To secure success, it was agreed that their number should be increased to forty horsemen, and each conspirator began to engage proper persons to assist in this dangerous enterprise. When their number was complete, they waited with impatience for the hour of action ; but some of the under actors, seized with fear or remorse, resolved to prevent the execution by a timely discovery. One Prendergast, an Irish officer, gave information of the plot, but refused to mention the persons who were concerned as associates in the undertaking. His information was at first disregarded ; but it was soon confirmed by La Rue, a Frenchman, and still more by the flight of sir George Barclay, who began to perceive that the whole was discovered. The night subsequent to the intended day of assassination, a considerable number of the conspirators were apprehended, and the whole discovery was communicated to the privy council. Prendergast became an evidence for the crown, and the conspirators were brought to their trial. The first who suffered were Robert Charnock, one of the two fellows of Magdalen college, who, in the reign of James, had renounced the protestant religion, lieutenant King, and Thomas Keys. They were found guilty of high-treason, and suffered at Tyburn. Sir John Friend, and sir William Perkins, were next arraigned ; and although they made a very good, and, as it should seem, a very sufficient defence, yet lord chief-justice Holt, who was too well known to act rather as counsel against the prisoners

than as a solicitor in their favour, influenced the jury to find them guilty. They both suffered at Tyburn with great constancy, denying the charge, and testifying their abhorrence of the assassination. In the course of the month, Rookwood, Cranbourne, and Lowic, were tried by a special commission as conspirators; and, being found guilty, shared the fate of the former. But the case of sir John Fenwick was considered as one of the greatest stretches of power exhibited during this reign. This gentleman, whose name had been mentioned among the rest of the conspirators, was apprehended in his way to France. There was little evidence against him, except an intercepted letter which he wrote to his wife. It is true, he offered to discover all he knew of a conspiracy against the king; but when he came to enter into the detail, he so managed his information, that it could affect no individual concerned. King William, therefore, sent over word from Holland, where he then was, that unless the prisoner could make more material discoveries, he should be brought to his trial. The only [1697.] material evidences against him, were one Porter, and Goodman: but of these lady Fenwick had the good fortune to secrete one, so that only Porter, a single witness, remained; and his unsupported evidence, by the late law, was insufficient to affect the life of the prisoner. However, the house of commons were resolved to inflict that punishment upon him which the laws were unable to execute. As he had, in his discoveries, made very free with the names of many persons in that house, admiral Russel insisted that he might have an opportunity of vindicating his own character in particular. Sir John Fenwick was ordered to the bar of the house, and there exhorted by the speaker to make an ample discovery. He refused, and a bill of attainder was preferred against him, which was passed by a large majority. He was furnished with a copy of the indictment, and allowed counsel at the bar of the house; and the law-officers of the crown were called upon to open the evidence. After much disputation, in which passion and revenge were rather attended to than reason, the bill was committed, and sent up to the house of lords, where sir John Fenwick was found guilty, by a majority only of seven voices. The prisoner solicited the mediation of the lords in his behalf, while his friends implored the royal mercy. The lords gave him to understand, that the success of his suit would depend

on the fulness of his discoveries. He would have previously stipulated for pardon, and they insisted on his trusting to their favour. He hesitated some time between the fears of infamy and terrors of death. At last he chose death as the least terrible; and he suffered beheading on Tower-hill with great composure. His death proved the insufficiency of any laws to protect the subject, when a majority of the powerful shall think proper to dispense with them!

This stretch of power in the parliament was in some measure compensated by their diligence in restraining the universal corruption that seemed at that time to prevail over the kingdom. They were assiduously employed in bringing those to justice who had grown wealthy by public plunder, and increasing the number of those laws which restrained the arts of speculation. The number of these, while they seemed calculated for the benefit of the nation, were in reality symptoms of the general depravity; for the more numerous the laws, the more corrupt the state.

The king, however, on his part, became at length fatigued with opposing the laws which parliament every day were laying round his authority, and gave up the contest. He admitted every restraint upon the prerogative in England, on condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War, and the balance of power in Europe, were all he knew, or indeed desired to understand. Provided the parliament furnished him with supplies for these purposes, he permitted them to rule the internal policy at their pleasure. For the prosecution of the war with France, the sums of money granted him were incredible. The nation, not contented with furnishing him such sums of money as they were capable of raising by the taxes of the year, mortgaged those taxes, and involved themselves in debts which they have never since been able to discharge. For all that profusion of wealth granted to maintain the imaginary balance of Europe, England received in return the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given their allies, particularly the Dutch, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

The war with France continued during the greatest part of this king's reign; but at length the treaty of Sept. 15,
1697. Ryswick put an end to those contentions in which England had

engaged without policy, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed entirely deserted ; and for all the treasures she had sent to the continent, and all the blood which she had shed there, the only equivalent she received was an acknowledgement of king William's title from the king of France.

The king, now freed from a foreign war, laid himself out to strengthen his authority at home ; but he showed that he was ill acquainted with the disposition of the people he was to govern. As he could not bear the thoughts of being a king without military command, he conceived hopes of keeping up, during peace, the forces that were granted him in time of danger, but what was his mortification to find the commons pass a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded, and that those retained should be natural-born subjects of England ! A monarch bred up in camps as he was, and who knew scarcely any other pleasure than that of reviewing troops and dictating to generals, could not think of laying down at once all his power and all his amusements. He professed himself, therefore, highly displeased with the vote of the commons ; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he [1699.] actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from this resolution, and persuaded him to consent to the enactment of the bill.

These altercations between the king and parliament continued during the remainder of this reign. William considered the commons as a body of men desirous of power for themselves, and consequently bent upon obstructing all his projects to secure the liberties of Europe. He seemed but little attached to any particular party in the house, all of whom, he found, at times deserted or opposed him. He therefore veered to Whigs and Tories indiscriminately as interest or immediate exigence demanded. He was taught to consider England as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. If he had any time for amusement or relaxation, he retired to Loo in Holland, where, among a few friends, he gave a loose to those coarse festivities, which alone he was capable of relishing. It was there he planned the different succession of the princes of Europe, and laboured to undermine the schemes and the power of Louis, his rival in politics and in fame.

However feeble his desire of other amusements might have been, he could scarcely live without being at variance with France. Peace had not long subsisted with that nation, when he began to think of resources for carrying on a new war, and for enlisting his English subjects in the confederacy. Several arts were used for inducing the people to second his aims ; and the whole nation at last seemed to join in desiring a war with that kingdom. He had been in Holland concerting with his allies operations for a new campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the prince of Hesse, who assured him, that, if he would besiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Castile, and divers other grandees of Spain, would declare for the house of Austria. The elector of Hanover had resolved to concur in the same measures ; the king of the Romans, and prince Louis of Baden, undertook to invest Landau, while the emperor promised to send a powerful reinforcement into Italy ; but death put a period to his projects and his ambition.

William was naturally of a very feeble constitution ; and it was by this time almost exhausted, by a series of continual disquietude and action. He had endeavoured to repair his constitution, or at least conceal its decays, by exercise and riding. On the twenty-first day of February, in riding to Hampton court from Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he was thrown with such violence, that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conveyed him to the palace of Hampton court, where the fracture was reduced, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach. The jolting of the carriage disunited the fracture ; but the bones were replaced under Bidloo his physician. This accident in a robust constitution would have been a trifling misfortune ; but in him it was fatal. For some time he appeared in a fair way of recovery ; but falling asleep on his couch, he was seized with a shivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa, which soon became dangerous and desperate. Perceiving his end approaching, the objects of his former care lay still next his heart ; and the fate of Europe seemed to remove the sensations he might be supposed to feel for his own. The earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from archbishop Tenison, he expired in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years. He March 8,
1702.

was in his person of a middle stature, a thin body, and a delicate constitution. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave solemn aspect. He left behind him the character of a great politician, though he had never been popular; and a formidable general, though he was seldom victorious. His deportment was grave, phlegmatic, and sullen: nor did he ever show any fire but in the day of battle. He despised flattery, yet loved dominion. Greater as the stadtholder of Holland than as king of England; to the one he was a father, to the other a suspicious friend. His character and success served to show that moderate abilities will achieve the greatest purposes, if the objects aimed at be pursued with perseverance, and planned without unnecessary or ostentatious refinement.

CHAP. XL.

ANNE.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, the more important every occurrence becomes; and those battles or treaties which in remoter times are deservedly forgotten, as we come down are necessary to be known, our own private interests being generally blended with every event; and the accounts of public welfare make often a transcript of private happiness. The loss of king William was thought at first irreparable; but the kingdom soon found that the happiness of any reign is to be estimated as much from the general manners of the times as the private virtues of the monarch. Queen Anne, his successor, with no very shining talents, and few exalted virtues, yet governed with glory, and left her people happy.

Anne, married to prince George of Denmark, ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, to the general satisfaction of all parties. She was the second daughter of king James by his first wife the daughter of chancellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon. As she had been taught in the preceding part of her life to suffer many mortifications from the reigning king, she had thus learned to conceal her resentments; and the natural

tranquillity of her temper still more contributed to make her overlook and pardon every opposition. She either was insensible of any disrespect shown to her, or had wisdom to assume the appearance of insensibility.

The late king, whose whole life had been spent in one continued opposition to the king of France, and all whose politics consisted in forming alliances against him, had left England at the eve of a war with that monarch. The present queen, who generally took the advice of her ministry in every important transaction, was upon this occasion urged by opposing counsels; a part of her ministry were for war, while another part as sincerely declared for peace.

At the head of those who opposed a war with France was the earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, first cousin to the queen, and the chief of the tory faction. This minister proposed in council that the English should avoid a declaration of war with France, and at most act as auxiliaries only. He urged the impossibility of England's reaping any advantage from the most distinguished success upon the continent, and exposed the folly of loading the nation with debts to increase the riches of its commercial rivals.

In the van of those who declared for prosecuting the late king's intentions of going to war with France, was the earl, since better known by the title of the duke, of Marlborough. This nobleman had begun life as a court-page, and was raised by king James to a peerage. Having deserted his old master, he attached himself in appearance to king William, but had still a secret partiality in favour of the Tories, from whom he had received his first employments. Ever willing to thwart and undermine the measures of William, he became a favourite of Anne for that very reason; she loved a man who still professed reverence and veneration for her father, and paid the utmost attention to herself. But Marlborough had still another hold upon the queen's affections and esteem. He was married to a lady who was the queen's peculiar confidante, and who governed her, in every action of life, with unbounded authority. By this canal, Marlborough actually directed the queen in all her resolutions; and while his rivals strove to advance their reputation in the council, he was more effectually securing it in the closet.

It was not, therefore, without private reasons that Marlborough supported the arguments for a vigorous war. It first gave him an opportunity of taking a different side of the question from the earl of Rochester, whose influence he desired to lessen; but he had, in the next place, hopes of being appointed general of the forces that should be sent over to the continent; a command that would gratify his ambition in all its varieties. He therefore observed in council, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements. He affirmed that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unless England would enter as a principal in the quarrel. His opinion preponderated; the queen resolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the house of commons, by whom it was approved, and war was proclaimed accordingly.

Louis XIV. once arrived at the summit of glory, but long since grown familiar with disappointment and disgrace, still kept spurring on an exhausted kingdom to second the views of his ambition. He now, upon the death of William, expected to enter upon a field open for conquest and fame. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted all his laurels and circumscribed his power; for even though defeated, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, the French monarch could not suppress his rapture; and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten their usual decency in the effusions of their satisfaction. The people at Paris openly rejoiced at the event; and the whole kingdom testified their rapture by every public demonstration of joy. But their pleasure was soon to have an end. A much more formidable enemy was now rising up to oppose them; a more refined politician, a more skilful general, backed by the confidence of an indulgent mistress, and the efforts of a willing nation.

The king of France was, in the queen's declaration of war, taxed with having taken possession of a great part of the Spanish dominions; with designing to invade the liberties of Europe; to obstruct the freedom of navigation and commerce; and with having offered an unpardonable insult to the queen and her throne, by acknowledging the title of the Pretender. He was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom, and thus endeavouring to destroy the equality of power that subsisted among the states of Europe.

This declaration of war on the part of the English was seconded by similar declarations from the Dutch and Germans, all on the same day. The French monarch could not suppress his anger at such a combination ; but his chief resentment fell upon the Dutch. He declared, with great emotion, that as for those gentlemen pedlars, the Dutch, they should one day repent their insolence and presumption in declaring war against one whose power they had formerly felt and dreaded. However, the affairs of the allies were no way influenced by his threats. Marlborough had his views gratified, in being appointed general of the English forces ; and he was equally flattered by the Dutch, who, though their countryman the earl of Athlone had a right to share the command, gave the English peer the chief direction of their army. And it must be confessed, that few men shone more, either in debate or action, than he ; serene in the midst of danger, and indefatigable in the cabinet : so that he became the most formidable enemy to France that England had produced since the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt.

A great part of the history of this reign consists of battles fought upon the continent, which, though of very little advantage to the interests of the nation, were very great additions to its honour. These triumphs, it is true, are passed away, and nothing remains of them ; but they are too recent to be omitted in silence, and the fame of them, though it be empty, still continues to be loud.

The earl of Marlborough had learned the first rudiments of the art of war under the famous marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He was, at first, rather more remarkable for the beauty of his person than the greatness of his talents, and he went in the French camp by the name of the Handsome Englishman ; but Turenne, who saw deeper into mankind, perceived the superiority of his talents, and prognosticated his future greatness. The first attempt that Marlborough made to deviate from the general practices of the army, which were founded in error, was to advance the subaltern officers, whose merit had hitherto been neglected. Regardless of seniority, wherever he found abilities, he was sure to promote them ; and thus he had all the upper ranks of commanders rather remarkable for their skill and talents, than for their age and experience.

In his first campaign, the beginning of July, he repaired to the camp at Nimeguen, where he found himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, well provided with all necessaries, and long disciplined by the best officers of the age. He was opposed, on the side of France, by the duke of Burgundy, grandson to the king, a youth more qualified to grace a court, than to conduct an army; but the real acting general was the marshal Boufflers, who commanded under him, an officer of courage and activity. But wherever Marlborough advanced, the French were obliged to retire before him, leaving all Spanish Guelderland at his discretion. The duke of Burgundy, finding himself obliged to retreat before the allied army, rather than expose himself longer to such a mortifying indignity, returned to Versailles, leaving Boufflers to command alone. Boufflers, confounded at the rapidity of the enemy's progress, retired towards Brabant, where Marlborough had no design to pursue; contented with ending the campaign by taking the city of Liege, in which he found an immense sum of money and a great number of prisoners. By the success of this campaign, Marlborough raised his military character, and confirmed himself in the confidence of the allies, naturally inclined to distrust a foreign commander.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, was received with the most flattering testimonies of public approbation. He was thanked for his services by the house of commons, and was created a duke by the queen. His good fortune seemed to console the nation for some unsuccessful expeditions at sea. Sir John Munden had permitted a French squadron of fourteen ships to escape him, by taking shelter in the harbour of Corunna; for which he was dismissed the service by prince George. An attempt was also made upon Cadiz by sea and land, sir George Rooke commanding the navy, and the duke of Ormond the land forces; but this also miscarried. The English arms, however, were crowned with success at Vigo. The duke of Ormond landed with five-and-twenty hundred men, at the distance of six miles from the town; and the fleet forcing its way into the harbour, eight French ships that had taken refuge there were burned or otherwise destroyed by the enemy, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English. Ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons, and above a million of money in silver, which was of more

benefit to the captors than to the public. The advantage acquired by this expedition was counterbalanced by the base conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Admiral Benbow, a bold, rough seaman, had been stationed in that part of the world with ten ships, to distress the enemy's trade. Being informed that Du Casse, the French admiral, was in those seas with a force equal to his own, he resolved to attack him; and soon after discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, steering along the shore. He quickly gave orders to his captains, formed the line of battle, and the engagement began. He found, however, that the rest of the fleet had taken some disgust at his conduct; and that they permitted him, almost alone, to sustain the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless the engagement continued till night, and he determined to renew it the next morning, but had the mortification to perceive that all the rest of the ships had fallen back, except one, who joined with him in urging the pursuit of the enemy. For four days did this intrepid seaman, assisted only by one ship, pursue and engage the enemy, while his cowardly officers, at a distance behind, remained spectators of his activity. His last day's battle was more furious than all the former; alone, and unsustained by the rest, he engaged the whole French squadron, when his leg was shattered by a cannon-ball. He then ordered that they should place him in a cradle upon the quarter-deck; and there he continued to give orders as before, till at last the ship became quite disabled, and was unfit to continue the chase. When one of his lieutenants expressed his sorrow for the loss of the admiral's leg, "I am sorry for it too," cried Benbow, "but I would rather have lost both my legs than see the dishonour of this day. But do you hear, if another shot should take me off, behave like brave men, and fight it out." He soon after died of his wounds; and his cowardly associates, Kirby and Wade, were tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be shot. Hudson died before his trial. Constable, Vincent, and Fog, came off with slighter punishment. Kirby and Wade were sent home in the Bristol man of war, and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship, by virtue of a warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time.

The next parliament, which was convened by the queen, was highly pleased with the glare of success which attended the En-

glish arms on the continent. The house of commons was mostly composed of the Tory party ; and, although they were not so friendly to the war as the Whigs, they voted forty thousand seamen, and the like number of land-forces to act in conjunction with those of the allies. It was never considered how little necessary these great efforts were either to the happiness or protection of the people ; they were exerted against the French, and that was an answer to every demand. A short time after, the queen gave the house of commons to understand, that the allies pressed her to augment her forces. The commons were as ready to grant as she to demand ; and it was resolved that ten thousand men should be added to the army on the continent, but upon condition that the Dutch should break off all commerce with France and Spain. The Dutch complied without hesitation ; sensible that while England fought their battles, they might a little relax their industry.

[1703.] The duke of Marlborough crossed the sea in the beginning of April, and, assembling the allied army, resolved to show that his former successes only spurred him on to new triumphs. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bonnè, the residence of the elector of Cologne. This held out but a short time against the successive attacks of the prince of Hesse-Cassel, the celebrated Coehorn, and general Fagel. He next retook Huy, the garrison of which, after a vigorous defence, surrendered prisoners of war. The siege of Limburg being then undertaken, the place surrendered in two days ; and, by the conquest of this place, the allies secured the country of Liege, and the electorate of Cologne, from the designs of the enemy. Such was the campaign in the Netherlands, which, in all probability, would have produced events of greater importance, had not the duke of Marlborough been restrained by the Dutch, who began to be influenced by the Lovestein faction, ever averse to a war with France.

The duke was resolved in his next campaign to act more offensively ; and, furnished with proper powers from the [1704.] queen, he informed the Dutch that it was his intention to march to the relief of the empire, which had been for some time oppressed by the French forces. The states-general, either willing to second his efforts, or fearing to weaken the alliance by distrust, gave him full power to march as he thought proper, with

assurances of their assistance in all his endeavours. The French king now appointed marshal Villeroy to head the army of opposition ; for Boufflers was no longer thought an equal to the enterprising duke.

Villeroy was son to the French king's governor, and had been educated with that monarch. He had been always the favourite of Louis, and had long been a sharer in his amusements, his campaigns, and his glory. He was brave, generous, and polite, but unequal to the great task of commanding an army ; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival. Marlborough, therefore, who was peculiarly famous for studying the disposition and abilities of the general he was to oppose, having no very great fears from his present antagonist, instead of going forward to meet him, flew to the succour of the emperor, as had been already agreed at the commencement of the campaign. The English general, who was resolved to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, traversed extensive countries by hasty marches, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians, stationed at Donawert to oppose him, then passed the Danube with his triumphant army, and laid the dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the enemy, under contribution. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motion, seemed all at once to have lost sight of his enemy ; nor was he apprised of his route, till informed of his successes. Marshal Tallard prepared by another route to obstruct the duke of Marlborough's retreat with an army of thirty thousand men. He was soon after joined by the Bavarian forces, so that the army in that part of the continent amounted to sixty thousand veterans, and commanded by the two best reputed generals then in France.

Tallard had established his reputation by many former victories ; he was active and penetrating, and had risen by his merits alone to the first station in the army. But his ardour often rose to impetuosity ; and he was so short-sighted as to be incapable of seeing objects at a very small distance. The duke of Bavaria was equally experienced in the field, and had still stronger motives for his activity. His country was ravaged and pillaged before his eyes, and nothing remained of his possessions but the army which he commanded. It was in vain that he sent entreaties to the enemy to stop the fury of their incursions, and to spare

his people : the only answer he received was, that it lay in his own power to make his enemies friends, by alliance or submission. To oppose these powerful generals, Marlborough was now joined by a body of thirty thousand men, under the conduct of prince Eugene, whose troops were well disciplined, but still more formidable by the conduct and fame of their general. Prince Eugene had been bred up from his infancy in camps ; he was almost equal to Marlborough in intrigue, and his superior in the art of war. Their talents were of a similar kind ; and, instead of any mean rivalry or jealousy between such eminent persons, they concurred in the same designs ; for the same good sense determined them always to the same object.

This allied army, at the head of which Eugene and Marlborough commanded, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men, troops that had long been accustomed to conquer, and that had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. The French, as was already observed, amounted to sixty thousand, who had shared in the conquests of their great monarch, and had been familiar with victory. Both armies, after many marchings and countermarchings, approached each other. The French were posted on a hill near the town of Hochstet ; their right covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim ; their left by the village of Lutzingen ; and their front by a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. It was in this advantageous position that the allied army resolved to attack them. As this engagement, which has since been known by the name of the battle of Blenheim, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, and the number and discipline of the troops, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail than I have usually allotted to such narrations.

The right wing of the French, which was covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim, was commanded by marshal Tallard. Their left, defended by another village, was commanded by the duke of Bavaria, and under him general Marsin, an experienced Frenchman. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, which seemed to defend them from an attack ; and in this position they were willing to await the enemy, rather than offer battle. On the other hand, Marlborough and Eugene were stimula-

ted to engage them at any rate, by an intercepted letter from Villeroy, who was left behind, intimating that he was preparing to cut off all communication between the Rhine and the allied army. The dispositions being made for the attack, and the orders communicated to the general officers, the allied forces advanced into the plain, and were ranged in order of battle. The cannonading began about nine in the morning, and continued to about half after twelve. Then the troops advanced to the attack; the right under the direction of prince Eugene, the left headed by Marlborough, and opposed to marshal Tallard.

Marlborough, at the head of his English troops, having Aug. 2,
1704. passed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard with great bravery. This general was at that time reviewing the disposition of his troops to the left; and his cavalry fought for some time without the presence of their commander. Prince Eugene on the left had not yet attacked the forces of the elector: and it was near an hour before he could bring up his troops to the engagement.

Tallard was no sooner informed that his right was attacked by the duke, than he flew to its head, where he found a furious encounter already begun; his cavalry being thrice driven back, and rallying as often. He had posted a large body of forces in the village of Blenheim; and he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a detachment of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry being attacked in flank, were totally defeated. The English army, thus half victorious, penetrated between the two bodies of the French, commanded by the marshal and elector, while at the same time the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this distressed situation, Tallard flew to rally some squadrons; but from his short-sightedness, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time prince Eugene, after having been thrice repulsed, threw the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such, that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing where they fled. The officers lost all their authority, and there was no general left to secure a retreat.

The allies now being masters of the field of battle, surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand men had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that were ever gained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube, and thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war. Of the allies, about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken. The loss of the battle was imputed to two capital errors committed by marshal Tallard ; namely, his weakening the centre by placing so large a body of troops in Blenheim, and his suffering the English to cross the rivulet, and form on the other side.

The next day, when the duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the marshal, intending a compliment, assured him that he had overcome the best troops in the world. "I hope, sir," replied the duke, "you will except those troops by whom they were conquered?" A country of a hundred leagues in extent fell by this defeat into the hands of the victors. Not contented with these conquests, the duke, soon after he had closed the campaign repaired to Berlin, where he procured a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy. Thence he proceeded to negotiate for succours at the court of Hanover, and soon after returned to England, where he found the people in a phrensy of joy. He was received as the deliverer of the state, as one who had retrieved the glory of the nation. The parliament and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him for his services by both houses ; an eulogium was pronounced upon his important services by the lord-keeper as he entered the house of lords. The queen was not only pleased with these marks of respect shown him, but also ordered the comptroller of her works to build in Woodstock-park a magnificent palace for the duke, which remains to this day a monument, as the best judges now begin to think, not less of his victories, than of the skill of the architect who raised it.

In the mean time, the arms of England were not less fortunate

by sea, than they had been upon the Danube. The ministry of England understanding that the French were employed in equipping a strong squadron at Brest, sent sir Cloudesly Shovel, and sir George Rooke, to watch their motions. Sir George, however, had further orders to convoy a body of forces in transport-ships to Barcelona, upon which a fruitless attack was made by the prince of Hesse. Finding no hopes, therefore, from this expedition, in two days after the troops were re-embarked, sir George Rooke, joined by sir Cloudesly, called a council of war on board the fleet as they lay off the coast of Africa. In this they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, a city then belonging to the Spaniards, at that time ill provided with a garrison, as neither expecting nor fearing such an attempt.

The town of Gibraltar stands upon a tongue of land, as the mariners call it, and defended by a rock inaccessible on every side but one. The prince of Hesse landed his troops, to the number of eighteen hundred, on the continent adjoining, and summoned the town to surrender, but without effect. Next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from the fortifications at a place called the South Mole-head, ordered captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. Those officers who happened to be nearest the mole immediately manned their boats without orders, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. But their exertions were premature; for the Spaniards sprang a mine, by which two lieutenants, and about a hundred men, were killed and wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains, Hicks and Jumper, took possession of a platform, and kept their ground, until they were sustained by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took a redoubt between the mole and the town by storm. Then the governor capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of the attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications. When the news of this conquest was brought to England, it was some time in debate whether it was a capture worth thanking the admiral for. It was at last considered as unworthy of public gratitude; and while the duke of Marlborough was extolled for useless services, sir George Rooke was left to neglect, and soon displaced from his command, for having so essentially served his country: a striking instance

that, even in the most enlightened age, popular applause is most usually misplaced. Gibraltar has ever since remained in the possession of the English, and continues of the utmost use in refitting that part of the navy destined to annoy an enemy, or protect our trade in the Mediterranean. Here the English have a repository capable of containing all things necessary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

Soon after the reduction of this important fortress, the English fleet, now become sovereign of the seas, to the number of three and fifty ships of the line, came up with a French fleet, to the number of fifty-two, commanded by the count de Thoulouse, off the coast of Malaga. This was the last great naval engagement in which the French ventured to face the English upon equal terms, all their efforts since being calculated rather for escape than opposition. A little after ten in the morning the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the afternoon, when the van of the French gave way. For two successive days the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the French fleet as cautiously declined, and at last disappeared totally. Both nations attempted to claim the honour of the victory upon this occasion; but the consequence decided it in favour of the English, as they still kept the element of battle.

The taking of Gibraltar was a conquest of which the Spaniards knew the loss, though we seemed ignorant of the value. Philip, [1705.] king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of that fortress, sent the marquis of Villadarias with a large army to retake it. France also sent a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; but a part of this was dispersed by a tempest, and part was taken by the English. Nor was the land army more successful. The siege continued for four months, during which time the prince of Hesse, who commanded the town for the English, exhibited many proofs of valour. At length the Spaniards having attempted to scale the rock in vain, finding no hopes of taking the place, were contented to draw off their men, and abandon the enterprise.

While the English were thus victorious by land and sea, a new scene of contention was opened on the side of Spain, where the ambition of the European princes exerted itself with the same fury that had filled the rest of the continent. Philip duke of An-

jou, grandson of Louis the Fourteenth, had been placed upon the throne of that kingdom, and had been received with the joyful concurrence of the greatest part of his subjects. He had also been nominated successor to the crown by the will of the late king of Spain. But in a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles, son of the emperor of Germany, was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guarantied by France herself, though she now resolved to reverse that consent in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles was still further led on to put in for the crown of Spain by the invitation of the Catalonians, who declared in his favour, and by the assistance of the English and the Portuguese, who promised to arm in his cause. Upon his way to his newly assumed dominion he landed in England, where he was received on shore by the dukes of Somerset and Marlborough, who conducted him to Windsor. The queen's deportment to him was equally noble and obliging, while, on his side, he gave general satisfaction, by the politeness and affability of his demeanour. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, and nine thousand men, for the conquest of that extensive empire. But the earl of Peterborough, a man of romantic bravery, offered to conduct them; and his single service was thought equivalent to armies.

The earl of Peterborough was one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age in which he lived. When very young, he fought against the Moors in Africa: he afterwards assisted in compassing the Revolution; and he now carried on the war in Spain almost at his own expense,—his friendship for the archduke Charles being one of his chief motives to this great undertaking. He was deformed in his person; but of a mind the most generous, honourable, and active. His first attempt upon landing in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to little more than nine thousand. The operations were begun by a sudden attack on Fort Monjuic, strongly situated on a hill that commanded the city. The out-works were taken by storm; and a shell chancing to fall into the body of the fort, the powder magazine was blown up. This struck the garrison that defended the fort with such consternation, that they surrendered without further resistance. The town still remained unconquered, but batteries

were erected against it, and after a few days the governor capitulated. During the interval, which was taken up in demanding and signing the necessary form upon these occasions, a body of Germans and Catalonians, belonging to the English army, entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor, who was treating then with the English general, thought himself betrayed, and upbraided that nobleman's treachery. Peterborough, struck with the suddenness of the transaction, left the writings unfinished, and, flying among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and then returned calmly back and signed the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led on to the spoil. The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place. The enemy endeavoured indeed to retake Barcelona, but were repulsed with loss, and the affairs of Philip seemed desperate. The party that acknowledged

[1706.] Charles was every day increasing. He became master of a considerable part of the kingdom; and the way to Madrid lay open to him. The earl of Galway entered that city in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles king of Spain, without any opposition. Such was the beginning of the war, as conducted by the allies in Spain; but its end was more unfortunate and indecisive.

In the mean time, the English paid very little regard to these victories; for their whole attention was taken up by the splendor of their conquests in Flanders; and the duke of Marlborough took care that they should still have something to wonder at. He had early in the spring opened the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, which was greater than what he had hitherto been able to muster. But still he expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia; and the court of France resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded their army, consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlémont, had orders to act upon the defensive; but, if compelled, to hazard an engagement. The duke, on the other hand, had received a slight repulse by the defection of prince Louis of Baden; and he resolved to retrieve his credit by some signal action. Villeroy had drawn up his forces in a strong camp; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne; his left was posted behind a marsh,

and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who perceived this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the left wing of the enemy could not pass the marsh to attack him but at a great disadvantage; he therefore weakened his troops in that quarter, and thundered on the centre with superior numbers. The enemy's centre was soon obliged to yield in consequence of this attack, and at length gave way on all sides. The horse, abandoning their foot, were so closely pursued, that almost all were cut to pieces. Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand were killed and wounded. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited; the city of Paris was in confusion. Louis, who had long been flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree as almost to excite the compassion of his enemies. He entreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them, and his very capital began to dread the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics could affect, was brought about by a party in England. The dissension between the Whigs and Tories in England saved France, now tottering on the brink of ruin.

CHAP. XLJ.

ANNE (Continued.)

THE councils of the queen had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; for though the duke of Marlborough had first started in the Tory interest, he soon joined the opposite faction, as he found them most sincere in their desires to humble the power of France. The Whigs still pursued the schemes of the late king; and, impressed with a republican spirit of liberty, strove to humble despotism in every part of Europe. In a government where the reasoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must alter as the people happen to change. The people in fact were begin-

ning to change. The queen's personal virtues, her successes, her deference for the clergy, and, in turn, their great veneration for her, began to have a prevailing influence over the whole nation. The people of every rank were not ashamed to defend the most servile tenets, when they tended to flatter or increase the power of the sovereign. They argued in favour of strict hereditary succession, divine right, and non-resistance to the regal power. The spirit of Toryism began to prevail; and the Whigs, who had raised the queen into greatness, were the first that were likely to fall by their own success.

The Tories, though joining in vigorous measures against the king of France, were, however, never ardently his enemies; they rather secretly hated the Dutch, as of principles very opposite to their own; and only longed for an opportunity of withdrawing from their friendship. They began to meditate schemes of opposition to the duke of Marlborough. They were taught to regard him as a self-interested man, who sacrificed the real advantages of the nation, in protracting a ruinous war, for his own private emolument and glory. They saw their country oppressed by an increasing load of taxes, which, by a continuance of the war, must inevitably become an intolerable burthen. Their secret discontents therefore began to spread; and the Tories wanted only a few determined leaders to conduct them in removing the present ministry.

[1707.] In the mean time, a pause of victory, or rather a succession of losses, began to dissipate the conquering phrensy which had seized the nation, and inclined them to wish for peace. The army under Charles in Spain was then commanded by the lord Galway. This nobleman, having received intelligence that the French and Spaniards, under the command of the duke of Berwick, were posted near the town of Almanza, advanced thither to give them battle. The conflict began about two in the afternoon, and the whole front of each army was fully engaged. The centre, consisting chiefly of battalions from Great Britain and Holland, seemed at first victorious; but the Portuguese horse (by whom they were supported), betaking themselves to flight on the first charge, the other troops were flanked and surrounded. In this dreadful emergency they formed themselves into a square, and retired to an eminence, where, being ignorant

of the country, and destitute of all supplies, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, to the number of five thousand men. This victory was complete and decisive; and all Spain, except the province of Catalonia, submitted to Philip.

An attempt was made upon Toulon, by the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene by land, and the English fleet by sea, but with as little success as in the former instance. The prince, with a body of thirty thousand men, took possession of the eminences that commanded the city, while the fleet attacked and reduced two forts at the entrance of the mole. But the French king sending an army to the relief of the place, and the duke of Savoy perceiving no hopes of compelling the city to a speedy surrender, he resolved to abandon his enterprize; and, having embarked his artillery, he retreated by night without any molestation.

The fleet under sir Cloudesly Shovel was still more unfortunate. Having set sail for England, and being in soundings on the twenty-second day of October, about eight at night a violent storm arising, his ship was dashed upon the rocks of Scilly, and every soul on board perished. The like fate befell three ships more, while three or four others were saved with the utmost difficulty. The admiral's body being cast ashore, was stripped and buried in the sand; but this being thought too humble a funeral for so brave a commander, it was dug up again, and interred with proper solemnity in Westminster-abbey.

Nor were the allies more prosperous on the Upper Rhine. Marshal Villars, the French general, carried all before him, and was upon the point of restoring the elector of Bavaria. The only hopes of the people lay in the activity and conduct of the duke of Marlborough, who opened the campaign in the Netherlands, about the middle of May. But even here they were disappointed, as in all the rest. That general, either really willing to protract the war, or receiving intelligence that the French army was superior in numbers, declined an engagement, and rather endeavoured to secure himself than annoy the enemy. Thus, after several marchings and countermarchings, which it would be tedious to relate, both armies retired into winter-quarters at the latter end of October. The French made preparations for the next campaign with recruited vigour. The duke of Marlborough returned to England, to meet with a reception which he did not at all expect.

Previous to the disgrace of the Whig ministry, whose fall was now hastening, a measure of the greatest importance took place in parliament; a measure that had been wished by many, but thought too difficult for execution. What I mean is the union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; which, though they had been governed by one sovereign since the accession of James the First, were still ruled by their respective parliaments, and often professed to pursue opposite interests and different designs. A union of both parliaments was at one time passionately desired by James. King Charles, his son, took some steps to effect this measure; but some apparently insurmountable objections lay in the way. This great task was reserved for queen Anne to accomplish, at a time when both nations were in good humour at their late successes, and the queen's title and administration were admitted and approved by all.

The attempt for a union was begun at the commencement of this reign; but some disputes arising relative to the trade of the East, the conference was broken up, and it was thought that an adjustment would be impossible. It was revived by an act of each parliament, granting power to commissioners named on the part of both nations, to treat of the preliminary articles of a union, which should afterwards undergo a more thorough discussion by the legislative body of both kingdoms. The choice of these commissioners was left to the queen; and she took care that none should be employed but such as heartily wished to promote so desirable a measure.

Accordingly, the queen having appointed commissioners on both sides, they met in the council-chamber of the Cock-pit, near Whitehall, which was the place appointed for their conferences. Their commissions being opened, and introductory speeches being pronounced by the lord-keeper of England and the lord-chancellor of Scotland, the conferences began. The Scottish commissioners were inclined to a federal union like that of the United Provinces; but the English were bent upon an incorporation, so that no Scottish parliament should ever have power to repeal the articles of the treaty. The lord-keeper Cowper proposed that the two kingdoms should be forever united into one, by the name of Great Britain; that it should be represented by one and the same parliament, and governed by the same hereditary monarch. The

Scotish commissioners, on their side, insisted that the subjects of Scotland should forever enjoy the same rights and privileges with those of England ; and that all statutes, contrary to the tenor of these privileges in either kingdom, should be repealed. As the queen frequently exhorted the commissioners to dispatch, the articles of this famous union were soon agreed to and signed by the commissioners ; and it only remained to lay them before the parliaments of both nations.

In this treaty it was stipulated, that the succession to the united kingdoms should be vested in the house of Hanover ; that they should be represented by one and the same parliament ; that all the subjects of Great Britain should enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages ; that they should have the same allowances and privileges with respect to commerce and customs ; that the laws concerning public right, civil government and policy, should be the same throughout the united kingdoms ; but that no alteration should be made in laws which concerned private right, except for the evident benefit of the subjects of Scotland ; that the court of session, and all other courts of judicature in Scotland, should remain, as then constituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the same authority and privileges as before the union ; that Scotland should be represented in the parliament of Great Britain, by sixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in such a manner as should be settled by the present parliament of Scotland ; that all peers of Scotland should be considered as peers of Great Britain, and rank immediately after the English peers of the like degrees at the time of the union, and before such as should be created after it ; that they should enjoy all the privileges of English peers, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, or sitting upon the trial of peers ; that all the insignia of royalty and government should remain as they were ; that all laws and statutes in either kingdom, so far as they might be inconsistent with the terms of these articles, should cease, and be declared void by the respective parliaments of the two kingdoms. These were the principal articles of the union ; and it only remained to obtain the sanction of the legislature of both kingdoms to give them authority ; but this was a much more difficult undertaking than it was at first imagined to be. It was not only to be approved by the parliament of Scotland, all the popular members

of which were averse to the union, but it was also to pass through both houses in England, where it was not a little disagreeable, except to the ministry, who had proposed it.

The arguments in these different assemblies were suited to the audience. To induce the Scottish parliament to come into the measure, it was alleged by the ministry, and their supporters, that an entire and perfect union would be the solid foundation of a lasting peace. It would secure their religion, liberty, and property, remove the animosities that prevailed among themselves, and the jealousies that subsisted between the two nations. It would increase their strength, riches, and commerce; the whole island would be joined in affection, and freed from all apprehensions of different interests. It would be enabled to resist all its enemies, support the protestant interest, and maintain the liberties of Europe. It was observed, that the less the wheels of government were clogged by a multiplicity of councils, the more vigorous would be their exertions. They were shown that the taxes which, in consequence of this union, they were to pay, were by no means so great proportionably as their share in the legislature; that their taxes did not amount to a seventieth part of those supplied by the English; and yet their share in the legislature was not a tenth part less. Such were the arguments in favour of the union, addressed to the Scottish parliament. In the English houses it was observed, that a powerful and turbulent nation would thus forever be prevented from giving them any disturbance; and that, in case of any future rupture, England had every thing to lose, and nothing to gain, against a nation that was courageous and poor.

On the other hand, the Scots were fired with indignation at the thoughts of losing their antient and independent government. The nobility found themselves degraded in point of dignity and influence, by being excluded from their seats in parliament. The trading part of the nation beheld their commerce loaded with heavy duties, and considered their new privilege of trading to the English plantations in the West Indies as a very uncertain advantage. In the English houses also it was observed, that the union of a rich with a poor nation would be always beneficial to the latter, and that the former could only hope for a participation of their necessities. It was said that the Scots reluctantly yielded to this

coalition, and that it might be likened to a marriage with a woman against her consent. It was supposed to be a union made up of so many unmatched pieces, and such incongruous ingredients, that it could never take effect. It was complained, that the proportion of the land-tax paid by the Scots was small and unequal to their share in the legislature.

To these arguments in both nations, beside the show of a particular answer to each, one great argument was used, which preponderated over all the rest. It was observed that all inconveniences were to be overlooked in the attainment of one great solid advantage,—that of acting with uniformity of counsels for the benefit of a community naturally united. The party, therefore, for the union prevailed, and this measure was carried in both nations, through all the obstacles of pretended patriotism and private interest; from which we may learn, that many great difficulties are surmounted, because they are not seen by those who direct the operation; and that schemes, which theory deems impracticable, will often succeed in experiment.

Thus, notwithstanding all opposition made by the Tories, every article of the union was approved by a great majority in the house of lords, which being sent to be ratified by the house of commons, sir Simon Harcourt, the solicitor, prepared the bill in such an artful manner as to prevent all debates. All the articles as they passed in Scotland were recited by way of preamble; and in the conclusion there was one clause, by which the whole was ratified, and enacted into a law. By this contrivance, those who were desirous of starting new difficulties found themselves disabled from pursuing their aim; they could not object to the recital, which was barely a matter of fact; and they had not strength sufficient to oppose all the articles at once, which had before passed with the approbation of the majority. It passed in the house of commons by a majority of one hundred and fourteen; it made its way through the house of lords a second time with equal ease, and when it received the royal sanction, the queen expressed the utmost satisfaction.

CHAP. XLII.

ANNE (Continued.)

IT is a little extraordinary, that through all the transactions relative to the union, the Tories violently opposed it; for they considered the Scots in a body as Whigs, and supposed that their interest would become more powerful by this association. But never were men more agreeably disappointed than the Tories were in this particular. The majority of the Scottish nation were so much dissatisfied with this measure, that they immediately joined in opposing the ministry by whom they were thus compelled to unite. The members themselves were not pleased with the scheme, and secretly strove to undermine those by whom their power had been thus established.

The body of English Tories were not less displeased with a union, of which they had not sagacity to distinguish the advantages. They had for some time become the majority in the kingdom, but found themselves opposed by a powerful coalition at court. The duchess of Malborough had long been in possession of the queen's confidence and favour, and turned the easiness of her mistress's temper to her own advantage, as well as that of her party. The duke of Marlborough was still at the head of the army, which was devoted to him. Lord Godolphin, his principal friend, was at the head of the treasury, which he managed so as entirely to co-operate with the ambition of the duke. But an unexpected alteration in the queen's affections was going to take place, which was entirely owing to their own mismanagement. Among the number of those whom the duchess had introduced to the queen, to contribute to her private amusement, was one Mrs. Masham, her own kinswoman, whom she had raised from indigence and obscurity. The duchess having gained the ascendant over the queen, became petulant and insolent, and relaxed in those arts by which she had risen. Mrs. Masham, who had her fortune to make, was more humble and assiduous; she flattered the foibles of the queen, and assented to her prepossessions and prejudices. She soon saw the queen's inclination to the opinions of the Tories, their divine right and passive obedience; and, in-

stead of attempting to thwart her as the duchess had done, she joined with her partiality, and even outwent her in her own way.

She began to insinuate to the queen that the Tories were by far the majority of the people; that they were displeased with a ministry that attempted to rule their sovereign, and had lavished the treasures of the nation on wars which they chose to carry on in order to continue in power. But though this intriguing woman seemed to act from herself alone, she was in fact the tool of Mr. Harley, secretary of state, who also, some time before, had insinuated himself into the queen's good graces, and who determined to sap the credit of Godolphin and Marlborough. His aim was to unite the Tory interest under his own shelter, and to expel the Whigs from the advantages which they had long enjoyed under government. Harley, better known afterwards by the title of lord Oxford, was a man possessed of uncommon erudition, great knowledge of business, and as great ambition. He was close, phlegmatic, and cool; but at the same time more fond of the splendors than the drudgeries of office.

In his career of ambition, he chose for his coadjutor Henry St. John, afterwards the famous lord Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and greater ambition, enterprising, restless, active, and haughty, with some wit and little principle. This statesman was at first contented to act in an inferior capacity, subservient to Oxford's designs. It was not till afterwards, when he understood the full extent of his own parts and influence, that he was fired with the ambition of being first in the state, and aspired to depress his first promoter.

To this junto was added sir Simon Harcourt, a lawyer. A man of great abilities. These uniting, exerted their endeavours to rally and reconcile the scattered body of the Tories; and diffused assurances among their partisans, that the queen would no longer bear the tyranny of a Whig ministry. She had ever been, they said, a friend in her heart to the Tory and high-church party, by which appellation this faction now chose to be distinguished; and to convince them of the truth of their assertions, the queen herself shortly after bestowed two bishopricks on clergymen who had openly condemned the revolution.

It was now perceived that the people began to be weary of the Whig ministry, whom they formerly ca- [1708.]

ressed. To them they imputed the burthens under which they groaned, burthens which they had been hitherto animated to bear by the pomp of triumph; but the load of which they felt in a pause of success. No new advantage had of late been shown them from the Netherlands. France, instead of sinking under the weight of the confederacy, as they had been taught to expect, seemed to rise with fresh vigour from every overthrow. The English merchants had lately sustained repeated losses, for want of proper convoys; the coin of the nation was visibly diminished, and the public credit began to decline.

The ministry were for a long time ignorant of those secret murmurings, or, secure in their own strength, pretended to despise them. Instead, therefore, of attempting to mitigate the censures propagated against them, or to soften the virulence of the faction, they continued to teaze the queen with remonstrances against her conduct; and upbraided her with ingratitude for those services which had secured her glory. The murmurs of the nation first found vent in the house of lords, where some complaints of the scarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the mismanagement of the navy, were supported by a petition from the sheriffs and merchants of the city, aggravating their losses by sea for want of convoys. It began now to be urged, that attacking France in the Netherlands was taking the bull by the horns,—attempting the enemy where it was best prepared for a defence. Harley was at the bottom of all these complaints; and though they did not produce an immediate effect, yet they did not fail of a growing and steady operation.

At length the Whig members of the administration opened their eyes to the intrigues of their pretended coadjutor. The duchess of Marlborough perceived, when it was too late, that she was supplanted by her insidious rival; and her husband found no other means of re-establishing his credit, but by openly opposing Harley, whom he could not otherwise displace. The secretary had lately incurred some suspicions, from the secret correspondence which one Gregg, an under-clerk in his office, kept up with the court of France. Gregg was executed, and the duke of Marlborough was willing to take advantage of this opportunity to remove Harley. He accordingly wrote to the queen, that he and lord Godolphin could serve her no longer, should the present sé-

cretary be continued in his place. The queen, no way regarding the secret intrigues of her ministers, was willing to keep them all in friendship, and endeavoured to appease the duke's resentment by every art of persuasion. But he was too confident of his own power, and continued obstinate in his refusal. The earl of Godolphin and the duke went so far as to retire from court, and the queen saw herself in danger of being deserted by her whole ministry. A sullen silence prevailed through the cabinet-council; and some were even heard to say, that no deliberations could be pursued in the absence of the duke and the lord-treasurer.

The queen now, for the first time, perceived the power which these two ministers had assumed over her councils. She found that they were willing to place and displace the servants of the crown at pleasure, and that nothing was left to her but to approve such measures as they thought fit to press upon her choice. She secretly, therefore, resolved to remove a ministry that had thus become odious to her; but in the present exigence she was obliged to give way to their demands. She sent for the duke of Marlborough, and told him that Harley should immediately resign his office; and it was accordingly conferred on Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer.

The first efforts of the Tory party being thus frustrated, Bolingbroke was resolved to share in his friend Harley's disgrace, as also sir Simon Harcourt, attorney-general, and sir Thomas Mansell, comptroller of the household, who all voluntarily relinquished their employments. Bolingbroke's employment of secretary at war was conferred upon Robert Walpole, a man who began to be considerable in the house of commons, and who afterwards made such a figure in the two succeeding reigns.

The duke seemed to triumph in the success of his resentment, not considering that by this step he entirely lost the confidence of the queen. He returned to prosecute his victories on the continent, where a new harvest of glory attended him, which, however, did not re-establish his power.

This violent measure, which seemed at first favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the foundation of its ruin. Harley was now enabled to throw off the mask of friendship, and to take more vigorous measures for the prosecution of his designs. In him the queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern

in the administration. The first triumph of the Tories, in which the queen discovered a public partiality in their favour, was seen in a transaction of no great importance in itself, but from the consequences it produced. The parties of the nation were eager to engage, and they wanted but the watch-word to begin. This was given by a man neither of abilities, property, nor power, but accidentally brought forward on this occasion.

Henry Sacheverel was a clergyman bred at Oxford, of narrow intellects, and an overheated imagination. He had acquired some popularity among those who distinguished themselves by the name of high-church men, and had taken all occasions to vent his animosity against the dissenters. At the summer assizes at Derby he had held forth in that strain before the judges. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation, defended the doctrine of non-resistance, inveighed against the toleration of dissenters, declared the church was dangerously attacked by its enemies, and slightly defended by its false friends. He sounded the trumpet for the zealous, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God. Sir Samuel Gerard, lord-mayor, countenanced this harangue, which, though very weak both in the matter and style, was published under his protection, and extolled by the Tories as a master-piece of writing. These sermons owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and they are now deservedly neglected.

[1709.] Mr. Dolben, son to the archbishop of York, laid a complaint before the house of commons against these rhapsodies, and thus gave force to what would have soon been forgotten. The most violent paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Sacheverel was brought to the bar of the house; and he, far from disowning the writing of them, gloried in what he had done, and mentioned the encouragement he had received to publish them from the lord-mayor, who was then present. Being ordered to withdraw, it was resolved to impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the house of lords; and Mr. Dolben was fixed upon to conduct the prosecution, in the name of the commons of all England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment; Sacheverel was taken into custody, and a day appointed for his trial before the lords in Westminster-hall.

Meanwhile the Tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the commons had been in his prosecution. They boldly affirmed, that the Whigs had formed a design to pull down the church, and that this prosecution was intended to try their strength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. The clergy did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers ; while emissaries were employed to raise a ferment among the populace, already prepared for discontent, arising from a scarcity of provisions, which at that time prevailed in almost every country of Europe. The dangers were magnified to which the church was exposed from dissenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates. These they represented as the authors of a ruinous war, that brought on that very dearth which they were then deploring. Such an extensive party declaring in favour of Sacheverel, after the articles were exhibited against him, the lords thought fit to admit him to bail.

The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon [1710.] this very extraordinary trial, which lasted three weeks, and excluded all other public business for the time. The queen herself was every day present as a private spectator, while vast multitudes attended the culprit each day as he went to the hall, shouting as he passed, or silently praying for his success. The managers for the commons were sir Joseph Jekyl, Mr. Eyre, solicitor-general, sir Peter King, recorder, general Stanhope, sir Thomas Barker, and Mr. Walpole. The doctor was defended by sir Simon Harcourt, and Mr. Phipps, assisted by Dr. Atterbury, Dr. Smallridge, and Dr. Friend. While the trial continued, nothing could exceed the violence and outrage of the populace. They surrounded the queen's sedan, exclaiming, " God bless your majesty and the church ! we hope your majesty is for doctor Sacheverel." They destroyed several meeting-houses, plundered the dwellings of many eminent dissenters, and even proposed to attack the Bank. The queen, in compliance with the request of the commons, published a proclamation for suppressing the tumults ; and several persons being apprehended, were tried for high-treason. Two were convicted, and sentenced to die ; but neither suffered.

When the commons had gone through their charge, the managers for Sacheverel undertook his defence with great art and elo-

quence. He afterwards recited a speech himself, which, from the difference found between it and his sermons, seems evidently the work of another. In this he solemnly justified his intentions towards the queen and her government. He spoke in the most respectful terms of the revolution, and the protestant succession. He maintained the doctrine of non-resistance as a tenet of the church in which he was brought up; and, in a pathetic conclusion, endeavoured to excite the pity of his audience. He was surrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was favoured by the queen herself, who could not but approve a doctrine that confirmed her authority and enlarged her power.

Those who are removed from the interests of that period may be apt to regard with wonder so great a contest from so slight a cause; but, in fact, the spirit of contention was before laid in the nation, and this person only happened to set fire to the train. The lords, when they retired to consult upon his sentence, were divided, and continued undetermined for some time. At length, after much obstinate dispute, and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices; but no less than four-and-thirty peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching for three years; and his two sermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

The lenity of this sentence, which was, in a great measure, owing to the dread of popular resentment, was considered by the Tories as a triumph. They declared their joy in bonfires and illuminations, and openly avowed their rage against his persecutors. Soon after, he was presented to a benefice in North Wales, where he went with all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the university of Oxford, and many noblemen in his way, who, while they worshipped him as the idol of their faction, could not help despising the object of their adoration. He was received in several towns by the magistrates in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth he was met by one Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand men on horseback, and as many on foot, wearing white knots, edged with gold. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands, and the steeples

covered with streamers, flags, and colours. ‘The church and Dr. Sacheverel,’ was the universal cry; and a spirit of religious enthusiasm spread through the nation.

Such was the complexion of the times, when the queen thought proper to summon a new parliament; and being a friend to the Tories herself, she gave the people an opportunity of indulging themselves in choosing representatives to their mind. In fact, very few were returned but such as had distinguished themselves by their zeal against the Whig administration. The Whigs were no longer able to keep their ground against the voice of the people, and the power of the queen. Though they had entrenched themselves behind a very formidable body in the house of lords, and though by their wealth and family-connexions they had in a manner fixed themselves in office, yet they were now upon the edge of dissolution, and required but a breeze to blow them from their height, where they imagined themselves so secure.

The duke had some time before gone back to Flanders, where he led on the united armies to great, though dear-bought, victories. The French were dispirited indeed, and rather kept upon the defensive; but still, when forced to engage, they fought with great obstinacy, and seemed to gather courage as the frontiers of their own country became more nearly threatened.

Peace had more than once been offered, and treaties had been entered upon, and frustrated. After the battle of Ramillies, the king of France had employed the elector of Bavaria, to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough, containing proposals for opening a congress. He offered to give up either Spain and its dominions, or the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, to Charles of Austria, and to give a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands. But these terms were rejected. The Dutch were intoxicated with success; and the duke of Marlborough had every motive to continue the war, as it gratified not only his ambition but his avarice; a passion that obscured his shining abilities.

The duke was resolved to push his good fortune. At the head of a numerous army, he approached (in June 1708) the village of Oudenarde, where the French, in equal numbers, were posted. A furious engagement ensued, in which the French were obliged to retire, and took the advantage of the night to secure their retreat. About three thousand were slain on the field of battle, seven thou-

sand were taken prisoners, and the number of their deserters was not a few. In consequence of this victory, Lisle, the strongest town in all Flanders, was taken, after an obstinate siege. Ghent followed soon after; while Bruges and other Flemish towns were abandoned by their defenders. Thus this campaign ended with fixing a barrier to the Dutch dominions, and it now only remained to force a way into the provinces of the enemy.

The repeated successes of the allies once more induced the French king to offer terms of peace. In these he was resolved to sacrifice all considerations of pride and ambition, as well as the interests of his grandson of Spain, to a measure which had become so necessary and indispensable. A conference ensued, in which the allies rose in their demands, without, however, stipulating any thing in favour of the English. The demands were rejected by France; and that exhausted kingdom once more prepared for another campaign.

Tournay, one of the strongest cities in Flanders, was, in the next campaign, the first object of the operations of the allied army, which now amounted to one hundred and ten thousand fighting men. Though the garrison did not exceed twelve thousand men, yet the place was so strong both by art and nature, that it was probable the siege might last a considerable time. Nothing could be more terrible than the manner of engaging on both sides. As the besiegers proceeded by sapping, their troops that were conducting the mines frequently met with those of the enemy under ground, and furiously engaged in subterraneous conflicts. The volunteers presented themselves, in the midst of mines and countermines, ready primed for explosion, and added new horrors to their gloomy situation. Sometimes they were killed by accident, sometimes sprung up by design; while thousands of those bold men were thus buried at once by the falling in of the earth, or blown up into the air from below. At length, after an obstinate resistance, the town was surrendered upon conditions, and the garrison of the citadel soon after were made prisoners of war.

The bloody battle of Malplaquet followed soon after. The French army, under the conduct of the great marshal Villars, amounting to a hundred and twenty thousand men, were posted behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. They had fortified their situation in such a

manner with lines, hedges, and trees laid across, that they seemed to be quite inaccessible. What were the duke's motives for attacking them at such a disadvantage to himself are not well known ; but certainly this was the most rash and ill-judged attempt during all his campaigns. On the thirty-first of August, 1709, early in the morning, the allied army, favoured by a thick fog, began the attack. The chief fury of their impression was made upon the left of the enemy, and with such success, that, notwithstanding their lines and barricades, the French were in less than an hour driven from their entrenchments. But on the enemy's right the combat was sustained with much greater obstinacy. The Dutch, who carried on the attack, drove them from their first line, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter. The prince of Orange, who headed that attack, persisted in his efforts with incredible perseverance and intrepidity, though two horses had been killed under him, and the greater part of his officers slain and disabled. At last, however, the French were obliged to yield up the field of battle ; but not till after having sold a dear victory. Villars being dangerously wounded, they made an excellent retreat under the conduct of Boufflers, and took post near Le Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The conquerors took possession of the field of battle, on which twenty thousand of their best troops lay slain. Marshal Villars confidently asserted, that if he had not been disabled, he would have gained a certain victory ; and it is probable, from that general's former successes, that what he said was true. The city of Mons was the reward of this victory, which surrendered shortly after to the allied army ; and with this conquest the allies concluded the campaign.

Though the events of this campaign were more favourable to Louis than he had reason to expect, he still continued desirous of peace, and once more resolved to solicit a conference. He employed one Petkum, resident of the duke of Holstein at the Hague, to negotiate upon this subject ; and he ventured also to solicit the duke himself in private. However, as his affairs now were less desperate than in the beginning of the campaign, he would not stand to those conditions which he then offered as preliminaries to a conference. The Dutch inveighed against his insincerity for thus retracting his former offers ; not considering that he certainly had a right to retract those offers which they

formerly had rejected. They still had reasons for protracting the war, and the duke took care to confirm them in this resolution. Nevertheless, the French king seeing the misery of his people daily increase, and all his resources fail, continued to humble himself before the allies; and by means of Petkum, who still corresponded from the Hague with his ministers, implored the Dutch that the negotiation might be resumed. A conference was at length begun at Gertruydenberg, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorff; who were all three, from private motives, entirely averse to the treaty. Upon this occasion the French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification: spies were placed upon their conduct, their master was insulted, and their letters were opened. The Dutch deputies would hear of no relaxation, and no expedient for removing the difficulties that retarded the negotiation. The French commissioners offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war: they consented to abandon Philip of Spain; they agreed to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even were willing to grant a supply towards the dethroning of Philip; but all their offers were treated with contempt; they were therefore compelled to return home, after having sent a letter to the states, in which they declared that the proposals made by their deputies were unjust and impracticable, and complained of the unworthy treatment they had received. Louis resolved to hazard another campaign, not without hope that some lucky incident in the event of war, or some happy change in the ministry of England, might procure him more favourable concessions.

But though the duke, by these arts, protracted his power on the continent, all his influence at home was at an end. The members of the house of commons, that had been elected just after Sacheverel's trial, were almost universally Tories. From all parts of the kingdom addresses were sent and presented to the queen, confirming the doctrine of non-resistance; and the queen did not scruple to receive them with some pleasure. But when the conferences were ended at Gertruydenberg, the designs of the Dutch and English commanders were too obvious not to be perceived. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first rank in literary merit, and who still more chimed in with the popular opinion, displayed the avarice of the duke, and

the self-interested conduct of the Dutch. They pretended that while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests for the benefit of other nations, she was losing her liberty at home. They asserted that her ministers were not contented with the plunder of an impoverished state, but, by controlling their queen, were resolved to seize upon its liberties also.

A part of these complaints were true, and a part exaggerated; but the real crimes of the ministry, in the queen's eye, were their pride, their combinations, and their increasing power. The insolence of the duchess of Marlborough, who had hitherto possessed more power than the whole privy-council united, was now become insupportable to her. The queen had entirely withdrawn her confidence from her; she resolved to seize the first opportunity of showing her resentment, and such an opportunity was not long wanting.

Upon the death of the earl of Essex, who was colonel of a regiment under the duke, the queen resolved to bestow it on a person who, she knew, was entirely displeasing to him. She therefore sent him word that she wished he would give it to Mr. Hill, brother to her favourite Mrs. Masham, as a person every way qualified for the command. The duke was struck with this request, which he considered as a previous step to his own disgrace. He represented to the queen the prejudice that would redound to the service from the promotion of so young an officer, and the jealousy that would be felt by his seniors, never considering that he himself was a younger officer than many of those he commanded. He expostulated with her on this extraordinary mark of partiality in favour of Mrs. Masham's brother, who had treated him with such peculiar ingratitude. To all this the queen made no other reply, but that he would do well to consult his friends. He retired in disgust, and sat down to prepare a letter to the queen, in which he begged leave to resign all his employments.

In the mean time the queen, who was conscious of the popularity of her conduct, went to the council, where she seemed not to take the least notice of the duke's absence. The whole junto of his friends, which almost entirely composed the council, did not fail to alarm her with the consequences of disobliging so useful a servant. She therefore for some time dissembled her

resentment ; and even went so far as to send the duke a letter, empowering him to dispose of the regiment as he thought proper. But still she was too sensibly mortified at many parts of his conduct, not to wish for his removal ; yet for the present she insisted on his continuing in command.

She acted with less duplicity towards the duchess, who supposing, from the queen's present condescension, that she was willing to be pacified, resolved once more to practice the long-forgotten arts by which she rose. She therefore demanded an audience of her majesty, on pretence of vindicating her character from some aspersions. She hoped to work upon the queen's tenderness, by tears, entreaties, and supplications. But all her humiliations served only to render her more contemptible to herself. The queen heard her without exhibiting the least emotions of tenderness or pity. The only answer she gave to the torrent of the other's entreaties, was a repetition of an insolent expression used in one of this lady's own letters to her : " You desired
" no answer, and you shall have none."

It was only by insensible degrees that the queen seemed to acquire courage enough to second her inclinations, and depose a ministry that had long been disagreeable to her. Harley, however, who still shared her confidence, did not fail to inculcate the popularity, the justice, and the security of such a measure ; and in consequence of his advice, she began the changes, by transferring the post of lord-chamberlain from the duke of Kent to the duke of Shrewsbury, who had lately voted with the Tories, and maintained an intimate correspondence with Mr. Harley. Soon after the earl of Sunderland, secretary of state, and son-in-law to the duke of Marlborough, was displaced, and the earl of Dartmouth put in his room. Finding that she was rather applauded than condemned for this resolute proceeding, she resolved to become entirely free.

In these resolutions she was strengthened by the duke of Beaufort, who, coming to court on this occasion, informed her majesty that he came once more to pay his duty to the *queen*. The whole Whig party were in consternation ; they influenced the directors of the Bank, so far as to assure her majesty that public credit would be entirely ruined by this change in the ministry. The Dutch moved heaven and earth with memorials and

threats, should a change take place. However, the queen went forward in her designs : soon after the earl of Godolphin was divested of his office, and the treasury put in commission, subjected to the direction of Harley, who was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Rochester was declared president of the council, in the room of lord Somers. The staff of lord-steward being taken from the duke of Devonshire, was given to the duke of Buckingham ; and Mr. Boyle was removed from the secretary's office, to make way for Mr. Henry St. John. The lord-chancellor having resigned the great seal, it was first put in commission, and then given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The earl of Wharton surrendered his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland ; and that employment was conferred upon the duke of Ormond. Mr. Granville was appointed secretary of war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole ; and, in a word, there was not one Whig left in the office of the state, except the duke of Marlborough. He was still continued the reluctant general of the army ; but he justly considered himself as a ruin entirely undermined, and just ready to fall.

But the triumph was not complete, until the parliament had confirmed and approved the queen's choice. The queen, in her speech, recommended the prosecution of the war with vigour. The two houses were ardent in their expressions of zeal and unanimity. They exhorted her to discountenance all such principles and measures as had so lately threatened her royal crown and dignity. This was but an opening to what soon followed. The duke of Marlborough, who but a few months before had been so highly extolled and caressed by the representatives of the people, was now become the object of their hatred and reproach. His avarice was justly upbraided ; his protracting the war was said to arise from that motive. Instances were every where given of his fraud and extortion. These might be true ; but party had no moderation, and even his courage and conduct were called in question. To mortify the duke still more, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to the earl of Peterborough for his services in Spain, when they were refused to the duke for those in Flanders ; and the lord-keeper, who delivered them to Peterborough, took occasion to drop some reflections against the mercenary disposition of his rival.

In this ebullition of party-resentment, Harley, who first raised the ferment, still kept the appearance of moderation, and even became suspected by his more violent associates as a luke-warm friend to the cause. An accident increased his confidence with his own party, and fixed him for a time securely in the queen's favour. One Guiscard, a French officer, who had made some useful informations relative to the affairs of France, thought himself ill rewarded for his services to the crown by a precarious pension of four hundred pounds a year. He had [1711.] often endeavoured to gain access to the queen, but was still repulsed either by Harley or St. John. Enraged at these disappointments, he attempted to make his peace with the court of France, and offered his services in a letter to one Moreau, a banker in Paris. His letters, however, were intercepted, and a warrant issued out to apprehend him for high-treason. Conscious of his guilt, and knowing that the charge could be proved against him, he did not decline his fate, but resolved to sweeten his death by vengeance. Being conveyed before the council, convened at the Cock-pit, he perceived a penknife lying upon the table, and took it up without being observed by any of the attendants. When questioned before the members of the council, he endeavoured to evade his examination, and entreated to speak with Mr. Secretary St. John in private. His request being refused, he said, "That's hard! not one word!" Upon which, as St. John was out of reach, he stepped up to Mr. Harley, and crying out, "Have at *thee* then!" he stabbed him in the breast with the penknife which he had concealed. The blade of the knife broke upon the rib, without entering the cavity of the breast; nevertheless he repeated the blow with such violence that Harley fell to the ground. St. John perceiving what had happened, instantly drew his sword, and, others following his example, Guiscard was wounded in several places. But he still continued to strike and defend himself, till at last he was overpowered by the messengers and servants, and conveyed from the council-chamber, which he had filled with terror and confusion. His wounds, though dangerous, were not mortal; but he died of a gangrene, occasioned by the bruises which he had sustained. This unsuccessful attempt served to establish the credit of Harley; and as he appeared the enemy of France, no doubt was made of his being the friend of England.

This accident served to demonstrate the political rectitude of the ministry, with respect to the state. A bill which they brought in, and passed through both houses, served to assure the nation of their fidelity to the church. This was an act for building fifty new churches in the city and suburbs of London, and a duty on coal was appropriated for this purpose.

Nothing now remained of the Whig system, upon which this reign was begun, but the war, which continued to rage as fiercely as ever, and which increased in expense every year as it went on. It was the resolution of the present ministry to put an end to it at any rate, as it had involved the nation in debt almost to bankruptcy, and as it promised, instead of humbling the enemy, only to become habitual to the constitution. However, it was a very delicate point for the ministry, at present, to stem the tide of popular prejudice in favour of its continuance. The nation had been intoxicated with a childish idea of military glory, and panted for triumphs of which they neither saw nor felt the benefit. The pleasure of talking at their entertainments and meetings of their distant conquests, and of extolling the bravery of their acquaintance, was all the return they were likely to receive for a diminished people, and an exhausted exchequer. The first doubts of the expedience of continuing the war were introduced into the house of commons. The members made a remonstrance to the queen, in which they complained loudly of the former administration. They said, that in tracing the causes of the national debt, they had discovered great frauds and embezzlements of the public money. They affirmed that irreparable mischief would have ensued, if the former ministers had been suffered to continue in office ; and they thanked the queen for their dismissal.

Having thus prepared the nation, it only now remained to remove the duke of Marlborough from his post, as he would endeavour to traverse all their negotiations. But here again a difficulty started ; this step could not be taken without giving offence to the Dutch, who placed entire confidence in him ; they were obliged, therefore, to wait for some convenient occasion. But in the mean time, the duke headed his army in Flanders, and led on his forces against marshal Villars, who seemed resolved to hazard a battle. His last attempt in the field is said, by those who understand the art of war, to have excelled every former exploit.

He contrived his measures so, that he induced the enemy, by marching and countermarching, to resign, without a blow, a strong line of entrenchments, of which he unexpectedly took possession. The capture of Bouchain followed this enterprise, which capitulated after a siege of twenty days; and this was the last military expedition that the duke of Marlborough performed. And now, by a continuance of conduct and success, by ever advancing, and never losing an advantage, by gaining the enemy's posts without fighting, and the confidence of his own soldiers without generosity, the duke ended his campaigns, by leaving the allies in possession of a vast tract of country. They had reduced under their command Spanish Guelderland, Limbourg, Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault; they were masters of the Scarpe, and the capture of Bouchain had opened them a way into the very bowels of France. Upon his return from this campaign, he was accused of having taken a bribe of six thousand pounds a year from a Jew, who contracted to supply the army with bread; and the queen thought proper to dismiss him from all his employments.

This was the pretext of which his enemies made use; but his fall had been predetermined; and though his receiving such a bribe was not the real cause of his removal, yet candour must confess that it ought to have been so. The desire of accumulating money was a passion that attended this general in all his triumphs; and by this he threw a stain upon his character, which all his great abilities have not been able to remove. He not only received this gratuity from Medina the Jew, but he was also allowed ten thousand pounds a year from the queen; to this he added a deduction of two-and-a-half per cent. from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England: and all this over and above his ordinary pay as general of the British forces. Many excuses might have been given for his acceptance of these sums; but a great character ought not to stand in need of any excuse.

CHAP. XLIII.

ANNE (Continued.)

WAR seems, in general, more adapted to the temper and the courage of the Whigs than the Tories. The former, restless, active, and ungovernable, seem to delight in the struggle; the latter, submissive, temperate, and weak, more willingly cultivate the arts of peace, and are content in prosperity. Through the course of the English history, France seems to have been the peculiar object of the hatred of the Whigs; and a constitutional war with that country seems to have been their aim. On the contrary, the Tories have been found to regard that nation with no such opposition of principle; and a peace with France has generally been the result of a Tory administration. For some time, therefore, before the dismissal of Marlborough, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France and the new ministry. They had a double aim in bringing this about. It would serve to mortify the Whigs, and it would free their country from a ruinous and unnecessary war.

The motives of every political measure, where faction enters, are partly good, and partly evil. The present ministers were, without doubt, actuated as well by hatred on one hand, as impelled by a love of their country on the other. They hoped to obtain such advantages in point of commerce for the subjects of Great Britain, as would silence all detraction. They were not so mindful of the interests of the Dutch, as they knew that people to be but too attentive to those interests themselves. In order, therefore, to come as soon as possible to the end in view, the earl of Jersey, who acted in concert with Oxford, sent a private message to the court of France, importing the queen's earnest desire for peace, and her wish for a renewal of the conference. This intimation was delivered by one Gaultier, an obscure priest, who was chaplain to the Imperial ambassador, and a spy for the French court. The message was received with great pleasure at the French court, and an answer was returned, ardently professing the same inclinations. This led the way to a reply, and soon after to a more definitive memorial from the court of France,

which was immediately transmitted to the Dutch by the queen, for their approbation.

The states-general, having perused the French memorial, assured queen Anne that they were ready to join with her in contributing to the conclusion of a durable peace ; but they expressed a desire that the French king would be more explicit in his offers towards settling the repose of Europe. In order to give the Dutch some satisfaction in this particular, a previous conference between the French and English courts took place. Prior, much more famous as a poet than a statesman, was sent over with proposals to France ; and Menager, a man of no great station, returned with Prior to London, with full powers to treat upon the preliminaries. After many long and intricate debates, certain preliminary articles were at last agreed on, and signed by the English and French ministers, in consequence of a written order from her majesty.

The ministry having proceeded thus far, the great difficulty still lay before them, of making the terms of peace agreeable to all the confederates. The earl of Strafford, who had been lately recalled from the Hague, where he resided as ambassador, was now sent back to Holland, with orders to communicate to the pensionary Heinsius the preliminary proposals, to signify the queen's approbation of them, and to propose a place where the plenipotentiaries should assemble. The Dutch were very unwilling to begin the conference, upon the inspection of the preliminaries. They sent over an envoy to attempt to turn the queen from her resolution ; but finding their efforts vain, they fixed upon Utrecht as the place of general conference ; and they granted passports to the French ministers accordingly.

Many were the methods practised by the Dutch, as well as by the Germans, to frustrate the negotiations of this congress. The emperor wrote circular letters to the princes of the empire, exhorting them to persist in their former engagements. His ambassador in London procuring a copy of the preliminary articles, had them inserted in a common newspaper, in order to throw blame upon the ministry, and render their proceedings odious to the people. The Dutch began to complain of perfidy, and laboured to raise a discontent in England against the measures then in speculation. The Whigs in London did not fail to second

their efforts with all the arts of clamour, ridicule, and reproach. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons, were every day published by one faction, and, the next, were answered by the other. But the confederates took a step from which they hoped success from the greatness of the agent whom they employed. Prince Eugene, who had been long famous for his talents in the cabinet and in the field, was sent over with a letter from the emperor to the queen. But his intrigues and his arts were unable to prevail; he found at court, indeed, a polite reception, such as was due to his merits and his fame, but at the same time such a repulse as the private proposals he carried seemed to deserve. Still measures for the conference were going forward, and the ministry were determined to drive them on to a conclusion.

However, before we mention the result of this great congress, it may be necessary to apprise the reader, that many of the motives which first incited each side to take up arms were now no more. Charles of Austria, for whose cause England had spent so much blood and treasure, was, by the death of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph, placed on the Imperial throne. There was, therefore, every reason for not supporting his pretensions to the Spanish monarchy; and the same jealousy which invited him to that kingdom was necessary to be exerted in keeping him out of it. The elector of Bavaria, who was intimately connected with the French, was now detached from them; and the Dutch, who had trembled for their barrier, were encroaching upon that of the enemy. Thus accident and success gave almost every power, but France and England, all that war could ever grant; and though they should be crowned with the greatest successes, it was the interest of England that her allies should be reinstated in their rights, but not rendered too powerful.

The conferences began at Utrecht, under the conduct of Robinson, bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, and the [1712.] earl of Strafford, on the side of the English: of Buys and Vanderdussen, on the part of the Dutch; and of the marshal D'Uxelles, the cardinal Polignac, and M. Menager, in behalf of France. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy assisted, and the other allies sent also plenipotentiaries, though with the utmost reluctance. As England and France were the only two powers that were seriously inclined to peace, it may be supposed that all the

other deputies served rather to retard than advance its progress. They met rather to start new difficulties, and widen the breach, than to quiet the dissensions of Europe. The emperor insisted obstinately upon his claim to the Spanish monarchy, refusing to give up the least tittle of his pretensions. The Dutch adhered to the old preliminaries, which Louis had formerly rejected. They practised a thousand little arts to intimidate the queen, to excite a jealousy of Louis, to blacken the characters of her ministry, and to keep up a dangerous ferment among the people.

The English ministry were sensible of the dangerous and difficult task they had to sustain. The confederates were entirely against them; a violent and desperate party at home, who never let any government rest, except when themselves were in power, opposed; and none seconded their efforts heartily, but the commons, and the queen, whose health was visibly declining. They had, by a bold measure, indeed, secured the house of lords on their side, by creating twelve new peers in one day; and this turned the balance, which was yet wavering, in their favour. But in their present situation, dispatch was greatly requisite. In case of their sovereign's death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin for obeying her commands, unless time should be given to draw the people from the intoxication of their successes, and until the utility of their measures should be justified by the people's happy experience. Thus the peace was hastened, and this haste relaxed the rigour of the English ministers, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand.

With these views, finding multiplied obstructions from the deliberations of the allies, they set on foot a private negotiation with France. They stipulated certain advantages for the subjects of Great Britain, in a concerted plan of peace. They resolved to enter into such mutual confidence with the French, as would anticipate all clandestine transactions to the prejudice of the coalition. These articles were privately regulated between the two courts; but being the result of haste and necessity, they were not quite so favourable to the English interests as the sanguine part of the nation were taught to expect.

Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht proceeded so far as to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of

specific offers, which the confederates treated with indignation and contempt, who, on the other hand, drew up their specific demands, which were considered as highly extravagant by the ministers of France. Conference followed conference; but still the contending parties continued as remote from each other as when they began. The English, willing to include their allies, if possible, in the treaty, departed from some of their secret pretensions, in order to gratify the Dutch with the possession of some towns in Flanders. They consented to admit that nation into a participation of some advantages in commerce. The queen, therefore, finding the confederates still obstinately attached to their first preliminaries, gave them to understand, that, as they failed to co-operate with her openly and sincerely, and had made such bad returns for her condescension towards them, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements.

The first instance of displeasure which was shown to the confederates, was by an order given to the English army in Flanders not to act upon the offensive. Upon the dismissal of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond had been invested with the supreme command of the British forces; but with particular directions that he should not hazard an engagement. However, he joined prince Eugene at Tournay, who, not being let into the secret, advised an attack of Villars; but he soon found how affairs stood with his coadjutor. Ormond himself seemed extremely uneasy at his situation; and, in a letter to the secretary in England, desired permission to return home. But the confederates were loud in their complaints; they expostulated with the ministers at Utrecht upon so perfidious a conduct; but they were told that letters had been lately received from the queen, in which she complained, that as the states-general had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprised, if she thought herself at liberty to enter into separate measures to obtain a peace for her own advantage.

But the Dutch did not rest here. They had a powerful party in the house of lords, and there they resolved to arraign the conduct of the ministry. Lord Halifax descanted on the ill consequences of the duke of Ormond's refusing to co-operate with prince Eugene, and moved for an address to her majesty to loose the hands of the English general. It was urged that nothing could be more

disgraceful to the duke himself than being thus set at the head of an army without a power of acting. But earl Poulet replied, that though none could doubt of the duke of Ormond's courage, he was not like a certain general who led troops to the slaughter, in hopes that a great number of officers might be knocked on the head, that he might increase his treasures by disposing of their commissions. The duke of Marlborough, who was present, was so deeply affected at this malicious insinuation, that he sent the earl a challenge the next day ; but the nature of the message coming to the queen's ears, the duke was ordered to proceed no farther in the quarrel.

In the mean time the allies, deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued their animosity against the French, and were resolved to continue the war separately. They had the utmost confidence in prince Eugene, their general ; and though lessened by the defection of the British forces, they were still superior to those of the enemy, commanded by marshal Villars. But the loss of the British forces was soon severely felt by the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops, encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their entrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either destroyed or taken. The earl himself, and all the surviving officers, were made prisoners of war. These successes of Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The great obstacle which retarded that peace which France and England seemed so ardently to desire, was the settling the succession to the kingdoms of France and Spain. The danger that threatened the interests of Europe was, lest both kingdoms should be united under one sovereign ; and Philip, who was now king of Spain, stood next in succession to the crown of France, except with the interposition of one child (afterwards Louis XV.) who was then sickly. Philip, however, after many expedients, at last resolved to wave his pretensions to the French monarchy ; and the treaty went forward with rapidity and success.

In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created viscount Bolingbroke, was sent to the court of Versailles to remove all obstructions to the separate treaty. He was accompanied by Mr. Prior and the abbé Gaultier, and treated with the most distinguished marks of respect. He was caressed by the

French king, and the marquis de Torcy, with whom he adjusted the principal interests of the duke of Savoy and the elector of Bavaria. This negotiation being finished in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France.

In the mean time the articles of the intended treaty were warmly canvassed among all ranks of people in London. A duel, which was fought between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun, in which they were both killed, served to exasperate the Whigs and Tories against each other. The subject of the duel is said to have been a lawsuit; but, Mohun being considered as bully in favour of the Whigs, the Tories exclaimed against the event as a party-duel, and absurdly affirmed that a plot was laid against the life of the duke of Hamilton. Mobs now began to be hired by both factions, and the whole city was filled with riot and uproar. In this scene of confusion, the duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the secret author of these mischiefs, thought proper to retire to the continent; and his retreat was compared by his party to that of Scipio from Rome, after he had saved his country.

At length, the treaties of peace and commerce between England and France being agreed on by the plenipotentiaries on either side, and ratified by the queen, she acquainted her parliament with the steps she had taken. She in- [1713.] formed them of her precautions to secure them the succession of a protestant king; and desired them to consider by her actions whether she ever meant to divide her interests from the house of Hanover. She left it to the commons to determine what forces, and what supplies, might be necessary for the safety of the kingdom. "Make yourselves safe," said she, "and I shall be satisfied. The affection of my people, and the providence of Heaven, are the only guards I ask for my protection." Both houses returned warm addresses; and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, peace was proclaimed on the fifth of May, to the inexpressible joy of the majority of the nation.

The articles of this famous peace were longer canvassed, and more warmly debated, than those of any other treaty read of in history. The number of different interests concerned, and the great enmity and jealousy subsisting between all, made it im-

possible that all could be satisfied ; and indeed there seemed no other method of obtaining peace, but that which was taken, for the two principal powers concerned to make their own articles, and to leave the rest for a subject of future discussion.

The first stipulation was, that Philip, now acknowledged king of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of Europe. It was agreed that the duke of Berry, Philip's brother, and after him in succession, should also renounce his right to the throne of Spain, in case of his acquisition of the French crown. It was stipulated that the duke of Savoy should possess the island of Sicily, with the title of king, together with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent ; which increase of dominion was, in some measure, made out of the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had that barrier granted them which they so long sought after ; and if the crown of France was deprived of some dominions to enrich the duke of Savoy, on the other hand the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and its interests were secured. The fortifications of Dunkirk, a harbour that might be dangerous to their trade in time of war, were ordered to be demolished, and its port destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. The French resigned their pretensions to Hudson's Bay, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland ; but they were left in possession of Cape Breton, and the liberty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among the articles glorious to the English nation, their setting free the French protestants, confined in the prisons and galleys for their religion, was not the least meritorious. For the emperor it was stipulated, that he should possess the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands. The king of Prussia was to have Upper Guelderland ; and a time was fixed for the emperor's acceding to these articles, as he had for some time obstinately refused to assist at the negotiation. Thus Europe seemed to be formed into one great republic, the different members of which were cantoned out to different governors, and the ambition of any one state amenable to the tribunal of all. Thus it appears that the English ministry did justice to all the world ; but their country denied that justice to them.

The Dutch and the Imperialists, after complaining of this desertion in their allies, resolved to hold out for some time. But they also soon after concluded a peace; the one by the barrier treaty, and the other by the treaty of Radstadt, in which their interests were ascertained, and the treaty of Utrecht confirmed.

The English being in this manner freed from their foreign enemies, had now full leisure to indulge their domestic dissensions. The two parties never contended with greater animosity, or greater injustice against each other. No merit could be allowed in those of the opposite faction, and no knavery seen in their own. Whether it was at this time the wish of the ministers to alter the succession of the crown from the house of Hanover to the pretender cannot now be clearly made out; but true it is that the Whigs believed it as certain, and the Tories but faintly denied the charge. The suspicions of that party became every day stronger, particularly when they saw a total removal of the Whigs from all places of trust and confidence throughout the kingdom, and their employments bestowed on professed Tories, supposed to be maintainers of an unbroken hereditary succession. The Whigs were all in commotion, either apprehending, or affecting to apprehend, a design in favour of the pretender; and their reports went so far as to assert that he was actually concealed in London, and that he had held several conferences with the ministers of state.

Be this as it will, the chiefs of the Whig faction held secret conferences with baron Schutz, resident from the court of Hanover. They communicated their fears and apprehensions to the elector, who, before he arrived in England, or considered the spirit of parties, was thoroughly prejudiced against the Tories. In return, they received his instructions, and were taught to expect his favour in case of his succession. The house of lords seemed to share in the general apprehension. The queen was addressed to know what steps had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain. They begged she would give them a list of such persons as, having been once attainted for their political misconduct, had obtained licences to return into Great Britain since the Revolution. Mr. Steele, afterwards known as the celebrated sir Richard Steele, was not a little active in raising and spreading these reports. In

a pamphlet written by him, called the Crisis, he bitterly exclaimed against the ministry, and the immediate danger of their bringing in the pretender. The house of commons considered this performance as a scandalous and seditious libel; and Steele was expelled from the house of commons.

But while the Whigs were attacking the ministers from without, these were in much greater danger from their own internal dissensions. Harley was created earl of Oxford, and St. John viscount Bolingbroke. Though they had started with the same principles and designs, yet having vanquished other opposers, they now began to turn their strength against each other. Never were two tempers worse matched to carry on business together. Oxford, cautious, slow, diffident, and reserved; Bolingbroke, hot, eager, impetuous, and proud; the first of great erudition, the latter of great natural capacity; the first obstinate in command, the other reluctant to obey; the first bent on maintaining that rank in the administration which he had obtained upon the dissolution of the last ministry; the other disdaining to act as a subaltern to a man whom he thought himself able to instruct. Both, therefore, began to form separate interests, and to adopt different principles. Oxford's plan was the more moderate; Bolingbroke's the more vigorous, but the less secure. Oxford, it is thought, was entirely for the Hanoverian succession; Bolingbroke had some hopes of bringing in the pretender. But though they hated each other most sincerely, yet they were for a while kept together by the good offices of their friends and adherents, who had the melancholy prospect of seeing the citadel of their hopes, while openly besieged from without, secretly undermining within.

This was a mortifying prospect to the Tories; but it was more particularly displeasing to the queen, who daily saw her favourite ministry declining, while her own health kept pace with their contentions. Her constitution was now quite broken. One fit of sickness succeeded another; and what completed the ruin of her health was the anxiety of her mind. The council-chamber was for some time turned into a scene of obstinate dispute, and bitter altercation. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual obloquy and reproach. As Oxford foresaw that the Whig ministry would force them-

selves in, he was for moderate measures. Bolingbroke, on the contrary, was for setting the Whigs at defiance, and flattered the queen, by giving way to all her favourite attachments. At length, their animosities coming to a height, Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing a detail of public transactions, in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival. On the other hand, Bolingbroke accused the treasurer of having invited the duke of Marlborough to return from his voluntary exile, and of maintaining a private correspondence with the house of Hanover. In consequence of this, and the intrigues of lady Masham, who now seconded the aims of Bolingbroke, Oxford was removed from his employments, and his rival seemed to triumph in his new victory.

But this paltry triumph was of short duration. Bolingbroke for a while seemed to enjoy the confusion he had made; and the whole state being driven into disorder by the suddenness of the treasurer's fall, he sat secure, considering that he must be called upon to remedy every inconvenience. But the queen's declining health soon began to give him a dreadful prospect of his own situation, and the triumph of his enemies. As no plan had been adopted for supplying the vacancy of treasurer, the queen was perplexed and harassed with the choice, and she had no longer strength left to support the fatigue. It had such an effect upon her spirits and constitution, that she declared she could not outlive it, and immediately sunk into a state of lethargic insensibility. Notwithstanding all the medicines which the physicians could prescribe, the distemper gained ground so fast, that, the day after, they despaired of her life, and the privy-council was assembled on the occasion. The dukes of Somerset and Argyle, being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the council-chamber without being summoned, to the great surprise of the Tory members, who did not expect their appearance. The duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. The physicians having declared that the queen was still in her senses, the council unanimously agreed that the duke of Shrewsbury was the fittest person to be appointed to the vacant office of treasurer. Thus Bolingbroke's ambition was defeated, just when he thought himself secure.

All the members of the privy-council, without distinction, being now summoned from the different parts of the kingdom, began to provide for the security of the constitution. They sent a letter to the elector of Hanover, informing him of the queen's desperate situation, and desiring him to repair to Holland, where he would be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England. At the same time, they dispatched instructions to the earl of Strafford at the Hague, to desire the states-general to be ready to perform the guaranty of the protestant succession. Precautions were taken to secure the sea-ports; and the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkeley, a professed Whig. These measures, which were all dictated by that party, answered a double end. It argued their own alacrity in the cause of their new sovereign, and seemed to imply a danger to the state from the disaffection of the opposite interest.

On the thirtieth of July, the queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines, rose from her bed about eight o'clock, and walked a little. After some time, casting her eyes on a clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze at it for some minutes. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual? to which the queen only answered, by turning her eyes upon her with a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which, however, she was somewhat recovered by the assistance of Dr. Mead. She continued all night in a state of stupefaction. She gave some signs of life between twelve and one the next day; but expired the following morning, August 1, 1714, a little after seven o'clock, in the fiftieth year of her age. She reigned more than twelve years over a people now risen to the highest pitch of refinement; who had attained by their wisdom all the advantages of opulence, and by their valour all the happiness of security and conquest.

This princess was rather amiable than great, rather pleasing than beautiful; neither her capacity nor learning was remarkable. Like the rest of her family, she seemed rather fitted for the private duties of life than a public station, being a pattern of conjugal fidelity, a good mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. During her reign, none suffered on the scaffold for treason; for, when an oppressed faction takes the lead, it is seldom cruel. In her ended the line of the Stuarts; a family whose mis-

fortunes and misconducts are not to be paralleled in history ; a family, who, less than men themselves, seemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence ; a family that never rewarded their friends, and never avenged them of their enemies.

CHAP. XLIV.

GEORGE I.

THE two parties which had long divided the kingdom, under the names of Whig and Tory, now seemed to alter their titles ; and as the old epithets had lost their virulence by frequent use, the Whigs were now styled Hanoverians, and the Tories were branded with the appellation of Jacobites. The former boasted of a protestant king, the latter of an hereditary monarch ; the former urged the wisdom of their new sovereign, and the latter alleged that theirs was an Englishman. It is easy to perceive, that the choice would rest upon him whose wisdom and religion promised the people the greatest security.

The Jacobites had long been flattered with the hopes of seeing the succession altered by the new ministry. Ungrounded hopes and impracticable schemes seem to have been the only portion bequeathed to that party. They now found all their expectations blasted by the premature death of the queen. The diligence and activity of the privy-council, in which the Hanoverian interest prevailed, the general ridicule which attended their inconsistent conduct, all served to complete their confusion. Upon recollection, they saw nothing so eligible in the present crisis as silence and submission ; they hoped much from the assistance of France, and still more from the popularity and counsels of the pretender. This unfortunate man seemed to possess all the qualities of his father ; his pride, his want of perseverance, and his attachment to the catholic religion. He was but a poor leader, therefore unfit to conduct so desperate a cause ; and, in fact, all the sensible part of the kingdom had forsaken it as irretrievable.

Pursuant to the act of succession, George the First, son of Er-

nest-Augustus first elector of Brunswick, and the princess Sophia, grand-daughter to James the First, ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old, his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general tranquillity of Europe, all contributed to establish his interests, and to promise him a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition from the Stuart family, whom he succeeded. These were known to a proverb for leaving their friends in extremity; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, was heard to say, "My maxim is, never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man." To these qualifications of resolution and perseverance, he joined great application to business. However, one fault with respect to England remained behind; he studied the interest of those subjects he had left more than of those he came to govern.

The queen had no sooner resigned her breath, than the privy-council met, and three instruments were produced, by which the elector appointed several of his known adherents to be added as lords justices to the seven great officers of state. Orders also were immediately issued for proclaiming George king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry him the intimation of his accession to the crown, and to attend him in his journey to England. They sent the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their posts; they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth, and appointed the celebrated Mr. Addison secretary of state. To mortify the late ministry the more, lord Bolingbroke was obliged to wait every morning in the passage, among the servants, with his bag of papers, where there were persons purposely placed to insult and deride him. No tumult appeared; no commotion arose against the accession of the new king; and this gave a strong proof that no rational measures were ever taken to obstruct his exaltation.

The king first landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guard, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place, he walked to his house in the park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility and other persons of distinction, who expected to make their court in this reign, in consequence of their turbulence and oppo-

sition to the last. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession. But the duke of Ormond, the lord-chancellor, and the lord-treasurer, found themselves excluded. The earl of Oxford, the next morning, presented himself with an air of confidence, supposing that his rupture with Bolingbroke would compensate for his former conduct. But he had the mortification to remain a considerable time unnoticed among the crowd; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any circumstance of peculiar respect. To mortify him still more, the king expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough (who had just come from the continent), as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

The king of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects. Of this, however, the new-elected monarch did not seem sensible. It was his misfortune, and consequently of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men who soured him with all their own interests and prejudices. Only the zealots of a party were now admitted into employment. The Whigs, while they pretended to secure the crown for their king, were with all possible arts confirming their own interests, extending their connexions, and giving laws to their sovereign. An instantaneous and total change was made in all the offices of trust, honour, or advantage. The Whigs governed the senate and the court; whom they would, they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with severe laws, and kept them at a distance by vile distinctions; and then taught them to call this—liberty.

These partialities soon raised great discontent among the people; and the king's attachment considerably increased the number of malcontents. The clamour of the supposed danger of the church was revived; and the people only seemed to want a leader to excite them to insurrection. Birmingham, Bristol, Norwich, and Reading, still remembered the spirit with which they had declared for Sacheverel; and now the cry was, "Down with the Whigs, and Sacheverel forever!" During these commotions, which were fomented by every art, the pretender himself continued a calm spectator on the continent. Then was the time for him to have struck his greatest blow; but he only sent over his emissaries to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes, and delude

the unwary. In these papers he observed, that the late queen had intentions of calling him to the crown. He expostulated with his people upon the injustice they had done themselves in proclaiming a foreign prince for their sovereign, contrary to the laws of the country that gave, to him only, the real claim. Copies of a printed address were sent to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distinction, vindicating his right to the crown, and complaining of the injustice of his people. Yet though he still complained of their conduct, he never took one step to reform his own, or to correct that objection upon which his father had forfeited the throne. He still continued to profess the truest regard to the catholic religion; and, instead of concealing his sentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. He expected to ascend the throne against a very powerful opposition, and that by professing the very same principles by which it had been lost.

But however odious the popish superstition was to the bulk of the people at that time, the principles of the dissenters were equally displeasing. It was against them and their tenets that mobs were excited, and riots became frequent. How violent soever the conduct of either party seemed to be, yet their animosities were founded upon religion, and they committed every excess upon principles that had their foundation in some mistaken virtue. It was now said, by the Tories, that impiety and heresy were daily gaining ground under a Whig administration. It was said that the bishops were so lukewarm in favour of the church, and so ardent in pursuit of temporal advantages, that every vice was rearing its head without control. The doctrines of the true religion were left exposed on every side, and open to the attacks of the dissenters and Socinians on one part, and of the catholics on the other. The lower orders of the clergy sided with the people in these complaints: they pointed out to the ministry several tracts written in favour of Socinianism and Arianism. The court not only refused to punish the delinquents, but silenced the clergy themselves, and forbade their future disputations on such topics. This injunction answered the immediate purpose of the ministry; it put a stop to the clamours of the populace, fomented by the clergy, but it produced a worse disorder in its train; it produced a negligence in all religious concerns.

Nothing can be more impolitic in a state than to hinder the clergy from disputing with each other; they thus become more animated in the cause of religion, and, which side soever they defend, they become wiser and better as they carry on the dispute. To silence argument in the clergy, is to encourage them in sloth and neglect; if religion be not kept awake by opposition, it sinks into silence, and no longer continues an object of public concern.

The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a very extraordinary proclamation. In this the king complained of the evil designs of men disaffected to his succession, and of their having misrepresented his conduct and principles. He expressed hopes that his subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders; he entreated that they would elect such in particular as had expressed a firm attachment to the protestant succession when it was in danger. It was thus that this monarch was tutored, by the faction around him, to look with an evil eye on subjects that never opposed the succession—subjects that detested a popish monarch, and whose only fault was a desire of being governed rather by the authority of a king than a junto of their fellow subjects who assumed his power. In the election of this important parliament, uncommon vigour was exerted on both sides; but by dint of the monied interest that prevailed in corporations, and the activity of the ministry, which will always have weight, a great majority of Whigs were returned both in England and Scotland.

Upon the first meeting of this new parliament, in which the Whigs, with the king at their head (for he took no care to conceal his partialities), were predominant, nothing was expected but the most violent measures against the late ministry; nor were the expectations of mankind disappointed. The king gave the house of commons to understand that the branches of the revenue, appointed for the support of the civil government, were not sufficient for that purpose. He warned them that the pretender boasted of the assistance he expected in England to repair his former disappointments. He intimated also, that he expected their assistance in punishing such as endeavoured to deprive him of the blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people.

As the houses were predisposed to violent measures, this served to give them the alarm ; and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry.

The lords, in return to the speech, professed their hopes that the king would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom on the continent, the loss of which they affected to deplore. The commons went much farther : they declared their resolution to trace out those measures by which the country was depressed ; they resolved to seek after those abettors on whom the pretender seemed to ground his hopes, and they determined to bring such to condign punishment. Mr. Secretary Stanhope openly asserted, that notwithstanding the endeavours which had been used by the late ministry to prevent a discovery of their hidden transactions, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet there was still sufficient evidence left to prove their corruptions and treasons. He added, that these proofs would soon be laid before the house, when it would appear that the duke of Ormond had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, the French general.

The house seemed very well inclined to enter into any impeachment ; and there was no restraint to the violence of their measures but the voice of a multitude without doors, intimidated by the resolution of the present rulers. It was the artifice, during this and the succeeding reign, to stigmatise all those who testified their discontent against government, as Papists and Jacobites. All who ventured to speak against the violence of their measures were reproached as designing to bring in the pretender ; and most people were consequently afraid to murmur, since discontent was so nearly allied to treason. The people, therefore, beheld the violence of their conduct in silent fright, internally disapproving, yet not daring to avow their detestation.

In this ferment, the former ministry could expect neither justice nor mercy. A part of them kept away from business ; Bolingbroke had hitherto appeared, and spoke in the house as usual. However, his fears now prevailed over his desire to vindicate his character ; finding an impeachment was likely to be made, he withdrew to the continent, leaving a letter, in which he declared, that if there had been any hopes of a fair and open trial he would not have declined it ; but being already prejudged in the minds

of the majority, he thought fit, by flight, to consult their honour and his own safety.

A committee was soon after appointed, consisting of twenty persons, to inspect all the papers relative to the late negotiation for peace, and to pick out such of them as might serve for subjects of accusation against the late ministry. After some time spent in this disquisition, Mr. Walpole, as chairman of the committee, declared to the house that a report was drawn up; and, in the mean time, moved that a warrant might be issued for apprehending Mr. Matthew Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report of the committee, in which a number of charges were exhibited against the queen's ministers. The clandestine negotiation with Mr. Menager; the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht; the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers; the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general; Bolingbroke's journey to France, to negotiate a separate peace; these and some other charges were recited against them, and then Walpole impeached lord Bolingbroke of high-treason. This struck some of the members with amazement, as there was nothing in the report that amounted to treason; but they were still more astonished, when lord Coningsby, rising up, was heard to say, "The worthy chairman has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford, and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors."

When the earl appeared in the house of lords the day following, he was avoided by the peers as infectious; and he had now an opportunity of discovering the baseness of mankind. When the articles were read against him in the house of commons, a warm debate arose upon that in which he was charged with having advised the French king of the manner of gaining Tournay from the Dutch. Mr. Walpole alleged that it was treason. Sir Joseph Jekyl, a known Whig, said that he could never be of opinion that it amounted to treason. It was his principle, he said, to do justice to all men, to the highest and the lowest. He hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws, and would not scruple to declare upon this part of the question in favour of the

criminal. To this Walpole answered, with great warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to that member in point of honesty, and exceeded him in the knowledge of the laws, and yet were satisfied that the charge in that article amounted to high-treason. This point being decided against the earl, and the other articles approved by the house, the lord Coningsby, attended by the Whig members, impeached him at the bar of the house of lords, requiring, at the same time, that he might lose his seat, and be committed to custody. When this point came to be debated in that house, a violent altercation ensued. Those who still adhered to the deposed minister maintained the injustice and the danger of such a proceeding. At last the earl himself rose up, and with great tranquillity, spoke to the following purport. After observing that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation for, and the conclusion of, the peace, "I am accused," says he, "for having made a peace ; a peace which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part I always acted by the immediate directions and command of the queen my mistress, and never offended against any known law. I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of queens ; obligation binds me to vindicate her memory. My lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the members of this august assembly. I doubt not, therefore, that out of regard to yourselves, your lordships will give me an equitable hearing ; and I hope, that, in the prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear that I have merited not only the indulgence, but the favour of this government. My lords, I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps forever. I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear royal mistress. And when I consider that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my lords, God's will be done !"

On his return from the house of lord to his own house, where

he was for that night permitted to go, he was followed by a great multitude of people, crying out, "High church, Ormond and Oxford forever!" Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of his impeachment, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. Though doctor Mead declared, that if the earl should be sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger, the majority voted for his commitment. The ferment in the house still continued; and the earl of Anglesey declared that such violent measures would make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This increased the tumult; and though much greater liberties have been since taken by that party against their sovereign, yet Anglesey was then obliged to apologise for this expression. Oxford was attended in his way to the Tower by a prodigious concourse of people, who vented their anger at his commitment in imprecations upon his prosecutors.

The violence of the commons was answered with equal violence without doors. Tumults became every day more frequent; and every tumult only served to increase the severity of the legislature. They now passed an act, declaring, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together one hour, after being required to disperse by a justice of peace, or other officer, and after hearing the act against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. This is a very severe act, and one of the greatest restrictions on the liberty of the subject that passed during this century. By this, all meetings of the people, either for the purposes of amusement or redress, are rendered criminal, if it shall please any magistrate to consider them as such. It is indeed very remarkable, that all the severe and most restrictive laws were enacted by that party who were continually stunning mankind with a cry of freedom.

At the time appointed, Oxford's answer to the charges exhibited against him was delivered into the house of lords; whence it was transmitted to the house of commons. Walpole, having heard it read, declared that it contained little more than a repetition of the pamphlets in vindication of the late ministry, and that it maliciously laid upon the queen the blame of all the pernicious measures into which he had led her. He alleged that it was also a libel on the proceedings of the house, since he endeav-

oured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. In consequence of this, a committee was appointed to manage his impeachment, and to prepare evidence against him. By this committee it was reported that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated on his examination, and behaved with great contempt of their authority. The duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke having omitted to surrender themselves within a limited time, it was ordered that the earl-marshal should erase out their names and arms from among the list of peers; and inventories were taken of their estates and possessions, which were declared forfeited to the crown. In this manner an indiscriminate vengeance seemed to pursue the persons who composed the late ministry, and who concluded a more beneficial treaty of peace than England ever obtained either before or since.

In consequence of these proceedings, lord Oxford was confined in the Tower, where he continued for two years, during which time the nation was in a continual ferment from an actual rebellion that was carried on unsuccessfully. After the execution of some lords, who were taken in arms, the nation seemed glutted with blood, and that was the time when the earl petitioned to be brought to his trial. He knew that the fury of the nation was spent on objects that were really culpable, and expected that his case would look like innocence itself, when compared to theirs. A day at his own request was assigned him, and the commons were ordered to prepare for their charge. At the appointed time, the peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper presided as high-steward. The king, and the rest of the royal family, with the foreign ministers, assisted at the solemnity. The earl was conducted from the Tower; the articles of his impeachment were read, with his answers, and the reply of the commons. As sir Joseph Jekyl stood up to make good the first article of the charge, which amounted only to a misdemeanor, lord Harcourt represented to the lords, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to go through the whole of the charges alleged against the earl; that if those only were proved, in which he was impeached of high-treason, the earl would then forfeit his life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. He was therefore of opinion, that the commons should not be admitted to proceed upon the more unimportant part of the accusation, until

judgment should be first obtained upon the articles for high-treason. In this the lords agreeing, the commons declared that it was their undoubted privilege to impeach a peer either for treason or a misdemeanor, or to mix the accusation as they thought proper. The lords asserted that it was a right inherent in every court of justice to direct the methods of proceeding in that court. The commons demanded a conference; but this was refused. The dispute grew warm; the lords informed the lower-house by message that they would proceed to the trial; the commons disregarded the information, and refused to attend. Soon after, the lords repairing to Westminster-hall, and commanding the earl to be brought forth, his accusers were ordered to appear. As the commons were resolute, and did not attend, it was voted that the prisoner should be set at liberty. To this dispute he probably owed the security of his title and fortune; for, as to the articles importing him guilty of high-treason, they were at once malignant and frivolous; so that his life was in no manner of danger.

The duke of Ormond, as has been mentioned, was accused in the same manner; and it is thought that his correspondence with the pretender was better ascertained than his accusers at first thought proper to declare. However, Mr. Hucheson, one of the commissioners of trade, boldly spoke in his defence. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; he enumerated the services he had performed to the crown; he asserted that the duke had only obeyed the queen's commands; and affirmed that all the allegations against him could not, in the rigour of law, be construed into high-treason. His flight was a sufficient answer to the arguments. As he had refused to defend his innocence, his opposers were resolved to condemn him as guilty. The night he took leave of England, it is said he paid a visit to lord Oxford, who dissuaded him from flying with as much earnestness as the duke entreated the earl to fly. He bade his friend the last adieu, with these words, "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which the other replied, "Farewell, duke, without a duchy." He afterwards continued to reside chiefly in Spain, an illustrious exile, and fruitlessly attached to a master unworthy of his services.

The commons were not less determined against the earl of Strafford, against whom articles of impeachment were voted.

However he was afterwards included with others in an act of indemnity, and found safety among the number that were driven into guilt, and then thought worthy of pardon.

In the mean time, these vindictive proceedings excited the indignation of the people, who perceived that the avenues to royal favour were closed against all but a faction. The flames of rebellion were actually kindled in Scotland, where, to their other grievances, the insurgents joined that of the union, which they were taught to consider as an oppression. The malcontents of that country had all along maintained a correspondence with their friends in England, who were now driven by resentment and apprehension into a system of politics of which they would not otherwise have dreamed. Some of the Tory party, who were men attached to the protestant religion, of moderate principles in government, began to associate with the Jacobites, and to wish in earnest for a revolution. Scotland first showed them an example. The earl of Mar assembled three hundred of his own vassals on the Highlands, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at a place called Braemer, assuming the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces. To second these attempts, two vessels arrived in Scotland from France, with arms, ammunition, and a number of officers, together with assurances to the earl, that the pretender himself would shortly come over to head his own forces. The earl, in consequence of this promise, soon found himself at the head of ten thousand men, well armed and provided. He secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea-coast on that side of the frith of Edinburgh. He marched from thence to Dumblaine, as if he had intended to cross the Forth at Stirling-bridge; but there he was informed of the preparations the duke of Argyle was making, who was raising forces to give him battle.

This nobleman, whose family had suffered so much under the Stuart line, was still possessed of his hereditary hatred; and upon this occasion he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of North-Britain. The earl of Sutherland also went down to Scotland to raise forces for the service of government; and many other Scottish peers followed the example. The earl of

Mar being informed that the duke was advancing against him from Stirling, with the discontented clans, assisted by some troops from Ireland, at first thought it most prudent to retreat. But being soon after joined by some of the clans under the earl of Seaforth, and others under general Gordon, an experienced officer, who had signalised himself in the Russian service, he resolved to face the enemy, and directed his march towards the South.

The duke of Argyle, apprised of his intentions, and at any rate willing to prove his attachment to the present government, resolved to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblaine, though his forces did not amount to half the number of the enemy. In the morning, he drew up his army, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, in order of battle; but he soon found himself greatly outflanked by the enemy. The duke perceiving the earl making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition, which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be finished before the rebels began the attack. The left wing, therefore, of the duke's army received the centre of the enemy, and supported the first charge without shrinking. It seemed even for a while victorious, as the earl of Clanronald, who commanded against it, was killed on the spot. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and, waving his bonnet, cried out several times, "Revenge!" This animated the rebel troops to such a degree, that they followed him close to the points of the enemy's bayonets, and got within their guard. A total rout began to ensue of that wing of the royal army; and general Whetham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out that all was lost, and that the rebels were completely victorious. In the mean time, the duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him two miles, though they often faced about, and attempted to rally. Having thus entirely broken that wing, and driven them over the river Allan, he returned to the field of battle, where, to his great mortification, he found the enemy victorious, and patiently waiting the assault. However, instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to begin the attack. At evening,

both sides drew off, and both claimed the victory. Though the possession of the field was kept by neither, yet certainly all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged to the duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the progress of the enemy; for, in their circumstances, delay was defeat. In fact, the earl of Mar soon found his disappointments and his losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession, was delivered up to the king by lord Lovat, who had hitherto professed to act in the interest of the pretender. The marquis of Tullibardine forsook the earl, in order to defend his own part of the country; and many of the clans, seeing no likelihood of coming soon to a second engagement, returned quietly home; for an irregular army is much more easily led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

In the mean time, the rebellion was still more unsuccessfully prosecuted in England. From the time the pretender had undertaken this wild project at Paris, in which the duke of Ormond and lord Bolingbroke were engaged, lord Stair, the British ambassador in France, had penetrated all his designs, and sent faithful accounts of all his measures, and all his adherents, to the ministry at home. Upon the first rumour, therefore, of an insurrection, they imprisoned several lords and gentlemen, of whom they had a suspicion. The earls of Home, Wintown, and Kin-noul, and others, were committed to the castle of Edinburgh. The king obtained leave from the lower house to seize sir William Wyndham, sir John Packington, Kynston, Hervey, and others. The lords Lansdown and Duplin were taken into custody. Sir William Wyndham's father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance; but his surety was refused.

But all the precautions were not able to stop the insurrections in the western counties, where it was already begun. However, all their preparations were weak and ill conducted; every measure was betrayed to government as soon as projected, and many revolts repressed in the very onset. The university of Oxford was treated with great severity on this occasion. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would instantly shoot any of the students who should presume to appear without the limits of their respective colleges. The insurrection of the northern

counties came to greater maturity. In October, the earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Foster, took the field with a body of horse, and, being joined by some gentlemen from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender. Their first attempt was to seize Newcastle, in which they had many friends; but they found the gates shut against them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham. To oppose these, general Carpenter was detached by government with a body of nine hundred men, and an engagement was hourly expected. The rebels had two methods by which they might have conducted themselves with prudence. The one was to march directly into the western parts of Scotland, and there join general Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders. The other was to cross the Tweed, and boldly attack general Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed their own. The infatuation attendant on that party, prevented the adoption of either of these measures. They took the route to Jedburgh, where they hoped to leave Carpenter on one side, and penetrate into England by the western border. This was the effectual means to cut themselves off either from retreat or assistance. A party of Highlanders, who had joined them by this time, at first refused to accompany them in this desperate irruption, and one half of them actually returned to their own country. At Brampton, Mr. Foster opened his commission of general, which had been sent him from the earl of Mar, and there he proclaimed the pretender. They continued their march to Penrith, where the body of the militia, assembled to oppose them, fled at their appearance. From Penrith they proceeded, by the way of Kendal and Lancaster, to Preston, of which place they took possession, without any resistance. But this was the last stage of their ill-advised incursion; for general Wills, at the head of seven thousand men, came up to the town to attack them; and from his activity there was no escaping. They now, therefore, began to raise barricades, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing the first attack of the royal army with success. Next day, however, Wills was reinforced by Carpenter, and the town was invested on all sides. In this deplorable situation, to which they were reduced by their own rashness, Foster hoped to capitulate with the general, and accordingly sent colonel Oxburgh, who had been taken prisoner, with a trumpeter, to propose a capitulation. This, however,

Wills refused, alleging that he would not treat with rebels, and that the only favour they had to expect, was to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms, but no better could be obtained. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard; all the noblemen and leaders were secured, and a few of their officers tried for deserting from the royal army, and shot by order of a court-martial. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool; the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, and led through the streets, pinioned and bound together, to intimidate their party.

Such was the success of two expeditions set on foot in favour of the pretender, in neither of which appear the smallest traces of conduct or design. But the conduct of his party on this side of the water was wisdom itself, compared to that with which it was managed at Paris. Bolingbroke there had been made his secretary, and Ormond his prime-minister. But these statesmen quickly found that nothing could be done in favour of his cause. The king of France, who had ever espoused the interest of the abdicated family, was just dead; and the duke of Orleans, who succeeded in the government of the kingdom, was averse to lending the pretender any assistance. His party, however, which was composed of the lowest and the most ignorant exiles from the British dominions, affected the utmost confidence, and boasted of a certainty of success. The deepest secrets of his cabinet, and all his intended measures, were bandied about in coffee-houses by persons of the lowest rank, both in fortune and abilities. Subaltern officers resolved to be his generals; and even prostitutes were intrusted to manage his negotiations. Little, therefore, could be expected from such assistance and such counsels.

He might by this time have been convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in supposing that the whole country would rise up in his cause. His affairs were actually desperate; yet, with his usual infatuation, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was too late for success. Passing, therefore, through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, after a voyage of a few days on the coast of Scotland, with only six gentlemen

in his train. He passed unknown through Aberdeen to Feterosse, where he was met by the earl of Mar, and about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of the first quality. There he was solemnly proclaimed. His declaration, dated at Commercy, was printed and dispersed. He thence went to Dundee, where he made a public entry; and in two days more he arrived at Scone, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings to be made for his safe arrival; he enjoined the ministers to pray for him in their churches; [1716.] and, without the smallest share of power, went through the ceremonies of royalty, which threw an air of ridicule on all his conduct. Having thus spent some time in unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprise with the same levity with which it was undertaken. Having made a speech to his grand council, he informed them of his want of money, arms, and ammunition, for undertaking a campaign, and therefore lamented that he was compelled to leave them. He embarked in a small French ship that lay in the harbour of Montrose, accompanied with several lords, his adherents, and in five days arrived at Gravelines.

General Gordon, who was left commander-in-chief of the forces, proceeded at their head to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took on board such persons as intended to make their escape to the continent. He then continued his march through the Highlands, and quietly dismissed his forces as he went forward. This retreat was made with such expedition, that the duke of Argyle, with all his activity, could never overtake his rear, which consisted of a thousand horse.

In this manner ended a rebellion, which nothing but imbecility could project, and nothing but rashness support. But, though the enemy was now no more, the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with success. The law was now put in force with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches, whom the ministry seemed resolved not to pardon. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared that they would prosecute in the most rigorous manner the authors of the late rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy as their measures were vindictive. The earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintown, the lords Wid-

rington, Kenmuir, and Nairne, were impeached, and, upon pleading guilty, all but lord Wintown received sentence of death. No entreaties could soften the ministry to spare these unhappy men. The house of lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect; the king only answered, that on this, and all other occasions, he would act as he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown and the safety of his people.

Orders were accordingly dispatched for executing the lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Kenmuir immediately; the others were respited. Nithsdale, however, had the good fortune to escape in woman's clothes, which were brought him by his mother the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill at the time appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calm intrepidity, pitied by all, and seemingly less moved themselves than those who beheld them. Derwentwater was particularly regretted, as he was generous, hospitable, and humane. His fortune being large, he gave bread to multitudes of the poor, by whom he was considered as a parent and a protector.

To second these vindictive efforts, an act of parliament was made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms. This proceeding was considered, by some of the best lawyers, as an alteration of the antient constitution of the kingdom, by which it was confirmed that every prisoner should be tried in the place where the offence was committed. In the beginning of April, commissioners for trying the rebels met in the court of common-pleas, when bills were found against Mr. Foster, Mr. Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates.

Foster escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; the rest pleaded not guilty. Pitt, the keeper of Newgate, being suspected of having connived at Foster's escape, was tried for his life, but acquitted. Notwithstanding this, Mackintosh and several other prisoners broke from Newgate, after having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the sentinel. The court proceeded to the trial of those that remained; four or five were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Among these, William Paul, a clergyman, attracted peculiar pity; he professed himself a true and sincere member of the church of

England, but not of that schismatical church, whose bishops had abandoned their king, and shamefully given up their ecclesiastical privileges. How strong soever the taint of faction may be in any man's bosom, if he has any goodness in him, he cannot help feeling the strongest pity for those brave men, who are willing, however erroneously, to sacrifice their lives to their principles. The judges appointed to try the rebels at Liverpool found a considerable number guilty of high-treason. Two and twenty were executed at Preston and Manchester; about a thousand prisoners experienced the king's mercy, if such it might be called, to be transported to North America.

Such was the end of a rebellion probably at first hastened forward by the rigour of the new Whig ministry and parliament. In running through the revolutions of human transactions, it is a melancholy consideration that, in all contentions, we generally find little to applaud on either side. We here see a weak and imprudent party, endeavouring not only to subvert the government, but the religion of their country. We see a pretended monarch bred a papist himself, and confiding in popish counselors, professing a desire to govern and protect the protestant religion. We observe most of his adherents, men of desperate fortunes, indifferent morals, or narrow principles, urging on a cause which nothing but repeated slaughter could establish. On the other hand, we see them opposed by a party actuated by pride, avarice, and animosity, concealing a love of power under a mask of freedom, and brandishing the sword of justice, to strike a vindictive blow. Clemency in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all that factious spirit which has since continued to disturb public tranquillity; for they must be a wretched people, indeed, who are more easily driven than led into obedience to authority.

CHAP. XLV.

GEORGE I. (Continued.)

A CONSTITUTION so complicated as that of England, must necessarily suffer alterations from time ; for some of its branches may gain strength, while others become weaker. At this period, the orders placed between the king and the people acquired more than their share of power. The king himself being a foreigner, and ignorant of the laws and constitution of the country, was kept under the control of his ministers, who, by their private connexions, governed the parliament. At the same time, the people, awed by the fears of imputed Jacobitism, were afraid to murmur, and were content to give up their freedom for safety. The rebellion now extinguished, only served to confirm the arrogance of those in power. The parliament had shown itself eager to second the views of the ministry ; and the pretended danger of the state was made a pretext for continuing the parliament beyond the term fixed for its dissolution. An act, therefore, was made by their own authority, repealing that by which they were to be dissolved every third year, and extending the term to seven years. This attempt, in any delegated body of people, to increase their own power by extending it, is contrary to the first principles of justice. If it was right to extend their duration to seven years, they might also perpetuate their authority, and thus cut off even the shadow of nomination. This bill, however, passed both houses, and all objections to it were considered as marks of disaffection. The people might murmur at this encroachment, but it was too late for redress.

Domestic concerns being adjusted, the king began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and resolved upon a voyage to the continent. He foresaw a storm gathering from Sweden. As Charles the Twelfth, the extraordinary monarch of that country, was highly provoked against him for having entered into a confederacy with the Russians and Danes in his absence, and for having purchased the towns of Bremen and Verden from the king of Denmark, which constituted a part of his dominions ; George, having passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to

secure his German dominions, entered into a new treaty with the Dutch and the regent of France, by which they agreed to assist each other in case of an invasion.

Nor were his fears from Sweden without foundation; Charles maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected subjects of Great Britain; and a scheme was formed for landing a considerable body of Swedes, with the king at their head, in some part of the island, where it was expected they would be joined by all the malcontents of the kingdom. Count Gyllenburgh, the Swedish minister in London, was peculiarly active in the conspiracy; but being seized with all his papers, by order [1717.] of the king, the confederacy was broken for this time. However, a bill was passed by the commons, prohibiting all commerce with Sweden, the trade with which country was of the utmost consequence to the English merchants. A supply, to the amount of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, was granted to the king, to enable him to secure his dominions against the threatened invasion. These were the first fruits of England's being wedded to the continent; however, the death of the Swedish monarch, who soon after was killed by a cannon-ball at the siege of Fredericshall in Norway, put an end to all inquietude from that quarter.

But this was the age of treaties, subsidies, and political combinations. At that time, the politicians of the age supposed that such paper-chains would be sufficient to secure the permanence of dominion; but experience has sufficiently taught the contrary. Among other treaties concluded with such hopes, was that called the Quadruple Alliance. It was agreed upon between [1718.] the emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the duke of Savoy; that the successions to the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. However, this treaty was by no means agreeable to the king of Spain, and consequently it became prejudicial to the English, as it interrupted the commerce to that kingdom. But the interest of England was not the object which this treaty was intended to secure.

The displeasure of the king of Spain soon broke out into an

open war against the emperor, whom he considered as the chief contriver of this alliance; and a numerous body of Spanish troops were sent into Italy to support Philip's pretensions in that quarter. It was in vain that the regent of France attempted to dissuade him, in vain the king of England offered his mediation; their interposition was rejected as partial and unjust. War, in the present exhausted state of the English finances, was a real evil; but a rupture with Spain was resolved on, in order to support a very distant interest. Twenty-two ships were equipped with all expedition, the command of which was given to sir George Byng, and ordered to sail for Naples, which was then threatened by the Spanish army. He was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants of that city, and was informed that the Spaniards, to the amount of thirty thousand men, had actually landed in Sicily. In this exigence, as no assistance could be given by land, he resolved to sail thither, fully determined to pursue the Spanish fleet on which they had embarked. Upon coming round Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels, and following them closely, they led him to their main fleet, which, before noon, he discovered in line of battle, amounting in all to twenty-seven sail. However, the Spanish fleet, upon perceiving the force of the English, attempted to sail away, though superior in number. The English had for some time acquired such expertness in naval affairs, that no other nation would attempt to face them, but with manifest advantage. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their councils, and acted with extreme confusion. They made a running fight, and the commanders behaved with courage and activity; in spite of which they were all taken except six, which were preserved by the conduct of Cammock, their vice-admiral, a native of Ireland. Sir George Byng behaved on this occasion with equal prudence and resolution, and the king wrote him a letter, with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory necessarily produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers in all the courts of Europe, and hastened the declaration of war upon the part of the English, which had been hitherto delayed.

This rupture with Spain served once more to raise the declining expectations of the pretender and his adherents. It was hoped that, by the assistance of cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, a new insurrection might be excited in England. The

duke of Ormond was the person fixed upon to conduct this expedition; and he obtained from the Spanish court a fleet of ten ships of war and transports, having on board six thousand soldiers with arms for twelve thousand more. But fortune was still as unfavourable as ever. Having set sail, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, he was encountered by a violent storm, which disabled his fleet, and frustrated the expedition. This misfortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily, and other parts of Europe, induced Philip to wish for peace; and he at last consented to sign the quadruple alliance. This was at that time thought an immense acquisition; but England, though she procured the ratification, had no share in the advantage of the treaty.

The king, having thus restored peace to Europe, returned from the continent to receive the addresses and congratulations of his parliament. From addressing they proceeded to an object of much greater importance; this was the securing the dependency of the Irish parliament on that of Great Britain. One Maurice Annesly had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree made by the house of peers in Ireland, and this decree was reversed. The British peers ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland to put Mr. Annesly in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree of the lords in that kingdom. The barons of the exchequer obeyed this order; and the Irish house of peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and at the same time ordered the barons to be taken under the custody of the black-rod. On the other hand, the house of lords in England resolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, and addressed the king to signify his approbation of their conduct by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of lords was deprived of all right to final jurisdiction. [1720.] This bill was opposed in both houses; but particularly in that of the commons. It was there asserted by Mr. Pitt, that it would only increase the power of the English peers, who already were but too formidable. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated that the Irish lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. Notwithstanding all opposition, the bill

was carried by a great majority, and soon after received the royal assent. The people of Ireland were not at that time so well acquainted with their rights and just privileges as they are at present. Their lords then were mostly made up of men bred in luxury and ignorance: neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor skilful enough to conduct it. It is very extraordinary that this bill, which was a real grievance, produced no commotions in Ireland; and that the coinage of half-pence by one Wood, in England, for the people of that country, which was no grievance, was attended with very great disturbances. The reason must be, that the latter opposition was conducted by dean Swift, a man of genius, and the former imposition submitted to by men of weak abilities.

But this blow, which was felt severely by the Irish, was by no means so great as that felt by the English at this time, from the spirit of scheming avarice, which had infected all ranks of people. It was but in the preceding year that John Law, a Scotchman, had erected a company under the name of the Mississippi, which promised the people great wealth, but ended in involving the French nation in great distress. It was now that the people of England were deceived by a project entirely similar, which is remembered by the name of the South-sea Scheme, and was felt long after by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the revolution under king William, the government not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament, or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from different companies of merchants; and, among the rest, from that company which traded to the South-sea. In the year 1716, the government was indebted to this company about nine millions and a half of money, for which they granted interest at the rate of six per cent. As this company was not the only one to which the government was indebted, and paid such large yearly interest, sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative either of accepting lower interest, namely, five per cent. or of having the principal paid. The different companies chose rather to accept the diminished interest, than to receive the principal. The South-sea company, in particular, having made up their debt to

the government ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds, which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner, the governors and company of the bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annual interest for their respective loans; all which greatly lessened the debts of the nation.

It was in this situation of things that one Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-sea company, to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the sole creditor of the state. The terms he offered to government were extremely advantageous. The South-sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to the government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they would be contented to be allowed by government, for six years, five per cent.—then the interest should be reduced to four per cent. and should at any time be redeemable by parliament. Thus far all was fair, and all was reasonable. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; but now came the part of the scheme big with fraud and ruin. As the directors of the South-sea company could not of themselves be supposed to possess money sufficient to buy up the debts of the nation, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription to a scheme for trading to the South-seas, from which commerce immense advantages were promised, and still greater expected by the rapacious credulity of the people. All people, therefore, who were creditors to government, were invited to come in, and exchange their securities, namely, the government for the South-sea company. Many were the advantages they were taught to expect from having their money traded with in a commerce to and from the southern parts of America, where it was reported that the English were to have a new settlement granted them by the king of Spain.

The directors' books were no sooner opened for the first subscription, than crowds came to make the exchange of government stock for South-sea stock. The delusion was artfully continued

and spread. Subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought at. The scheme succeeded beyond even the projector's hopes; and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprise. The infatuation prevailed; the stock increased to a surprising degree, and to near ten times the value of what it was at first subscribed for.

After a few months, however, the people awoke from their dream of riches, and found that all the advantages they expected were merely imaginary, while thousands of families were involved in one common ruin. Many of the directors, by whose arts the people were taught to expect such great benefits from a traffic to the South-seas, had amassed considerable fortunes by the credulity of the public. It was one consolation to the people to find the parliament sharing the general indignation, and resolving to strip those plunderers of their unjust possessions. Orders were first given to remove all the directors of the South-sea company from their seats in parliament, and the places they possessed under government.

The principal delinquents were punished by a forfeiture of all such possessions and estates as they had acquired during [1721.] the continuance of this popular phrensy. The next care was to redress the sufferers. Several useful and just resolutions were taken by parliament, and a bill was prepared for repairing the late sufferings, as far as the inspection of the legislature could extend. Of the profits arising from the South-sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was given back to the original proprietors; several additions were also made to their dividends, out of what was possessed by the company in their own right, and the remaining capital stock was also divided among the old proprietors, at the rate of thirty-three pounds per cent.

In the mean time, petitions from all parts of the kingdom were presented to the house, demanding justice, and the whole nation seemed exasperated to the highest degree. Public credit sustained a terrible shock. Some principal members of the ministry were deeply concerned in these fraudulent transactions. The Bank was drawn upon faster than it could supply, and nothing was heard but the ravings of disappointment and despair.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities once more gave the disaffected party hopes of succeeding. But in all

their counsels they were weak, divided, and wavering. The duke of Orléans, regent of France, is said to be the first who gave the king information of a recent conspiracy carried on by many persons of the first distinction, joined by [1722.] several malcontents of inferior quality. In consequence of this, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-Park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective stations. Lieutenant-general Macartney was dispatched to Ireland to bring over troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were called upon to be ready with their guaranty. The people, thus excited by new terrors, every day expected an invasion, and looked where the vengeance of government was likely to fall.

The first person who was seized was Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a prelate long obnoxious to the present government, and possessed of abilities to render him formidable to any ministry he opposed. His papers were seized, and he himself confined to the Tower. Soon after, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Orrery, lord North, and some others of inferior rank, were arrested and imprisoned. Of all these, however, only the bishop, and one Mr. Lyster, a barrister, felt the severity of government, the proofs against the rest amounting to no convictive evidence.

A bill was brought into the house of commons, impeaching bishop Atterbury, although he pleaded privilege as a peer. [1723.] Though this met with some opposition in that house, yet it was resolved, by a great majority in the house of commons, that he should be deprived of his dignity and benefice, and should be banished the kingdom forever. The bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his force, which he intended to exert in the house of lords.

In that house his cause had many friends; and his own eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity, procured him many more. His cause coming before that assembly, a long and warm debate ensued, in which the contest was more equally managed than the ministry expected. As there was little or no proof against him, but what arose from intercepted letters, which were written in ciphers, earl Poulet insisted that such could not be construed into treason or offence. The duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and shown the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, that let the consequences be what they would,

he hoped the lustre of that house would never be tarnished by condemning a man without evidence. Lord Bathurst also spoke in the bishop's favour, observing, that, if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly to enjoy their estates within their own families, since the most trifling correspondence, or any intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the bench of bishops, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice which some persons bore to the ingenious bishop of Rochester, unless it was, that, infatuated like the wild Americans, they fondly hoped to inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities, of the man they should destroy. Notwithstanding all that was said in the bishop's favour, the bill passed against him; the other party saying very little, conscious of a majority in their favour. Among the members of the house of commons who exerted themselves in the bishop's favour, was the celebrated doctor Freind, who was himself soon after taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices; but he was admitted to bail, his friend doctor Mead becoming his security. The bishop's sentence being confirmed, he in two days after embarked for the continent, attended by his daughter. On the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous lord Bolingbroke arrived there on his return to England, having, for some secret reasons, obtained his majesty's pardon. Atterbury being informed of this circumstance, could not help observing with a smile, that they were exchanged. The bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died, though it may not be improper to observe, that doctor Sacheverel dying some time before him, left him by will five hundred pounds.

The fate of Mr. Christopher Layer was more severe. Being brought to his trial at the King's Bench, he was convicted of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, of having endeavoured to stir up a rebellion, and he received sentence of death. The circumstances of this conspiracy are not clearly known. It is said that the intention of the conspirators was, by introducing a number of foreign officers and soldiers into England unobserved, to prepare a junction with the duke of Ormond, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms provided for that purpose. However this be, Mr. Layer was re-

prieved from time to time, and many methods tried to make him discover his accomplices ; but he continued steadfast in his trust, so that he suffered death at Tyburn, and his head was fixed on Temple-bar.

This trial was followed by another of a different nature, in which the interests and security of the nation were more deeply concerned. It had been usual for the chancellors, upon being appointed to their high office, to nominate the masters in chancery—a place of some value, and consequently then purchased as commissions in the army. Some men of improper characters having been appointed to this office, and having embezzled the money of orphans and suitors lodged in their hands, a complaint was made to government, and this drew down the resentment of the ministry on the lord-chancellor himself. He found it necessary to resign the seals in the beginning ; but, soon after, the king ordered the whole affair to be laid before [1725.] the house of commons.

The commons, taking the affair into consideration, and finding that many abuses had crept into that court, which either impeded justice or rendered it venal, resolved to impeach Thomas earl of Macclesfield, at the bar of the house of lords, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

This was one of the most laborious and best contested trials in the annals of England. A bill was previously brought in to indemnify the masters in chancery from the penalties of the law, upon discovering what considerations they had paid for their admission to their respective offices. The trial lasted twenty days. The earl proved that such sums had been usually received by former lord-chancellors ; and reason told that such receipts were contrary to strict justice. Equity, therefore, prevailed above precedent ; the earl was convicted of fraudulent practices, and condemned in a fine of thirty thousand pounds, with imprisonment until that sum should be paid, which was accordingly discharged in about six weeks after.

In this manner the corruption, venality, and avarice of the times had increased with the riches and luxury of the nation. Commerce introduced fraud, and wealth introduced prodigality. Religion, which might in some measure put a stop to these evils, was rather discouraged than promoted by the legislature. The

houses of convocation, which had hitherto met purposely to inspect the morals of the people, and to maintain decency and dignity in the church, were now discontinued. Their disputes among each other were assigned as the cause; but a ministry studious of the morals of the people would have permitted them to dispute, and kept up their zeal by their activity. But internal regulations were not what the ministry at that time attended to; the chief object of their attention was to gratify the sovereign with a continued round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the pretender from those of Britain. To effect both purposes, England paid considerable subsidies to many different states of Europe for the promise of their protection and assistance; but it most commonly happened that the connexion was changed, or a variance ensued, before the stipulations on either side were capable of being executed. In this reign there were concluded no less than nine treaties: the barrier convention treaty, a defensive alliance with the emperor, the triple alliance, the convention treaty, the quadruple alliance, the congress at Cambray, the treaty of Hanover, the treaty of Vienna, and the convention with Sweden and Hesse Cassel. All these various and expensive negotiations were mere political play-things; they amused for a while, and are since neglected.

It must be owned that the parliament made some new efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life; but they were supported neither by the co-operation of the ministry nor by the voice of the people. The treaties just concluded with Spain were already broken; but the spirit of commerce was so eager that no restrictions could bind it. Admiral Hosier was sent to South America, to intercept the Spanish galleons; but the Spaniards, being apprised of his design, re-landed their treasure. The greatest part of the English fleet sent on that expedition was rendered entirely unfit for service: the seamen were cut off in

great numbers by the malignity of the climate and the length of the voyage ; while the admiral himself is said to have died of a broken heart. In order to retaliate these hostilities, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar, but with as little success on their side. In this dispute, France offered her mediation, and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence ; a temporary reconciliation ensued, both sides only watching the occasion to renew hostilities with advantage. It was now two years since the king had visited his electoral dominions of Hanover ; he therefore, soon after the breaking up of the parliament, prepared for a journey thither. Having ap- [1727.] pointed a regency in his absence, he embarked for Holland, and lay, upon his landing, at a little town called Voet. Next day he proceeded on his journey ; and in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, to all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning ; but, between eight and nine, ordered his coach to stop. It being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, Monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been servant to the king of Sweden, and who now attended king George, attempted to quicken the circulation by chafing it between his own. As this had no effect, the surgeon, who followed on horseback, was called, and he rubbed it with spirits. Soon after, the king's tongue began to swell, and he had just strength enough to bid them hasten to Osnaburgh. Then falling insensible into Fabrice's arms, he never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Whatever was good or great in the reign of this monarch ought to be ascribed chiefly to himself : whenever he deviated, he might have been misled by a ministry always partial, sometimes corrupt. He was in every instance attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to accident, and more to prudent assiduity. His successes in life are the strongest instance how much may be achieved by moderate abilities, exerted with application and uniformity.

He was married to the princess Sophia, daughter and heiress of the duke of Zell, by whom he had the prince who succeeded

him, and the queen of Prussia, mother to the celebrated Frederic. The king's body was conveyed to Hanover, and interred among his ancestors.

CHAP. XLVI.

GEORGE II.

June 11,
1727. UPON the death of George the First, his son, George the Second, came to the crown; a man of inferior abilities to the late king, and strongly biassed with a partiality to his dominions on the continent. At his accession, the business of government was chiefly carried on by lord Townshend, a man of extensive knowledge, and great skill in the interests of the different states of Europe; by the duke of Newcastle, a nobleman of large connexions among the great, but of inferior abilities; and the earl of Chesterfield, a man of wit, insinuation, and address, though rather averse to the drudgery of business. But the chief person, and he who shortly after obtained the greatest share of power, was sir Robert Walpole, whom we have already seen so actively employed in supporting the house of Hanover.

This gentleman had risen from low beginnings, through two successive reigns, into great consideration. He was considered as a martyr to his cause, in the reign of queen Anne; and when the Tory party could no longer oppress him, he still preserved that hatred against them with which he set out. Being raised, in the beginning of this reign, to the head of the treasury, he probably set off by endeavouring to serve his country; but soon meeting with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather employed in keeping his situation than in adorning it. To defend the declining prerogative of the crown might perhaps have been the first object of his intention; but, soon after, those very measures by which he pretended to secure it proved the most effectual means to lessen it. By corrupting the house of commons, he increased their riches and their power; and they were not averse to voting away those millions which he permitted them so liberally to share. As such a tendency in him naturally produced

opposition, he was possessed of a most phlegmatic insensibility to reproach, and a calm dispassionate manner of reasoning upon such topics as he desired should be believed. His discourse was fluent, but without dignity ; and his manner convincing from its apparent want of art.

The house, hitherto distinguished into Hanoverians and Jacobites, now altered their names with their principles ; and the two parties went by the names of the Court and the Country. Both sides had been equally active in bringing in the Hanover family, and consequently neither much feared the reproach of disaffection. The court party, who were enlisted under the banners of the ministry, were for favouring all their schemes, and for applauding all the measures of the crown. They were taught to regard foreign alliances and continental connexions as conducive to internal security ; they considered England as unable or unfit to be trusted in defending herself, and paid the troops of other countries for the promises of future assistance. Of these sir Robert was the leader ; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence he undertook to buy over by places and pensions. The other side, or the country party, were entirely averse to continental connexions. They complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies which could never be useful ; and that alliances were bought with money from nations that should rather contribute to England for her protection. These looked upon the frequent journeys of the king to Hanover with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at a partiality shown in the royal breast in its favour. These were joined by the high-flying Tories, who now began to perceive their own cause desperate ; and as they were leagued with men who did not fear the reproach of Jacobitism, they gave and acquired greater confidence. As the court party generally alarmed the house of commons with imaginary dangers and concealed conspiracies, so they on the country side generally declaimed against the encroachments of the prerogative and the overgrown power of the crown. The complaints of neither were founded in fact ; the kingdom was in no danger of invasions from abroad or from plots at home ; nor was the crown, on the other hand, gaining any accession of power, but rather every day losing somewhat of its authority by insensible diminution. The king, chiefly attentive to his foreign dominions, re-

garded but little his prerogative at home ; and he could admit of many limitations in England, to be possessed of plenary power in dominions which he probably loved more.

There seem to be two objects of controversy which, during this whole reign, rose up in debate at every session, and tried the strength of the opponents ; these were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present king, owed more than thirty millions of money ; and though there was a long continuance of profound peace, yet this sum was continually increasing. It was much wondered at by the country party how this could happen ; and it was as constantly the business of the court to give plausible reasons for the increase, and to furnish a new subject of wonder for the session ensuing. Thus demands for new supplies were made in every session of parliament, for the purposes of guarding the kingdom from internal conspiracies, securing friends upon the continent, or enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with the powers in alliance abroad. It was vainly alleged that those expenses were incurred without prescience or necessity ; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying and increasing taxes, would at last become an intolerable burthen. These arguments were offered, canvassed, and rejected ; the court party was constantly victorious, and every demand granted with cheerfulness and profusion.

The Spaniards were the first nation who showed the futility of treaties to bind, when any advantage was to be procured by infraction. The extreme avidity of our merchants, and the natural jealousy and cruelty of that nation, produced every day encroachments on our side, and as arbitrary seizures on theirs. The people of our West-Indian islands had long carried on an illicit trade with the subjects of Spain upon the continent ; but, whenever detected, were rigorously punished, and their cargoes confiscated. In this temerity of adventure on the one hand, and vigilance of pursuit and punishment on the other, it must often have happened that the innocent suffered with the guilty ; and many complaints were made, perhaps founded in justice, that the English merchants were plundered by the Spanish king's vessels upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates.

The English ministry, unwilling to credit every report which

was inflamed by resentment or urged by avarice, expected to remedy the evils complained of by their favourite system of treaty, and in the mean time promised the nation redress. At length, however, the complaints became more general; and the merchants remonstrated by petition to the house of commons, who entered into a deliberation on the subject. They examined the evidence of several who had been unjustly seized, and treated with great cruelty. One man, the master of a trading vessel, had been used by the Spaniards in the most shocking manner. He gave in his evidence with great precision, informed the house of the manner they had plundered and stripped him, of their cutting off his ears, and their preparing to put him to death. "I then looked up," cried he, "to my God for pardon, and to my country for revenge!"

These accounts raised a flame among the people which it was neither the minister's interest, nor perhaps that of the nation, to indulge; new negotiations were set on foot, and new mediators offered their interposition. A treaty was signed at Vienna, between the emperor, the king of Great Britain, [1731.] and the king of Spain, which settled the peace of Europe upon its former footing, and put off the threatening war for a time. By this treaty, the king of England conceived hopes that all war would be at an end. Don Carlos, upon the death of the duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of an English fleet, put in peaceable possession of Parma and Placentia, while six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted and quartered in the duchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that dukedom.

An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarcely any events happened that deserve the remembrance of an historian. Such intervals are the seasons of happiness; for history is generally little more than the register of human contention and calamity.

During this interval of profound peace, nothing remarkable happened; and scarcely any contest ensued, except in the British parliament, where the disputes between the court and country party were carried on with unceasing animosity. Both sides, from moderate beginnings, at last fairly enlisted themselves in the cause, not of truth, but of party. Measures proposed by the ministry, though tending to the benefit of the nation, were opposed by their antagonists, who, on their side, also were abridged the power of carrying any act, how beneficial soever it might have

been. A calm disinterested reader is now surprised at the heat with which many subjects at that time, of little importance in themselves, were discussed. He now smiles at these denunciations of slavery and ruin which were entailed upon posterity, and which posterity did not feel. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is rather supported by the opposition than by the speeches of the opposition: the combatants may be considered as ever standing upon guard, though they are forever giving a false alarm.

In times of profound tranquillity, the slightest occurrence comes in to fill up the chasm in history. A society of men, in this interested age of seeming benevolence, had united themselves into a company, by the name of the Charitable Corporation; and their professed intention was to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges, and to persons of higher rank upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds, but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was supplied by subscription, and the care of conducting the capital was entrusted to a proper number of directors. This company having continued for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, member for Marlow, and the warehouse-keeper, John Thomson, disappeared in one day. Five hundred thousand pounds of capital were found to be sunk and embezzled, by means which the proprietors could not discover. They therefore, in a petition, represented to the house of commons the manner in which they had been defrauded, and the distress to which many of the petitioners were reduced. A secret committee being appointed to examine into this grievance, a most iniquitous scene of fraud was soon discovered, which had been carried on by Thomson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy; and even some of the first characters in the nation did not escape censure. A spirit of avarice and rapacity had infected every rank of life about this time; no less than six members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery. Sir Robert Sutton, sir Archibald Grant, and George Robinson, for their frauds in the management of the charitable corporation scheme; Dennis Bond, and

sergeant Birch, for a fraudulent sale of the late unfortunate earl of Derwentwater's large estate; and lastly, John Ward of Hackney, for forgery. Luxury had given birth to prodigality, and that was the parent of the meanest arts of peculation. It was asserted in the house of Lords, at that time, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the service of the public, but became the reward of fraudulence and venality.

From this picture of avarice and luxury among the great, it is not wonderful to find instances of deplorable wretchedness among the poor. One Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and his wife, had long lived together, and struggled with those wants, which, notwithstanding the profusion of the rich, pinched the lower orders of mankind. Their mutual affection was the only comfort they had in their distresses, which distresses were increased by having a child, which they knew not how to maintain. At length, they took the desperate resolution of dying together; but previously their child's throat was cut, and the husband and wife were found hanging in their little bed-chamber. There was a letter upon the table, containing the reasons which induced them to this act of desperation; they declared they could no longer support a life of such complicated wretchedness; they recommended their dog and cat to compassion; but thought it tenderness to take their only child with them from a world where they themselves had found so little compassion. Suicide is often imputed to phrensy. We have here an instance of self-murder concerted with composure, and borrowing the aids of reason for its vindication.

A scheme set on foot by Sir Robert Walpole soon [1732.] after engrossed the attention of the public, which was to fix a general excise. The minister introduced it into the house, by going into a detail of the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds, he proposed, that, instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, all hereafter to be imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown, and should thence be sold, upon paying the duty of four-pence a pound, when the proprietor found a purchaser. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less within doors than without. It

was asserted, that it would expose the factors to such hardships that they would be unable to continue their trade, and that such a scheme would not even prevent the frauds complained of. It was added, that a number of additional excisemen and warehouse-keepers would thus be employed, which would at once render the ministry formidable, and the people dependant. Such were the arguments employed to stir up the citizens to oppose this law; arguments rather specious than solid, since, with all its disadvantages, the tax upon tobacco would thus be more safely and expeditiously collected, and the avenues to numberless frauds would be shut up. The people, however, were raised into such a ferment, that the parliament-house was surrounded with multitudes, who intimidated the ministry, and compelled them to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Westminster, and the minister was burned in effigy by the populace of London.

The members of the opposition acquired such strength and popularity by defeating the ministry in this scheme, that they resolved to try their forces in an offensive measure, and made a motion for repealing the septennial bill, and bringing back triennial parliaments, as settled at the revolution. In the course of this debate, the country party reflected with great severity on the measures of the late reign, and the conduct of the present minister. It was alleged that the septennial bill was an encroachment on the rights of the people, and that there was no method to overturn a wicked ministry, but by frequent changes of parliament. "Let us suppose a man," said sir William Wyndham, "of no great family, and of but mean fortune, without any sense of honour, raised to be chief minister of state. Suppose this man raised to great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are venal. Let us suppose all attempts in such a parliament to inquire into his conduct, or relieve the nation, fruitless. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all men of antient families, over all men of sense, figure, or fortune, in the nation; as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to punish or corrupt it in all. With such a minister,

and such a parliament, let us suppose a case, which I hope will never happen, a prince upon the throne uninformed, ignorant, and unacquainted with the inclinations and true interests of his people ; weak, capricious, transported with unbounded ambition, and possessed with insatiable avarice. I hope such a case will never occur ; but as it possibly may, could any greater curse happen to a nation than such a prince advised by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament ? The nature of mankind cannot be altered by human laws ; the existence of such a prince, or such a minister, we cannot prevent by act of parliament ; but the existence of such a parliament may surely be prevented ; and abridging its continuance is at least a certain remedy." Notwithstanding the warmth of the opposition, the ministry, exerting all their strength, were victorious, and the motion was suppressed by the majority. However, as the country party seemed to grow more powerful on this occasion than formerly, it was thought fit to dissolve the parliament, [1734.] and another was convoked by the same proclamation.

The leaders of both parties in the new parliament were precisely the same as in the preceding, and the same measures were pursued and opposed with similar animosity. A bill was brought in for fixing the prince of Wales's household at one hundred thousand pounds a-year. This took rise [1737.] among the country party, and, being opposed, was thrown out by the courtiers. A scheme was proposed by sir John Barnard for diminishing the interest on the national debt, and rejected in the same manner. But it was otherwise with a bill introduced by the ministry for subjecting the play-houses to a licenser.

The press had for some time taken the popular side of every question ; and the play-houses finding that most money was to be gotten by chiming in with the national humour, thought that exposing the ministry would procure spectators. At a little theatre in the Hay-market, the ministry were every night ridiculed, and their dress and manner exactly imitated. The ingenious Mr. Henry Fielding, finding that the public had no taste for new pieces of real humour, was willing to gratify their appetite for scandal, and brought on a theatrical piece which he called Pasquin ; the public applauded its severity, and the representation was crowded for many nights, while Fielding began to congratu-

late himself upon his dexterity in discarding wit from the stage, and substituting politics, which the people liked better. The abuse, however, threatened to become dangerous; and the ministry, sensible of their strength, were resolved, as they expressed it, to suppress the licentiousness of the stage. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time were not only severe, but immoral also. On this ground the ministry made their attack. Sir Robert Walpole brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses, to subject all dramatic writings to the inspection of the lord-chamberlain, and to suppress all such as he thought would have a tendency to corrupt men's morals, or obstruct government. The bill was opposed by lord Chesterfield with great eloquence; but carried by a majority determined to vote with the minister. This bill, while it confined genius on the one hand, turned it to proper objects of pursuit on the other; and the stage is at present free from the scandalous license which infects the press, but perhaps rendered more dull from the abridgement of unlimited abuse.

New subjects of controversy offered every day; and the members on each side were ready enough to seize them. A convention agreed upon by the ministry, at the Prado, with Spain, became an object of warm altercation. By this the court of Spain [1739.] agreed to pay the sum of ninety-five thousand pounds to the English as a satisfaction for all demands upon the crown and the subjects of that kingdom, and to discharge the whole within four months, from the day of ratification. This, however, was considered as no equivalent for the damages that had been sustained; the country party declaimed against it as a sacrifice of the interests of Great Britain to the court of Spain, and alleged that the whole of their demands should be paid, which amounted to three hundred and forty thousand pounds. The minister on this occasion was provoked into unusual vehemence. He branded the opposite party with the appellation of traitors, and expressed his hope that their behaviour would unite all the true friends of the present government in opposing their designs. The ministry were, as usual, victorious; and the country party, finding themselves out-voted in every debate, resolved to withdraw forever. They had long asserted that all deliberation was useless, and debate vain, since every member had enlisted himself not under the banners of reason, but of party, Despairing;

therefore, of being able to oppose with any hopes of conviction, and sensible of the popularity of their cause, they retired from parliament to their seats in the country, and left the ministry an undisputed majority in the house of commons.

The minister, being now left without opposition, was resolved to give his opponents the most sensible mortification, by an alteration in his conduct. He took this opportunity to render them odious or contemptible, by passing several useful laws in their absence. At the same time, the king himself laboured with equal assiduity at his favourite object of adjusting the political scale of Europe. For this purpose, he made several journeys to the continent; but in the mean time a rupture of a domestic nature was likely to be attended with many inconveniences. A misunderstanding arose between the king and the prince of Wales; and as the latter was the darling of the people, his cause was seconded by all those of the country party. The prince had been a short time before married to the princess of Saxe-Gotha; and the prince taking umbrage at the scantiness of the yearly allowance from his father, seldom visited the court. The princess had advanced to the last month of her pregnancy before the king had any notice of the event; and she was actually brought to bed of a princess, without properly acquainting the king. In consequence of this, his majesty sent his son a message, informing him that the whole tenour of his conduct had of late been so void of real duty, that he resolved to punish him by forbidding him the court. He therefore signified his pleasure that he should leave St. James's with all his family; and, in consequence, the prince retired to Kew. This rupture was very favourable to the country interest, as they thus had a considerable personage equally interested with themselves to oppose the ministry. To the prince, therefore, resorted all those who formed future expectations of rising in the state, and all who had reason to be discontented with the present conduct of administration.

CHAP. XLVII.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

EVER since the treaty of Utrecht, the Spaniards in America had insulted and distressed the commerce of Great Britain, and the British merchants had attempted to carry on an illicit trade into their dominions. A right which the English merchants claimed by treaty, of cutting logwood in the bay of Campeachy, gave them frequent opportunities of pushing in contraband commodities upon the continent; so that to suppress the evil, the Spaniards were resolved to annihilate the claim. This liberty of cutting logwood had often been acknowledged, but never clearly ascertained; in all former treaties, it was considered as an object of too little importance to make a separate article in any negotiation. The Spanish vessels appointed for protecting the coast continued their severities upon the English; many of the subjects of Britain were sent to dig in the mines of Potosi, and deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to those who might send them redress. One remonstrance followed another to the court of Madrid, of this violation of treaty; but the only answers given were promises of inquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants complained loudly of those outrages; but the minister vainly expected from negotiations that redress which was only to be obtained by arms.

The fears discovered by the court of Great Britain only served to increase the insolence of the enemy; and their guard-ships continued to seize not only all the guilty, but the innocent, whom they found sailing along the Spanish main. At last the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to interest the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced, and their grievances enforced by counsel at the bar of the house. It was soon found that the money which Spain had agreed to pay to the court of Great Britain was withheld, and no reason assigned for the delay. The minister, therefore, to gratify the general ardour, and to atone for his former deficiencies, assured the house that he would put the nation into a condition of war. Soon after letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards; and this

being on both sides considered as an actual commencement of hostilities, both diligently set forward their armaments by sea and land. In this threatening situation, the French minister at the Hague declared that his master was obliged by treaty to assist the king of Spain; so that the alliances which but twenty years before had taken place were now quite reversed. At that time, France and England were combined against Spain; at present, France and Spain were united against England: such little hopes can statesmen place upon the firmest treaties, where there is no superior power to compel the observance.

A rupture between England and Spain being now considered as inevitable, the people, who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry began to be as earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land forces, and raising a body of marines. War was declared with all proper solemnity, and soon after two rich Spanish prizes were taken in the Mediterranean. Admiral Vernon, a man of more courage than experience, of more confidence than skill, was sent commander of a fleet into the West-Indies, to distress the enemy in that part of the globe. He had asserted in the house of commons that Porto-Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, could be easily destroyed; and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impracticable was ridiculed by the ministry; but as he still insisted upon the proposal, they complied with his request, hoping that his want of success might repress the confidence of his party. In this, however, they were disappointed; for with six ships only he attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, with scarcely the loss of a man. This victory was magnified at home in all the strains of panegyric, and the triumph was far superior to the value of the conquest.

As the war began thus successfully, it inspired the commons to prosecute it with all imaginable vigour. The minister easily procured from that assembly such supplies as enabled him to equip a very powerful navy. A subsidy was voted to the king of Denmark, and the king was empowered to defray some other expenses not mentioned in the estimates of the year. As the preparations for war increased in every part of the kingdom, the do-

mestic debates and factions seemed to subside ; and, indeed, it seems to have been the peculiar felicity of this nation, that every species of activity takes its turn to occupy the people. In a nation like this, arts and luxury, commerce and war, at certain intervals, must ever be serviceable. This vicissitude turns the current of wealth from one determined channel, and gives it a diffusive spread over the face of the country ; it is at one time diverted to the laborious and frugal, at another to the brave, active, and enterprising. Thus all orders of mankind find encouragement ; and the nation becomes composed of individuals, who have art to acquire property, and who have courage to defend it.

While vigorous preparations were making in other departments, a squadron was equipped for distressing the enemy in the South Seas, the command of which was given to commodore Anson. This fleet was destined to sail through the straits of Magellan, and steering northwards, along the coasts of Chili and Peru, to co-operate occasionally with admiral Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien. The delays and mistakes of the ministry frustrated that part of the scheme, which was originally well laid. When it was too late in the season, the commodore set out with three ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, with about fourteen hundred men. Having reached the coast of Brasil, he refreshed his men for some time on the island of St. Catharine, a spot that enjoys all the fruitfulness and verdure of the luxurious tropical climate. Thence he steered downward into the cold and tempestuous regions of the south ; and in about five months after, meeting a terrible tempest, he doubled Cape Horn. By this time his fleet was dispersed, and his crew deplorably disabled with the scurvy ; so that with much difficulty he gained the delightful island of Juan Fernandez. There he was joined by one ship, and a vessel of seven guns. Advancing northward, he landed on the coast of Chili, and attacked Paita by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his shipping, nor even disembarked all his men ; a few soldiers, favoured by darkness, sufficed to fill the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides ; accustomed to be severe, they expected severity. In the mean time, a small body of the English kept possession of the town for three days, stripping it of all its treasures and merchandise to a considerable amount, and then setting it on fire.

Soon after, this small squadron advanced as far as Panama, situated on the Isthmus of Darien, on the western side of the great American continent. The commodore now placed all his hopes in taking one of those valuable Spanish ships which trade from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Not above one or two at the most of these immensely rich ships went from one continent to the other in a year; they were, therefore, very large, in order to carry a sufficiency of treasure, and proportionably strong to defend it. In hopes of meeting with one of these, the commodore, with his little fleet, traversed the great Pacific Ocean; but the scurvy once more visiting his crew, several of his men died, and almost all were disabled. In this exigence, having brought all his men into one vessel, and set fire to the only other ship which remained with him, he steered for the island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the New World and the Old. In this charming abode he continued for some time, till his men recovered their health, and his ship was refitted for sailing.

Thus refreshed, he set forward for China, where he laid in proper stores for traversing back that immense ocean in which he had just before suffered such difficulties. Having accordingly taken some Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again steered towards America; and at length, after various toils, discovered the Spanish galleon he had so long ardently expected. This vessel was built as well for the purpose of war as of merchandise. It mounted sixty guns, with five hundred men, while the crew of the commodore did not amount to half that number. However, the victory was on the side of the English, and they returned home with their prize, which was estimated at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling, while the different captures that had been made before amounted to as much more. Thus, after a voyage of three years, conducted with amazing perseverance and intrepidity, the public sustained the loss of a small fleet; but a few individuals became possessed of immense riches.

In the mean time, the English conducted other operations against the enemy with amazing activity. When Anson set out, it was with a design of acting a subordinate part to a formidable armament designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of

twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and as many land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, nor ever had the nation more sanguine hopes of success. Lord Cathcart was appointed to command the land-forces; but he dying on the passage, the command devolved upon general Wentworth, whose abilities were supposed to be unequal to the trust reposed in him. The ministry, without any visible reason, detained the fleet in England, until the season for action in America was nearly over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains begin about the end of April, and this change in the climate as surely brings on epidemic [1741.] ical and contagious diseases. Having at length arrived on the coasts of New Spain, before the wealthy city of Carthagena, they landed their forces in order to form the siege of this important fortification. This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as a magazine for the merchandise of Spain, which is conveyed from Europe thither, and thence transported by land to Panama, to be exchanged for the native commodities of the New World. The taking of Carthagena, therefore, would have obstructed the whole trade between Old Spain and the New.

To carry on the siege with safety, the troops were landed on the island Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, which had been previously fortified by all the arts of engineering. The land forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while Vernon, who commanded the fleet, sent a number of ships into the harbour, to divide the fire of the enemy, and to co-operate with the army on shore. The breach being deemed practicable, a body of troops were commanded to storm; but the Spaniards deserted the forts, which, if possessed of courage, they might have defended with success. The troops, upon gaining this advantage, were advanced much nearer the city; but there they met a much greater opposition than they had expected. It was found, or asserted, that the fleet could not lie near enough to batter the town, and that nothing remained but to attempt one of the forts by scaling. The leaders of the fleet and the army began to accuse each other, each asserting the probability of what the other denied. At length, Wentworth,

stimulated by the admiral's reproach, resolved to try the dangerous experiment, and ordered that fort St. Lazare should be attempted by scalade. Nothing could be more unfortunate than this undertaking; the forces marching up to the attack, their guides were slain, and they mistook their way. Instead of attempting the weakest part of the fort, they advanced to where it was strongest, and where they were exposed to the fire of the town. Colonel Grant, who commanded the grenadiers, was killed in the beginning. Soon after it was found that their scaling-ladders were too short; the officers were perplexed for want of orders, and the troops stood exposed to the whole fire of the enemy, without knowing how to proceed. After bearing a dreadful fire for some hours with great intrepidity, they at length retreated, leaving six hundred men dead on the spot. The terrors of the climate soon began to be more dreadful than those of war; the rainy season began with such violence, that it was impossible for the troops to continue encamped; and the mortality of the season now began to attack them in all its frightful varieties. To these calamities, sufficient to quell any enterprise, were added the dissensions between the land and sea commanders, who blamed each other for every failure, and become frantic with mutual recrimination. They only, therefore, at last could be brought to agree in one mortifying measure, which was to re-embark the troops, and to withdraw them as quickly as possible from this scene of slaughter and contagion.

The fortifications nearer the harbour being demolished, the troops were conveyed back to Jamaica; and this island, which of itself is sufficiently unhealthy, was considered as a paradise to that from which they had just escaped. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British glory, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent. The loudest burst of indignation was directed at the minister; they who once praised him for successes he did not merit, condemned him now for a failure of which he was guiltless.

To this cause of complaint, several others were added. The inactivity of the English fleet at home was among the principal. Sir John Norris had twice sailed to the coasts of Spain, at the head of a very powerful squadron, without taking any effectual step to annoy the enemy. The Spanish privateers, become nu-

merous and enterprising, annoyed our commerce with great success, having taken, since the commencement of the war, four hundred and seven ships belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at an immense expense in equipping fleets, seemed to lie down unrevenged under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This universal discontent had a manifest influence upon the general election which followed soon after; and the complaints against the minister became so general, that he began to tremble for his safety. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales, who continued to live retired from court, as a private gentleman, concurred in the opposition. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit prevailed, that the country interest now at last seemed ready to preponderate.

In this situation, the minister finding the strength of the house of commons turned against him, tried every art to break that confederacy which he knew he had not strength to oppose. [1742.] His first attempt was by endeavouring to disengage the prince from his party, by promises of royal favour, and other emoluments. The bishop of Oxford was accordingly sent to him, with an offer, that if he would write a letter of submission to the king, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour; fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue; two hundred thousand should be granted him to pay his debts; and suitable provision should be made in due time for all his followers. This, to a person already involved in debt, from the scantiness of his pension and the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer. However, the prince generously disdained it, declaring he would accept of no conditions dictated to him under the influence of a minister whose measures he disapproved.

Walpole now saw that his power was at an end; but he still feared more for his person. The resentment of the people had been raised against him to an extravagant height; and their leaders taught them to expect very signal justice to their supposed oppressor. The first occasion he had to find the house of commons turned against him was in debating upon some disputed elections. In the first of these, which was heard at the bar of the house, he carried his point by a majority of six only; and this he looked upon as a defeat rather than a victory. The in-

considerable majority that appeared on his side, which had long been used to carry every question with ease, plainly proved that his friends were no longer able to protect him. A petition, presented by the electors of Westminster, complaining of an undue election, which had been carried on by the unjust influence of the ministry, and which they begged to set aside, was presented to the house. Sir Robert laboured with all his art to over-rule their petition; the house entered into a discussion, and carried it against him by a majority of four voices. He resolved to try his strength once more in another disputed election, and had the mortification to see the majority against him augmented to sixteen. He then declared he would never sit more in that house. The next day the king adjourned both houses of parliament for a few days; and, in the interim, sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

Nothing could give the people more general satisfaction than this minister's deposition. It was now universally expected, that his power being abridged, his punishment was to follow; and mankind prepared themselves for some tragical event with vindictive satisfaction. Every person now flattered himself that every domestic grievance would be redressed; that commerce would be protected abroad; that the expensive subsidies to foreign states would be retrenched; and that the house of commons would be unanimous in every popular measure. But they soon found themselves miserably deceived. Those who clamoured most against him, when put into power, began exactly to adopt all his measures.

At no time of life did this minister acquit himself with such art as on the present occasion. The country party consisted of Tories, reinforced by discontented Whigs: the former, implacable in their resentments against him, could not be mollified; the latter, either soured by disappointment, or incited by ambition, only wished his removal. To these, therefore, Walpole applied, and was willing to grant them that power at which they aimed; and, in return for this concession, he only demanded impunity. The offer was accepted with pleasure; their Tory friends were instantly abandoned; and a breach thus ensuing, the same opposition still continued against the new ministry that had obtained against the old.

The place of chancellor of the exchequer was bestowed on Mr. Sandys, who was likewise appointed a lord of the treasury. Lord Harrington was declared president of the council ; and in his room lord Carteret became secretary of state. Mr. Pulteney was sworn of the privy council, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales took place soon after ; and the change in the ministry was celebrated by rejoicings over the whole nation.

But this transport was of short duration ; it soon appeared that those who declaimed most loudly for the liberties of the people had adopted new measures with their new employments. The new converts were branded as betrayers of the interests of their country ; but particularly the resentment of the people fell upon the earl of Bath, who had long declaimed against that very conduct which he now seemed earnest to pursue. He had been the idol of the people, and considered as one of the most illustrious champions that had ever defended the cause of freedom ; but allured perhaps with the hope of governing in Walpole's place, he was contented to give up his popularity for ambition. The king, however, treated him with that neglect which he merited : he was laid aside for life, and continued a wretched survivor of all his former importance.

The war with Spain had now continued for several years, and was attended with but indifferent fortune. Some unsuccessful expeditions had been carried on in the West Indies, under admiral Vernon, commodore Knowles, and others ; and the failure of these was still more aggravated by the political writers of the day—a class of beings that had risen up during this and the preceding administration, at first employed against Walpole, and afterwards taken into pay by him. Dull and without principle, they made themselves agreeable to the public by impudence and abuse, embarrassed every operation, and embittered every misfortune. These had for some time inspired the people with a disgust for their operations by sea, and taught them to wish for better fortune on land. The people became ripe for renewing their victories in Flanders, and the king desired nothing with so much ardour. It was resolved, therefore, to send a powerful body of men into the Netherlands to join in the quarrels that were beginning on the continent ; and immense triumphs were expected from such an undertaking, which the king resolved to conduct in person.

An army of sixteen thousand men were transported to Flanders, and the war with Spain became but an object of secondary consideration.

CHAP. XLVIII.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

TO have a clear yet concise idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be necessary to go back for some years, and trace the measures of the European republic from that period where we left them in our former narrative. After the duke of Orléans, who had been regent of France, died, cardinal Fleury undertook to settle the great confusion in which that luxurious prince had left the kingdom. His moderation and prudence were equally conspicuous; he was sincere, frugal, modest, and simple: under him, therefore, France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and he saw it gradually regaining its former health and vigour.

During the long interval of peace which this minister's counsels had procured for Europe, two powers, till now unregarded, began to attract the notice and jealousy of the neighbouring nations. Peter the Great had already civilised Russia; and this new-created extensive empire began to influence the councils of other nations, and to give laws to the North. The other power that came into notice was that of the king of Prussia, whose dominions were populous, and whose forces were well maintained and ready for action.

The other states were but little improved for the purposes of renewing the war. The empire remained under the government of Charles the Sixth, who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden continued to languish, being not recovered from the destructive projects of her darling monarch Charles the Twelfth. Denmark was powerful enough, but inclined to peace; and part of Italy still remained subject to those princes who had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties.

All those states, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, until the death of Augustus, king of Poland, by which a general flame was once more kindled in Europe. The emperor, assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who long since had been nominated king of the Poles by Charles of Sweden, and whose daughter the king of France had since married. In order to drive forward his pretensions, Stanislaus repaired to Dantzic, where the people very gladly received him. But his triumph was short; ten thousand Russians appearing before the place, the Polish nobility dispersed, and Stanislaus was besieged by this small body of forces. But though the city was taken, the king escaped with some difficulty by night; and fifteen hundred men that were sent to his assistance were made prisoners of war. France, however, resolved to continue her assistance to him; and this, it was supposed, would be most effectually done by distressing the house of Austria.

The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia, both having hopes to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria. A French army, therefore, soon over-ran the empire, under the conduct of old marshal Villars; while the duke of Montemar, the general of Spain, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Naples. Thus the emperor had the mortification to see his own dominions ravaged, and a great part of Italy torn from him, only for having attempted to give a king to Poland.

These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the emperor to demand a peace. It was accordingly granted him; but Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was begun, was neglected in the treaty. It was stipulated that he should renounce all claim to the crown of Poland; for which the emperor gratified France with the duchy of Lorraine, and some other valuable territories.

The emperor dying in the year 1740, the French began to think this a favourable opportunity of exerting their ambition once more. Regardless of treaties, particularly that called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the reversion of all the late emperor's dominions was settled upon his daughter, they caused the elector of Bavaria to be crowned emperor. Thus the queen of Hungary, daughter of Charles the Sixth, descended from an illus-

trious line of emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and left for a whole year deserted by all Europe, and without any hopes of succour. She had scarcely closed her father's eyes when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young king of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state to renew his antient pretensions to that province, of which, it must be owned, his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions; England was the only power that seemed willing to espouse her helpless condition. Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia acceded to the union in her favour.

It may now be demanded, what cause Britain had to intermeddle in these continental schemes. It can only be answered, that the interests of Hanover, and the security of that electorate, depended upon the nicely balancing the different interests of the empire; and the English ministry were willing to gratify the king. Lord Carteret, who had now taken up that place in the royal confidence which had formerly been possessed by Walpole, by pursuing these measures soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected to receive honour from victories which he seemed certain of obtaining; and desired to engage in measures which must be injurious to the nation, even though attended with the desired success.

When the parliament met, his majesty began by informing them of his strict adherence to engagements; and that he had sent a body of English forces into the Netherlands, which he had augmented by sixteen thousand Hanoverians, to make a diversion upon the dominions of France, in the queen of Hungary's favour. When the supplies came to be considered, by which these Hanoverian troops were to be paid by England for defending their own cause, it produced most violent debates in both houses of parliament. It was considered as an imposition upon the nation, as an attempt to pay foreign troops for fighting their own battles; and the ministry were pressed by their own arguments against such measures before they came into power. They were not ashamed, however, upon this occasion, boldly to defend what they had so violently impugned; and at length, by the strength of numbers, and not of reason, they carried their cause.

The people now saw with indignation their former defenders turned against themselves; patriotism they began to consider as an empty name, and knew not on whom to rely, since the boldest professors of liberty were purchased at an easy rate. But however these continental measures might injure the real interests of the nation, they for that time served to retrieve the queen of Hungary's desperate affairs. She soon began to turn the scale of victory on her side. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal emperor, was obliged to fly before her; and abandoned by his allies, [1743.] and stripped even of his hereditary dominions, retired to Frankfort, where he lived in obscurity.

The French, who had begun as allies, were now obliged to sustain the whole burthen of the war, and accordingly faced their enemies, invading them on every side of their dominions. The troops sent to the queen's assistance by England were commanded by the earl of Stair, an experienced general, who had learned the art of war under the famous prince Eugene. The chief object which he had in view in the beginning was to effect a junction with the queen's army, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, and thus to out-number the enemy in the field. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled an army of sixty thousand men upon the river Maine, under the command of marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side into a country where they found themselves entirely destitute of provisions, the French having cut off all means of their being supplied with any. The king of England arrived at the camp while his troops were in this deplorable situation; wherefore he resolved to penetrate forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before his army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had enclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen.

Nothing now presented but the most mortifying prospects; if he fought the enemy, it must be at the greatest disadvantage; if he continued inactive, there was a certainty of being starved; and as for a retreat, that was impossible. The impetuosity of

the French troops saved his whole army. They passed a defile, which they should have been contented to guard ; and, under the conduct of the duke of Grammont, their horse charged the English foot with great fury. They were received, however, with intrepidity and resolution ; so that they were obliged to give way, and repass the Maine with precipitation, with the loss of about five thousand men. The king of England, with great personal courage, exposed himself to a severe fire of the enemy's cannon, and in the midst of the engagement encouraged his troops by his presence and his example. The English had the honour of the day, but were soon obliged to leave the field of battle to the French, who treated the wounded English with a clemency peculiar to that generous nation. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the earl of Stair, who was commander-in-chief, did not assume any honour from such a victory. He was unwilling to share any glory which was so precariously obtained, and snatched rather from the enemy's mistake, than gained by his conduct. He therefore solicited leave to resign, which he obtained ; and the troops desisted from further operations that campaign.

Mean-while the French went on with vigour on every side. They opposed prince Charles, and interrupted his attempts to pass the Rhine. They gained also some successes in Italy ; but their chief hopes were placed upon a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead ; and cardinal Tencin, who succeeded him in power, was a man of a very different character from his predecessor, being proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of the parliamentary disputes in England, had been persuaded that the country was long ripe for a revolution, and only wanted the presence of a pretender to bring about the change. Several needy adventurers who wished for a revolution, some men of broken fortunes, and all the Roman catholics in the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments, of which they themselves were persuaded. An invasion, therefore, was actually projected ; and Charles, the son of the old pretender, departed from Rome in the disguise of a Spanish courier, for Paris, where he had an audience of the French king.

This family had long been the dupes of France ; but it was

thought at present there were serious resolutions formed in their favour. The troops destined for the expedition amounted to fifteen thousand men ; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young pretender. The duke de Roquefeuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England ; and the famous count Saxe was to command them when put on shore. But the whole project was disconcerted by the appearance of sir John Norris, who, with a superior fleet, made up to attack them. The French fleet was thus obliged to put back ; a very hard gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress ; and the French, now frustrated in their scheme of a sudden descent, thought fit openly to declare war.

But though fortune seemed to favour England on this occasion, yet in other respects she was not equally propitious. The English ministry had sent out a powerful squadron of ships into the Mediterranean to overawe those states who might be inclined to lend assistance to France or Spain. This fleet had been conducted by Lestock ; but admiral Matthews, though a younger officer, was sent out to take the superior command ; which produced a [1744.] misunderstanding between the commanders. There was soon an opportunity offered for these officers to discover their mutual animosity, to the damage of their country and their own disgrace. The combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of four and thirty sail, were seen off Toulon ; and a signal was made by the English admiral to prepare for engaging. It happened that his signals were not perfectly exact ; he had hung out that for forming the line of battle, which at the same time showed the signal for engaging. This was a sufficient excuse to Lestock for refusing to come up with alacrity ; so that, after some vain efforts to attack the enemy in conjunction, Matthews resolved to engage as well as he could. One ship of the line belonging to the Spanish squadron struck to captain Hawke, but was next day burned by the admiral's order. Captain Cornwall was killed in the engagement, after continuing to give command even after his leg was shot off by a cannon. The pursuit was continued for three day, at the end of which time Lestock seemed to come up with some vigour ; but just then Matthews gave orders for discontinuing the pursuit, and sailed away for

Port Mahon to repair the damage he had sustained. The English fleet was willing to claim the victory; and the French and Spaniards were not less pleased with their own good fortune. In England, however, this disputed success was considered as the most mortifying defeat, and the complaints of the people knew no bounds. Both admirals, upon their return, were tried by a court-martial. Matthews, who had fought with intrepidity, was declared for the future incapable of serving in his majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept at a distance, was acquitted with honour, having entrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline. He barely did his duty. A man of honour, when his country is at stake, should do more.

The proceedings in the Netherlands were as unfavourable to the English arms as their most sanguine enemies could desire. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, the chief command of which was given to count Saxe, natural son to the late king of Poland, and who had long been a soldier of fortune. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shown very early instances of cool intrepidity. He had in the beginning of the war offered his services to several crowns, and among others, it is said, to the king of Great Britain; but his offers were rejected. By long habits, this general had learned to preserve an equal composure in the midst of battle, and seemed as serene in the thickest fire as in the drawing-room at court. To oppose this great general, the English were headed by the duke of Cumberland, who neither possessed such talents for war, nor was able to bring such a formidable body of men into the field.

The French, therefore, bore down all before them. They reduced Fribourg; and, in the beginning of the succeeding campaign, invested the strong city of Tournay. Although the allies were inferior in number, and although commanded by the duke of Cumberland, yet they resolved, if possible, to save this city by hazarding a battle. They accordingly [1745.] marched against the enemy, and took post in sight of the French, who were encamped on an eminence, with the village of St. Antoine on the right, a wood on the left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English, who began the attack at two o'clock in the

morning, and pressing forward, bore down all opposition. They were for near an hour victorious, and confident of success, while Saxe, who commanded the enemy, was at that time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. However, he was carried about to all the posts in a litter, and assured his attendants that, notwithstanding all unfavourable appearances, the day was his own. A column of the English, without any command, but by mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemy's lines, which, opening, formed an avenue on each side to receive them. It was then that the French artillery, on three sides, began to play upon this forlorn body, which, after continuing for a long time unshaken, retreated about three in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies left on the field of battle near twelve thousand men, and the French bought their victory with nearly an equal number of slain.

This blow by which the French gained Tournay, gave them such a manifest superiority all the rest of the campaign, that they kept the fruits of their victory during the whole continuance of the war. The duke of Bavaria, whom they had made emperor under the title of Charles the Seventh, was lately dead; but though his pretensions were the original cause of the war, that by no means was discontinued at his decease. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was declared emperor in his room; and though the original cause of the quarrel was no more, the dissensions still continued as fierce as ever.

Notwithstanding ill success attended the British arms by land and sea, yet these being distant evils, the English seemed only to complain from honourable motives, and murmured at distresses of which they had but a very remote prospect. A civil war was now going to be kindled in their own dominions, which mixed terrors with their complaints, and which, while it increased their perplexities, only cemented their union. The intended French invasion had roused all the attention of the people, and nothing breathed throughout the whole kingdom but the destruction of a popish pretender, assisted by French counsels and arms. The disappointment of that expedition served to increase the hatred of the people against the pretender still more, as it showed that he was willing to be made a king, even by the open enemies of

his country. The people, therefore, were never so ill disposed to receive him as at the very time which he fixed upon to make a descent.

The ministry was by this time changed ; Mr. Pelham and the earl of Harrington being placed at the head of affairs. These enjoyed some share of popularity, and the operations of war were no longer thwarted by a turbulent opposition. The admirals Rowley and Warren had retrieved the honour of the British flag, and made several rich captures at sea. The fortress of Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, on the coast of North America, a place of great consequence to the British commerce, surrendered to general Pepperel ; and a short time after, two French East-India ships, and a Spanish ship from Peru, laden with treasure, put into the harbour, supposing it still their own, and were taken.

It was at this period of returning success that the son of the old pretender resolved to make an effort for gaining the British crown. Charles-Edward, the adventurer in question, had been bred in a luxurious court, without partaking in its effeminacy. He was enterprising and ambitious, but, either from inexperience or natural inability, utterly unequal to the bold undertaking. He was long flattered by the rash, the superstitious, and the needy ; he was taught to believe that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt, and that it could no longer bear the immense load of taxes with which it was burthened.

Being now furnished with some money, and with still larger promises from France, who fanned his ambition, he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the marquis of Tullibardine, sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other desperate adventurers. Thus, for the conquest of the whole British empire, he only brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men.

Fortune, which ever persecuted his family, seemed no way more favourable to him ; his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man of war, named the Lion, that it was obliged to return to Brest, while he continued his course to the western parts of Scotland, and landing on the coast of Lochaber, was in a little time joined by July 16,
some chiefs of the Highland clans, and their vassals, 1745.

over whom they exercised an hereditary jurisdiction. By means of these chiefs he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men, and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed all over the kingdom.

The boldness of this enterprise astonished all Europe : it awakened the fears of the pusillanimous, the ardour of the brave, and the pity of the wise. The whole kingdom seemed unanimously bent upon opposing an enterprise which they were sensible, as being supported by papists, would be instrumental in restoring popery. The ministry was no sooner confirmed in the account of his arrival, which at first they could be scarcely induced to credit, than Sir John Cope was sent with a small body of forces to oppose his progress.

By this time the young adventurer had arrived at Perth, where the unnecessary ceremony was performed of proclaiming his father king of Great Britain. Descending from the mountains, his forces seemed to gather as they went forward ; and advancing to Edinburgh, they entered that city without opposition. There again the pageantry of proclamation was performed ; and there he promised to dissolve the union, which was considered as one of the grievances of the country. However, the castle of that city still held out, and he was unprovided with cannon to besiege it.

In the mean time, sir John Cope, who had pursued the rebels through the Highlands, but had declined meeting them in their descent, being now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give the enemy battle. The young adventurer, whose forces were rather superior though undisciplined, attacked him near Preston-Pans, a few miles from the capital, and soon put him and his troops to flight. This victory, by which the king lost five hundred men, gave the rebels great influence ; and had the pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched directly for England, the consequence might have been fatal to freedom. But he was amused by the promise of succours which never came ; and thus induced to remain in Edinburgh, to enjoy the triumphs of a trifling victory, and to be treated as a monarch. By this time his train was composed of the earl of Kilmarnock, a man of desperate fortune, who had lately become discontented with the court for

withdrawing a pension that had been granted to him ; lord Balmorino, who had been an officer in the English service, but gave up his commission in order to join the rebels ; the lords Cromartie, Elcho, Ogilvie, Pittsligo, and the eldest son of lord Lovat, who came in with their vassals, and increased his army. Lord Lovat himself was an enthusiast in the cause ; but, being without principles, he was unwilling to act openly, afraid of incurring the resentment of the ministry, whom he still dreaded. Never was there a man of such unaccountable ambition, or who ever more actively rendered himself hateful and suspected by all. He was at first outlawed for ravishing the duke of Argyle's niece ; he then offered his service to the old pretender in France, and it was accepted ; he next betrayed to queen Anne, the forces which were sent to his assistance. He a second time invited the pretender over in the reign of George the First ; and being put in possession, by the chevalier, of the castle of Stirling, he did not scruple to deliver it up to the enemy. This man, true to neither party, had now, in secret, sent aid to the young chevalier ; while, in his conversation, he affected to declaim against his attempt.

While the young pretender was thus trifling away this time at Edinburgh (for, in dangerous enterprises, delay is but defeat), the ministry of Great Britain took every proper precaution to oppose him with success. Six thousand Dutch soldiers, who had come over to the assistance of the crown, were dispatched northward ; under the command of general Wade ; but, as it was then said, these could lend no assistance, as they were prisoners of France upon parole, and under engagements not to oppose that power for the space of one year. However this be, the duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry well disciplined, and inured to action. Besides these, volunteers offered in every part of the kingdom ; and every county exerted a vigorous spirit of indignation against the ambition, the religion, and the allies of the young pretender.

However, he had been bred up in a school that taught him maxims very different from those that then prevailed in England. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it, into the kingdom, he had been taught that the assertion of his right was a duty incumbent upon him, and the alter-

ing the constitution, and perhaps the religion of his country, an object of laudable ambition. Thus animated, he went forward with vigour; and having, upon frequent consultations with his officers, come to a resolution of making an irruption into England, he entered the country by the western border, and invested Carlisle, which surrendered in less than three days. He there found a considerable quantity of arms; and there too he ordered his father to be proclaimed king.

General Wade being apprised of his progress, advanced across the country from the opposite shore; but receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days' march before him, he retired to his former station. The young pretender, therefore, thus unopposed, resolved to penetrate farther into the kingdom, having received assurances from France that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coasts, to make a diversion in his favour. He was flattered also with the hopes of being joined by a considerable number of malcontents as he passed forward, and that his army would increase on the march. Accordingly, leaving a small garrison in Carlisle, which he should rather have left defenceless, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in a Highland dress, and continuing his irruption till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters.

He was there joined by about two hundred English, who were formed into a regiment under the command of colonel Townly. Thence he pursued his march to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped to be joined by a great number of followers; but the factions among his own chiefs prevented his proceeding to that part of the kingdom.

He had by this time advanced within a hundred and twenty miles of the capital, which was filled with perplexity and consternation. Had he proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of the metropolis, where he would certainly have been joined by a considerable number of his well-wishers, who waited impatiently for his approach.

In the mean time, the king resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law agreed to take the field, with the judges at their head; and even the managers of the theatres of-

ferred to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the country. These associations were at once a proof of the people's fears and their loyalty ; while those concerned in the money-corporations were overwhelmed with dejection. But they found safety from the discontents which now began to prevail in the pretender's army. In fact, he was but the nominal leader of his forces ; as his generals, the chiefs of the Highland clans, were, from their education, ignorant, and averse to subordination. They had from the beginning embraced an opposite system of operation, and contended with each other for pre-eminence ; but they seemed now unanimous in returning to their own country.

The rebels accordingly effected their retreat to Carlisle without any loss, and crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland. In these marches, however, they preserved all the rules of war ; they abstained in a great measure from plunder ; they levied contributions on the towns as they passed along ; and with unaccountable precaution left a garrison in Carlisle, which shortly after surrendered to the duke of Cumberland at discretion, to the number of four hundred men.

The pretender, having re-entered Scotland, proceeded to Glasgow, from which city he exacted contributions. He then advanced to Stirling, where he was joined by lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of some forces which had been assembled in his absence. Other clans, to the number of two thousand, [1746.] came in likewise ; and from some supplies of money which he received from Spain, and from some skirmishes in which he was successful against the royalists, his affairs began to wear a more promising aspect. Being joined by lord John Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by general Blakeney : but the rebel forces, being unused to sieges, consumed much time to no purpose. It was during this attempt, that general Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege, and advanced towards the rebel army as far as Falkirk. After two days spent in mutually examining each other's strength, the rebels, being ardent to engage, were led on in full spirits to attack the king's army. The pretender, who was in the front line, gave the signal to engage ; and the first fire put Hawley's forces into confusion. The horse retreated with precipitation, and fell upon their own infantry ;

while the rebels following their blow, the greatest part of the royal army fled with the utmost precipitation. They retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the conquerors in possession of their tents, their artillery, and the field of battle.

Thus far the affairs of the rebel army seemed not unprosperous ; but here was an end of all their triumphs. The duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, had been recalled from Flanders, and put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted of about fourteen thousand men. With these he advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by several of the Scotch nobility, attached to the house of Hanover ; and, having revived the drooping spirits of his army, he resolved to find out the enemy, who retreated at his approach. After having refreshed his troops at Aberdeen for some time, he renewed his march, and in twelve days he came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was the place where the rebels might have disputed his passage ; but they lost every advantage in quarrelling with each other. They seemed now totally devoid of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without unanimity. After a variety of contests among themselves, they resolved to await their pursuers upon the plains of Culloden, a place about nine miles distant from Inverness, embosomed in hills, except on that side which was open to the sea. There they drew up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in three divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery, ill manned and served.

The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon ; the cannon of the king's army did dreadful execution among the rebels, while their artillery proved totally unserviceable. One of the great errors in all the pretender's warlike measures was his subjecting wild and undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ardour, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had been kept in their ranks, and withstood the English fire for some time, they at length became impatient for closer engagement ; and about five hundred of them made an irruption upon the left wing of the enemy with their accustomed ferocity. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy with a terrible and close discharge. At the same time

the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the flank of the enemy and which they had but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, with great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. The French troops on the left did not fire a shot, but stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. An entire body of the clans marched off the field in order, while the rest were routed with great slaughter, and their leaders obliged with reluctance to retire. Civil war is in itself terrible, but more so when heightened by unnecessary cruelty. How guilty soever an enemy may be, it is the duty of a brave soldier to remember that he has only to fight an opposer, and not a suppliant. The victory was in every respect decisive, and humanity to the conquered would have rendered it glorious. But little mercy was shown here; the conquerors were seen to refuse quarter to the wounded, the unarmed, and the defenceless; some were slain who were only excited by curiosity to become spectators of the combat, and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner. The duke, immediately after the action, ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed; the conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short space, the whole country round was one dreadful scene of plunder, slaughter, and desolation; justice was forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name.

In this manner were blasted all the hopes and all the ambition of the young adventurer; one short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him from a nominal king to a distressed forlorn outcast, shunned by all mankind, except such as sought his destruction. To the good and the brave, subsequent distress] often atones for former guilt; and while reason would speak for punishment, our hearts plead for mercy. Immediately after the engagement, he fled with a captain of Fitz-james's cavalry; and when their horses were fatigued, they alighted, and separately sought for safety. He for some days wandered in this country (naturally wild, but now rendered more formidable by war), a wretched spectator of all those horrors, which were the result of his ill-guided ambition.

There is a striking similitude between his adventures, and those of Charles the Second upon his escape from Worcester. He sometimes found refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and dependent on the wretched natives, who could pity but not relieve him. Sometimes he lay in forests, with one or two companions of his distress, continually pursued by the troops of the conqueror, as there was a reward of thirty thousand pounds offered for taking him, dead or alive. Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, was the person who kept most faithfully by him, and inspired him with courage to support such incredible hardships. He had occasion, in the course of his concealments, to trust his life to the fidelity of above fifty individuals, whose veneration for his family prevailed above their avarice.

One day, having walked from morning till night, he ventured to enter a house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party. As he entered, he addressed the master of the house in the following manner : "The son of your king comes to beg a little bread and a few clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries ; but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or to take advantage of my distressed situation. Take these rags that have for some time been my only covering ; you may probably restore them to me one day when I shall be seated on the throne of Great Britain." The master of the house was touched with pity at his distress ; he assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged the secret. Few of those who even wished his destruction would choose to be the immediate actors in it, as it would subject them to the resentment of a numerous party.

In this manner he continued to wander among the frightful wilds of Glengary, and other dreary tracts, for five months ; often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still rescued by some lucky accident from the impending danger. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by his adherents, arrived in Loch-nanach, in which he embarked in the most wretched attire. He was clad in a short coat of black frise, thread-bare, over which was a common highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from which depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks ; his eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue. He was accompanied by

Sullivan and Sheridan, two Irish adherents, who had shared all his calamities, together with Cameron of Lochiel, his brother, and a few other exiles. They set sail for France, and, after having been chased by two English men of war, they arrived in safety at a place called Roseau, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Perhaps he would have found it more difficult to escape, had not the vigilance of his pursuers been relaxed by a report that he was already slain.

While the pretender was thus pursued, the scaffolds and the gibbets were preparing for his adherents. Seventeen officers of the rebel army were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Kennington-common, in the neighbourhood of London. Their constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause than even perhaps their victories would have obtained. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons, and a considerable number of the common men were transported to the plantations of North America.

The earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lord Balmerino, were tried by their peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned, but the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill. Kilmarnock, either convinced of his errors, or flattered to the last with the hopes of pardon, declared a consciousness of his crimes, and professed his repentance. But very different was the behaviour of Balmerino, who gloried in the cause for which he fell. When his fellow-sufferer was commanded to bid God bless king George, which he did with a faint voice, Balmerino still avowed his principles, and cried out aloud, "God bless king James!" Mr. Radcliffe, brother to the earl of Derwentwater (who was beheaded in the former reign), had been taken on board a ship as he was coming to reinforce the pretender's army; and, the identity of his person being proved, he was sentenced upon a former conviction, and suffered his fate upon Tower-hill with tranquillity and resolution. Lord Lovat was tried and found guilty some time after; he died with great intrepidity; but his sufferings did very little honour to his cause. Thus ended the last effort of the family of the Stuarts for re-ascending the throne—dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution.

Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, and the tumult

of terror and transport had subsided, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of that people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had till this time continued to wear the old military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the insurrections of their chiefs. But their habits were now reformed by an act of the legislature, and they were compelled to wear clothes of the common fashion. What contributed still more to their real felicity was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chiefs exerted over them. The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed; and to every subject in that part of the kingdom a participation of the common liberty was granted.

While England was thus in commotion at home, the flames of war continued to rage upon the continent with increasing violence. The French arms were crowned with repeated success; and almost the whole Netherlands were reduced under their dominion. The Dutch in their usual manner negotiated, supplicated, and evaded the war: but they found themselves every day stripped of some of those strong towns which formed a barrier to their dominions, and of which they had been put in possession by the victories of Marlborough. They now lay almost defenceless, and ready to receive the terms of their conquerors—their national bravery being quite suffocated in the spirit of traffic and luxury.

The Dutch were at this time divided by factions, which had continued for above a century in their republic. The one declared for the prince of Orange and a stadtholder; the other opposed this election, and desired rather friendship than to be at variance with France. The prevalence of either of these factions, to its utmost extent, was equally fatal to freedom; for, if a stadtholder was elected, the constitution became altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if, on the contrary, the opposite party prevailed, the people must submit to the weight of a confirmed aristocracy, supported by French power, and liable to its control. Of the two evils they chose the former: the people in several towns, inflamed almost to sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare the prince of Orange stadtholder.

holder, captain-general, and admiral, of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared. All commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented, and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land. Thus the war, which had begun but in a single country, was now diffused over all Europe, and, like a disorder, prevailed in different parts of this great political constitution, remitting and raging by turns.

The king of Sardinia, who had some years before joined France against England, now changed sides, and declared against the ambitious power of France. Italy felt all the terrors of intestine war, or more properly looked on, while foreigners were contending with each other for her usurped dominions. The French and Spaniards on one side, and the imperialists and the king of Sardinia on the other, ravaged those beautiful territories by turns, and gave laws to a country that had once spread her dominion over the world.

About this time the English made an unsuccessful attack upon Port l'Orient, a sea-port in France, but weakly defended, and drew off their forces in a panic. The French gained a considerable victory at Roucoux, near Liege, although it procured them no real advantage, and cost them as many lives as they destroyed of the enemy. Another victory, which they obtained at La-Feldt, served to depress the allied army still lower. But the taking of Bergen-op-zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, reduced the Dutch to a state of desperation. However, these victories gained by the French were counterbalanced with almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the marshal Belleisle's brother, attempting to penetrate, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, into Piedmont, was routed, and himself slain. An unsuccessful fleet was sent out for the recovery of Cape-Breton. Two more were fitted out, the one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to carry on the operations in the East Indies; but these were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine ships taken. Soon after this, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships richly laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat which the French fleet sustained from admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line, and several frigates, were taken.

In this manner, victory, defeat, negotiation, treachery, and rebellion, succeeded each other rapidly for some years, till all sides began to think themselves growing more feeble, and gaining no solid advantage.

The Dutch had for some time endeavoured to stop the progress of a war in which they had all to lose and nothing to gain. The king of France was sensible that after a victory was the most advantageous time to offer terms of peace. He even expressed his desire of general tranquillity to sir John Ligonier, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of La-Feldt. But now the bad success of his admirals at sea, his armies in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his merchants at home, and the election of a stadtholder in Holland, who gave spirit to the opposition, more effectually contributed to make him weary of the war, and prompted him to propose an accommodation. This was what the allies had long wished for; and which, notwithstanding, they were ashamed to demand. The English ministry in particular, finding themselves unable to manage a parliament soured by frequent defeats, and now beginning to be disgusted with continental connexions, were very ready to accede. A negotiation was therefore resolved upon; and the contending powers agreed to come to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the king of Great Britain.

This treaty, which takes its name from the city at which it [1748.] was made, was begun upon the preliminary conditions of restoring all conquests made during the war. Hence great hopes were expected of conditions both favourable and honourable to the English; but the treaty still remains a lasting mark of precipitate counsels, and English disgrace. By this it was agreed that all prisoners on each side should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up; that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, and to his heirs; but that, in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. It was confirmed that the fortifications of Dunkirk toward the sea should be demolished; that the English ships, annually sent with slaves to the coast of New Spain, should have this privilege continued for four years; that

the king of Prussia should be confirmed in the possession of Silesia, which he had lately conquered ; and that the queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more displeasing and afflictive to the English than all the rest. It was stipulated that the king of Great Britain should, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of Cape Breton, and all other conquests which England had made during the war. This was a mortifying clause ; but, to add to the general error of the negotiation, no mention was made of searching the vessels of England in the American seas, upon which the war was originally begun. The limits of their respective possessions in North America were not ascertained ; nor did they receive any equivalent for those forts which they restored to the enemy. The treaty of Utrecht had long been the object of reproach to those by whom it was made ; but, with all its faults, the treaty now concluded was far more despicable and erroneous. Yet such was the spirit of the times, that the treaty of Utrecht was branded with universal contempt, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was extolled with the highest strains of praise. But the people were wearied with repeated disgrace ; and, only expecting an accumulation of misfortunes from continuing the war, they were glad of any peace that promised a pause to their disappointments.

CHAP. XLIX.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

THIS treaty, which some asserted would serve for a bond of permanent amity, was, properly speaking, but a temporary truce—a cessation from hostilities, which both sides were unable to continue. Though the war between England and France was actually hushed up in Europe, in the East and West Indies it still went forward with undiminished vehemence ; both sides still willing to offend, still offending, and yet both complaining of the infraction.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, the people of England expected, and the ministers were liberal in promising them, a return of all the advantages of peace. In order to please the populace (for this ministry had the art always to keep the people in good humour) a magnificent fire-work was played off; and the spectators could never be brought to think that a bad treaty which was celebrated with such magnificent profusion.

It must be confessed, also, there was some desire shown in the ministry to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and for this purpose a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring-fishery, in the manner of that carried on by the Dutch, under proper regulations. From the carrying such a scheme vigorously into execution, great advantages were expected. The Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from this article, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. But the patience and frugality of that nation seem to fit them more properly for the life of fishermen than the English. Certain it is, that experience has shown this attempt to rival the Dutch to have been ineffectual. Perhaps the company was not established upon the strictest principles of economy; perhaps the Dutch art of curing their fish was not practised or understood perfectly.

In the mean time, Mr. Pelham, who now conducted the business of the state, and was esteemed a man of candour [1749.] and capacity, formed a scheme for lightening the immense load of debt which the nation sustained in consequence of the late war. His plan was, to lessen the debt by lowering the interest which had been promised on granting the supplies, or else obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those, for instance, who were proprietors of stock, and received for the use of their money four per cent. were, by an act passed for that purpose, compelled to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept three pounds ten shillings per cent. the following year, and three per cent. every year ensuing; and, in case of a refusal, assurances were given that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect, though it, in some measure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, and under a promise of continuing interest. However,

the measure was evidently beneficial to the nation ; and experience has shown that it no way affected the public credit. Beside this salutary measure, others were pursued for the interest of the nation with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, and the trade to Africa was laid open to the nation, under the superintendence of the board of trade.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received, as some are of opinion, by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. The city of Westminster had long been represented by members who were, in some measure, appointed by the ministry. Lord Trentham, member for Westminster, having vacated his seat in the house of commons, by accepting a place under the crown, again [1750.] resolved to stand candidate, and met with a violent opposition. It was objected by some that he had been uncommonly active in introducing some French strollers, who had come over by the invitations of the nobility to open a theatre when our own were shut up. This accusation against him excited a violent combination, who styled themselves the Independent Electors of Westminster, and who named sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. These resolved to support their nomination at their own expense, and accordingly opened houses of entertainment for the inferior voters, and propagated abuse as usual. At length, the poll being closed, the majority appeared to be in favour of lord Trentham ; but a scrutiny being demanded by the other party, it was protracted by management on the one side, and tumult on the other. After some time, the scrutiny appearing in favour of lord Trentham, the independent electors complained of partiality and injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, who took the poll, and carried their petition to [1751.] the house. To this petition the house paid little attention, but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the causes that had so long protracted the election. This officer laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as counsel for the petitioners ; and also upon the honourable Alexander Murray, a friend to sir George Vandeput, and one Gibson, an upholsterer. These three persons were therefore brought to the bar of the house. Crowle and Gibson consented to ask pardon, and were

dismissed, upon being reprimanded by the speaker. Murray was at first admitted to bail ; but upon the deposition of several of the witnesses that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was resolved by the house that he should be committed a close prisoner to Newgate, and that he should receive this sentence at the bar of the house upon his knees. When he was conducted before the house, being directed to kneel, he refused to comply, and this threw the whole assembly into commotion. They then resolved to pursue more vigorous measures ; ordered that he should be committed to Newgate, denied the use of pen, ink, and paper ; and that no persons should have access to him without permission of the house.

This imprisonment he underwent with great cheerfulness, sensible that by the constitution of the country his confinement could continue no longer than while the commons continued sitting ; and at the end of the session he was accordingly discharged. But what was his amazement, at the commencement of the ensuing session, to find that he was again called upon, and that a motion was made for committing him close prisoner to the Tower ! The delinquent, therefore, thought proper to screen himself from their resentment by absconding ; but the people could not help considering their representatives rather as their oppressors, and the house as asserting rather vindictive than legislative authority. Some thought they saw in this measure the seeds of a future aristocracy ; that the commons erected themselves into a tribunal, where they determined on their own privileges, and ready to punish, without the consent of the other parts of the legislature. However, the subject has still one resource against any violent resolutions of the house against him ; he may resist, if he thinks proper, as they are armed with no legal executive powers to compel obedience.

The people had scarcely recovered from the resentment produced by this measure, when another was taken in the house, [1753.] which, in reality, made distinctions among the people, and drew a line between the rich and poor that seemed impassable. This was an act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was calculated to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of

opulent families were often seduced into marriage before they had acquired sufficient experience in life to be sensible of the disparity of the match. This statute, therefore, enacted, that the banns of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for a month at least before the ceremony. It declared that any marriage solemnized without this previous publication, or a licence obtained from the bishop's court, should be void; and that the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was at that time thought replete with consequences injurious to society; and experience has confirmed the truth of some of these objections. Infamous men have made a practice of seducing young women, ignorant of the law, by pretending a marriage which they knew to be illegal, and consequently no longer binding. The poor, by being prevented from making alliances with the rich, have left wealth to flow in its antient channels, and thus to accumulate, contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede marriage, by clogging it with unnecessary ceremonies. Some have affirmed that lewdness and debauchery have become more frequent since the enactment of this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline.

This session was also distinguished by another act, equally unpopular, and perhaps equally injurious to that religion which was still left among the populace. This was a law for naturalizing the Jews. The ministry boldly affirmed that such a law would greatly contribute to the benefit of the nation; that it would increase the wealth, the credit, and the commerce of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of political toleration. Others, however, were of different sentiments; they saw that greater favour was shown to the Jews by this bill than to some other sects professing Christianity; that an introduction of this people into the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives for religion which was already too much neglected. The bill was passed into a law; but the people without doors remonstrated so loudly against it, that the ministry were obliged to get it repealed the ensuing session.

An act equally unpopular with the two former was now also passed, which contained regulations for the better preserving the

game. By this, none but men already possessed of a stated fortune were allowed a privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game; though even upon the grounds which he himself rented and paid for. This law was but of very little service to the community; it totally damped all that martial ardour among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms which might one day be necessary to defend their country. It also defeated its own end of preserving the game; for the farmers abridged of the power of seizing the game, never permitted it to come to maturity.

A scheme which the nation was taught to believe would be extremely advantageous had been entered upon some time before. This was the encouraging those who had been discharged the army or navy to become settlers in a new colony in North America, in the province of Nova Scotia. To this retreat it was thought the waste of an exuberant nation might well be drained off, and those bold spirits kept in employment at a distance, who might be dangerous, if suffered to continue in idleness at home. Nova Scotia was a place where men might be imprisoned, but not maintained; it was cold, barren, and incapable of successful cultivation. The new colony, therefore, was maintained there with some expense to the government in the beginning; and such as were permitted soon went southward to the milder climates, where they were invited by an untenanted and fertile soil. Thus did the nation ungratefully send off her hardy veterans to perish on inhospitable shores; and this they were taught to believe would extend their dominion.

However, it was for this barren spot that the English and French revived the war, which soon after spread with such terrible devastation over every part of the globe. The native Indians bordering upon the deserts of Nova Scotia, a fierce and savage people, looked from the first with jealousy upon these new settlers; and they considered the vicinity of the English as an encroachment upon their native possessions. The French, who were neighbours in like manner, and who were still impressed with national animosity, fomented these suspicions in the natives, representing the English (and with regard to this colony the representation might be true) as enterprising and severe. Commissaries were therefore appointed to meet at Paris, to com-

promise these disputes ; but these conferences were rendered abortive by the disputes of men who could not be supposed to understand the subject in debate.

As this seemed to be the first place where the dissensions took their rise for a new war, it may be necessary to be a little more minute. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, had rendered the soil, naturally barren, somewhat more fertile, and capable of sustaining nature with some assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until at length the English were settled in the possession, and acknowledged as the rightful owners, by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country was reckoned necessary to defend the English colonies to the north, and to preserve their superiority in the fisheries in that part of the world. The French, however, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, resolved to use every method to dispossess the new comers, and spirited up the Indians to more open hostilities, which were represented to the English ministry for some time without redress.

Soon after this, another source of dispute began to be seen in the same part of the world, and promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the west. In order to assert their claims, as they found several English, who had settled beyond these mountains, from motives of commerce, and also invited by the natural beauties of the country, they dispossessed them of their new settlements, and built such forts as would command the whole country round about. It was now seen that their intention was to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements ; and thus, being in possession already of the northern and southern parts of that great continent, to hem the English in on every side, and secure to themselves all the trade with the natives of the internal part of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French united their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river

Mississippi, they must in a short time become masters of the whole country ; and by having a wide-extended territory to range in, they would soon multiply, and become every day more powerful.

Negotiations had long been carried on to determine these differences ; but what could reason avail in determining disputes where there were no certain principles to be guided by ? The limits of those countries had never been settled ; for they were before this time too remote, or too insignificant to employ much attention. It was not probable that powers, who had no right to the countries in dispute but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree among themselves in sharing the spoil.

Not in America alone, but also in Asia, the seeds of a new war were preparing to be expanded. On the coasts of Malabar, the English and French had, in fact, never ceased from hostilities.

This immense tract of country, which now saw the armies of Europe contending for its dominion, comprehends the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the coasts of this country, the English, the French, and several other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who was then emperor of the whole tract. The war between the English and French there first began by either power siding with two contending princes of the country, and from being secondaries in the quarrel, at length becoming principals. Thus the war was kindled in every part of the world. Most other national contests have arisen from some principal cause ; but this war seemed to have been produced by the concurrence of several, or it may be more properly considered as the continuance of the late war, which was never effectually extinguished by the wretched and defective treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

The government of England had long complained of these infractions, and these produced only recrimination ; the two powers were negotiating, accusing, and destroying each other at the same time. At length, the ministry resolved to cut the knot which they could not loosen, and to act at once in open defiance of the enemy. Orders were accordingly dispatched to all the governors of the American provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security ; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to espouse their quarrel. But this was a measure which, by long neglect, was now become impracticable. It had long been

the practice of the English to cultivate the friendship of this fierce and hardy race in times of danger, but to slight it in circumstances of safety. This tended to alienate the affections of the Indians from the English government; but the avarice of our merchants, particularly of the Ohio Company, who sold them bad commodities, and treated them with perfidy and insolence, served to confirm their aversion. Beside, there was something in the disposition of the French adventurers in those regions more similar to theirs; they were hardy, enterprising and poor. The Indians, therefore, naturally joined those allies, from the conquest of whom, in case of enmity, they could expect no plunder; and they declared war against the English settlers, who were rich, frugal, and laborious, and whose spoils were worth wishing for.

In this manner the English had not only the French, [1754.] but also the whole body of the Indian nations to contend with; but what was still worse, their contentions among each other rendered their situation yet more deplorable. Some of the English provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or few advantages to expect from success, declined furnishing their share of the supplies. At the same time the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had left England in hopes of retrieving their lost circumstances by rapacity abroad, became so odious, that the colonies refused to lend any assistance, when such men were to have the management.

The successes, therefore, of the French in the beginning were flattering and uninterrupted. There had been for some time frequent skirmishes between the troops, and those of the government of England. They had fought with general Laurence to the North, and colonel Washington to the South, and came off most commonly victorious. It is unnecessary to transmit these trifling details to posterity, or to load the page with barbarous names and unimportant marches. It may be sufficient to say, that the two nations seemed to have imbibed a part of the savage fury of those with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of avarice or revenge.

The ministry, however, in England began now a very vigorous exertion in defence of those colonies who refused to defend them-

[1755.] selves. Four operations were undertaken in America at the same time. Of these, one was commanded by colonel Monckton, who had orders to drive the French from the encroachments upon the province of Nova Scotia. The second, more to the south, was directed against Crown-Point, under the command of general Johnson. The third, under the conduct of general Shirley, was destined to Niagara, to secure the forts on the river; and the fourth was still more to the southward, against Fort Du Quesne, under general Braddock.

In these expeditions Monckton was successful; Johnson also was victorious, though he failed in taking the fort against which he was sent; Shirley was thought to have lost the season for operation by delay; Braddock was vigorous and active, but suffered a defeat. This bold commander, who had been recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, set forward upon his expedition in June, and left the cultivated parts of the country on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival he was informed that the French of Fort Du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men, and would then become his equals in the field; he therefore resolved with all haste to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this conjunction. In consequence of this resolution, leaving colonel Dunbar with eight hundred men to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as quickly as the nature of the service would admit, he marched forward with the rest of his army, through a country that still remained in primæval wildness, solitary and hideous, inhabited only by beasts, and hunters still more formidable. However, he went forward with intrepidity, and soon found himself advanced into the deserts of Oswego, where no European had ever been. But his courage was greater than his caution; regardless of the designs of the enemy, he took no care previously to explore the woods or the thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the more unmindful he became of danger. Being at length within ten miles of the fortress he was appointed to besiege, and marching forward through the forests with full confidence of success, on a sudden his troops were astonished by a general discharge of arms, both in front and flank, from an ene-

my that still remained unseen. It was now too late to think of retreating; his men had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted them to do before they offered to fire. The vanguard of the English now fell back in consternation upon the main body, and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself still continued to command his brave associates, discovering at once the greatest intrepidity and the greatest imprudence. An enthusiast in the discipline of war, he disdained to fly from the field, or to permit his men to quit their ranks, when their only method of treating the Indian army was by a precipitate attack, or an immediate desertion of the field of battle. At length Braddock having received a musket-shot through the lungs, dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army, were left to the enemy; and the loss sustained by the English army might amount to seven hundred men. The shattered remains of the army, soon after joining colonel Dunbar, returned by their former route, and arrived to spread the general consternation among the provincials of Philadelphia.

The general indignation that was raised by these defeats drove the English into a spirit of retaliation by sea, where they were sure of success. Orders were therefore given to make prize of the French shipping wherever found, though they had yet published no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied; the French merchants' ships were taken in several places, and soon the English ports were filled with vessels taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts of which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves in America. The benefit of this measure was much more obvious than its justice; it struck such a blow, that the French navy was unable to recover itself during the continuance of the war, which was formally declared on both sides shortly after.

CHAP. L.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

THE war between the two nations being thus begun, and all negotiation at an end, both nations made vigorous preparations, both to annoy and to intimidate each other. In this [1756.] the French were most successful; and for a long time had the satisfaction to see not only success attend their arms, but discontent and faction dividing the councils of their opponents. Their first attempt was by intimidating England with the threats of a formidable invasion. Several bodies of their troops had for some time been sent down to the coasts that lay opposite the British shores; these were instructed in the discipline of embarking and relanding from flat-bottomed boats, which were made in great numbers for that expedition. The number of men destined for this enterprise amounted to fifty thousand; but they discovered the utmost reluctance to the undertaking; and it was by degrees that the French ministry hoped to prevail upon them to proceed. Every day they were exercised with embarking and disembarking, while numbers of new flat-bottomed boats were continually added.

Whether these preparations were intended for actual descent, or made only to terrify the English, is yet uncertain: but it is manifest that they answered the latter intent entirely. The people of England saw themselves exposed, without arms, leaders, or discipline, to the designs of their enemies, governed by a timid, unpopular, and divided ministry. It was in this exigence that they applied to the Dutch for six thousand men, which they were obliged to furnish by treaty in case of invasion. However, the Dutch refused the supply, alleging that their treaty was to supply troops in case of an actual and not a threatened invasion. The king, therefore, finding that he could not have the Dutch forces until their assistance would be too late, desisted from his demand; and the Dutch, with great amity, returned him thanks for withdrawing his request.

The ministry, disappointed of this assistance, looked round the

continent, to find where they might at any rate make a demand. The aid of a body of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand men, was to be purchased; and these the ministry brought over into England, to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who were supposed incapable of defending themselves. But here the remedy appeared to the people worse than the disease. The ministers were reviled for having reduced the nation to such a disgraceful condescension. The people considered themselves as no way brought under the necessity of borrowing such feeble aid. They only demanded a vigorous exertion of their own internal strength, and feared no force that could be led to invade them.

These murmurs, fears, and dissensions among the English gave the French an opportunity of carrying on their designs in another quarter; and, while the ministry were employed in guarding against the neighbouring terrors, they were attacked in the Mediterranean, where they expected no danger. The island of Minorca, which we had taken from the Spaniards in the reign of queen Anne, was secured to England by repeated treaties. But the ministry had neglected to take sufficient precautions for its defence; so that the garrison was weak, and no way fitted to stand a vigorous siege. The French, therefore, landed near the fortification of St. Philip, which was reckoned one of the strongest in Europe, and commanded by general Blakeney, who was brave indeed, but rather superannuated. The siege was carried on with great vigour, and for some time as obstinately defended on the side of the English.

The ministry being apprised of this unexpected attack, resolved to raise the siege, if possible, and sent out admiral Byng with ten ships of war, to relieve Minorca at any rate. Byng accordingly sailed from Gibraltar, where he was refused any assistance of men from the governor of that garrison, under a pretence that his own fortification was in danger. Upon his approaching the island, he soon saw the French banners displayed upon the shore, and the English colours still flying on the castle of St. Philip. He had been ordered to throw a body of troops into the garrison; but this he thought too hazardous an undertaking; nor did he even make an attempt. While he was thus deliberating between his fears and his duty, his attention was quickly called off by the

appearance of a French fleet, that seemed of nearly equal force to his own. Confounded by a variety of measures he resolved to pursue none ; and therefore gave orders to form the line of battle, and act upon the defensive. Byng had been long praised for his skill in naval tactics ; and perhaps, valuing most those talents for which he was most praised, he sacrificed all claims to courage to the applause for naval discipline. The French fleet advanced ; a part of the English fleet engaged ; the admiral still kept aloof, and gave very plausible reasons for not coming into action. The French fleet, therefore, slowly sailed away ; and no other opportunity ever offered of coming to a closer engagement.

This caution was carried rather beyond the proper bounds ; but a council of war, which was soon after called on board the admiral's own ship, deprived the English garrison of all hopes of succour. It was there determined to sail away to Gibraltar, to refit the fleet, and it was agreed that the relief of Minorca was become impracticable. Nothing could exceed the resentment of the nation, upon being informed of Byng's conduct. The ministry were not averse to throwing from themselves the blame of those measures which were attended with such indifferent success ; and they secretly fanned the flame. The news, which soon after arrived, of the surrender of the garrison to the French, drove the general ferment almost to phrensy. In the mean time, Byng continued at Gibraltar, quite satisfied with his own conduct, and little expected the dreadful storm that was gathering against him at home. Orders, however, were soon sent out for putting him under an arrest, and for carrying him to England. Upon his arrival, he was committed to close custody in Greenwich hospital ; and some arts were used to inflame the populace against him, who want no incentives to injure and condemn their superiors. Several addresses were sent up from different counties, demanding justice on the delinquent, which the ministry were willing to second. He was soon after tried by a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a trial which continued several days, his judges at last agreed that he had not done his utmost, during the engagement, to destroy the enemy ; and therefore they adjudged him to suffer death, by the twelfth article of war. At the same time they recommended him as an object of mercy, as they deemed his conduct rather the effect of error than

of cowardice. By this sentence, they expected to satisfy at once the resentment of the nation, and yet screen themselves from conscious severity. The government resolved to show him no mercy; the parliament was applied to in his favour; but they found no circumstances in his conduct that could invalidate the former sentence. Being thus abandoned to his fate, he maintained to the last a degree of fortitude and serenity, that no way betrayed timidity or cowardice. On the day fixed for his execution, which was on board a man of war in the harbour of Portsmouth, he advanced from the cabin (where he had been imprisoned) upon deck, the place appointed for him to suffer. After delivering a paper, containing the strongest assertions of his innocence, he came forward to the place where he was to kneel down, and for some time persisted in not covering his face; but his friends representing that his looks might intimidate the soldiers who were to shoot him, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief; and then giving the soldiers the signal to fire, he was killed instantaneously. There appears some severity in Byng's punishment; but it certainly produced, soon after, very beneficial effects to the nation.

In the mean time the French, who were now masters of Minorca, were willing to second their blow by an attack upon a country which they were sensible the king of England valued still more. Being convinced that they could not hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English possessed at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries of war, they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge all injuries which they should sustain in their colonies upon the king of England's territories in Germany; a threat which they secretly believed would soon compel the English ministry to accept such terms as they should be pleased to offer: or, in case of perseverance, they knew that it would divide the English forces, and lead them to a country where they must be manifestly inferior. In these hopes, they were not much disappointed. The court of London, dreading the consequences of their indignation, and eager to procure the security of Hanover, entered into a very expensive treaty with the court of Russia, by which it was stipulated that a body of fifty thousand Russians should be ready to act in the English ser-

vice, in case Hanover should be invaded ; and for this the czarina was to receive a hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

This treaty with the Russians, which was considered as a master-stroke of politics by the ministry in England, soon appeared to be as nugatory as it was expensive. The king of Prussia had long considered himself as guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at a treaty which threatened to deluge the empire with an army of barbarians. This monarch, whose talents were well known even at that time, but who has since become so famous, had learned by his sagacity to prevent the designs of his enemies while yet beginning, and to repress them by his courage, when they were begun. He, therefore, took the first opportunity to declare that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or as principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprised of a secret negotiation between the Russians and the Austrians, by which the latter were to enter the empire, and strip him of his late conquests of Silesia. Thus England was but the dupe of Russian politics ; she paid them a large subsidy for entering the empire, which they had already determined to perform without her commands.

The king of England, whose fears for Hanover guided all his counsels, now saw himself in the situation he most dreaded. His native dominions were now exposed to the resentment not only of France, but of Prussia ; and either of these was sufficient at once to over-run and ravage his electorate, while the Russian subsidiaries were at too great a distance to lend him the smallest relief. Treaties were once more set on foot to lend a precarious security ; and the king of Prussia was applied to, in hopes of turning his resentment another way. All that the king of England wished was to keep a foreign enemy from invading Germany ; and this the king of Prussia professed to desire with equal ardour. From this similitude of intention, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests ; and as they were both inspired by the same wish, they soon came to an agreement, by which they promised to assist each other, and to prevent all foreign armies from entering the empire.

From this new alliance both powers hoped to derive great advantages. Besides preserving the independence of the German

states, which was the ostensible object, each had a peculiar benefit in view. The king of Prussia knew that the Austrians were his secret enemies, and that the Russians were in league with them against him. An alliance, therefore, with the court of London kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of punishing Austria, whom he long suspected. As for France, he counted upon that as a natural ally, which, from its long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, would ever continue steadfast in his interests. On the other side, the elector of Hanover had still stronger expectations from the benefits that would result from this alliance. By this he procured a near and powerful ally, whom he supposed the French would not venture to disoblige. He considered the Austrians as naturally attached to his own interest by gratitude and friendship; and he supposed that the Russians would at least continue neuter from their former stipulations and subsidy. The two contracting powers soon found themselves deceived in every one of these expectations.

This alliance soon after gave birth to one of an opposite nature, that astonished all Europe. The queen of Hungary had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia, which the king of Prussia had invaded when she was unable to defend her native dominions, and kept possession of by a reluctant concession. Her chief hopes of assistance were from Russia; and she expected that the rest of the powers in question would continue neuter. However, she now found by the late treaty that all her hopes of Russian assistance were frustrated, as England was joined with Prussia to counteract her intentions. Thus deprived of one ally, she sought about in order to substitute another. She applied to France for that purpose; and, to procure the friendship of that court, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages securing against that power with its blood and its treasures. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe acquired a new aspect, and the treaties of a century were at one blow rendered ineffectual.

This treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede, and she, unmindful of her subsidies from England, ardently embraced the proposal. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what that state had long desired to obtain, as, being possessed of it, this fierce

northern empire could then pour down fresh forces at any time upon the southern powers, exhausted by luxury and mutual contention. Not Russia alone, but Sweden also, was brought to accede by the intrigues of France; and a war between that nation and Prussia was entered upon, though contrary to the inclinations of the respective kings.

The forces of the contending powers were now drawn out in the following manner. England opposed France in America, Asia, and on the ocean. France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the king of Prussia undertook to protect, while England promised him troops and money to assist his operations. Then again Austria had her aims on the dominions of Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same designs. In these views she was seconded by France and Sweden, and by Russia, who had hopes of acquiring a settlement in the west of Europe. Such were the different combinations which were formed to begin the general war, while the rest of the powers continued anxious spectators of the contention.

The preparations for war were first begun on the side of Austria, who had engaged the elector of Saxony in the general dispute. Great armaments were therefore put on foot in Moravia and Bohemia, while the elector of Saxony, under a pretence of military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which were posted in a strong situation at Pirna. But the intent of these preparations was soon perceived by the vigilant king of Prussia; and he ordered his minister at the court of Vienna to demand a clear explanation, and to extort proper assurances of the amicable intentions of that court. To this demand he at first received an evasive answer; and when he had ordered his minister to insist upon an open reply, whether the empress-queen was for peace or war, and whether she had any intentions to attack him that or the next year, an ambiguous answer was still returned. He now, therefore, thought proper to suspend all negotiations, and to carry the war into the enemy's country rather than to wait for it in his own.

He accordingly entered Saxony with a large army, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through his dominions, which he well knew the possessor was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised his suspicions

of the elector's having entered into a secret treaty with his enemies, and professed himself extremely pleased with that potentate's promises of observing a strict neutrality. But, to carry on the deceit, he entreated, that, as the elector's troops were totally unnecessary in consequence of his pacific disposition, he would disband them for the present, as he could not have any occasion for their services.

This was a proposal the elector neither expected, nor was willing to comply with. He rejected the request with disdain; and the king, who probably caused it to be refused, resolved to turn the occurrence to his own advantage. Such was the situation of the Saxon camp, that though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended the quitting it that impeded the enemy from storming it. Of this his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and by blocking up every avenue of egress, he cut off the provisions of the Saxon army; and the whole body was soon reduced to capitulate. He took care to incorporate the common soldiers into his own army; and the officers who refused to serve under him he made prisoners.

The king of Prussia, thus launched into a tumult of war, with all the most potent states of Europe against him, and England only in alliance, went forward with a vigour that exceeded what history can show, and that may be incredible to posterity. King only of a very small territory, and assisted by an ally whose situation was too remote to give him any considerable succours, attacked and surrounded by his enemies, he still opposed them on every side, invades Bohemia, defeats the Austrian general at Lowositz, retreats, begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but, by a temerity inspired by success, suffers a defeat at Kolin. Still, however, unconquered, "Fortune," said he, "has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it. She is a female, and I am no gallant. Success often occasions a destructive confidence. Another time we will do better." We have instances of thousands who gain battles; but no general ever before him acknowledged his errors, except Cæsar.

What the king said of the instability of fortune shortly began to appear, and she seemed totally to have turned her back upon

him. One disaster followed upon the back of another. The Hanoverians, who were joined with him by his treaty with England, had armed in his favour, and were commanded by the duke of Cumberland, who appeared, from the beginning, sensible of the insufficiency of his troops to face the enemy, by whom he was greatly out-numbered. He was driven beyond the Weser, the passage of which might have been disputed with some success; yet the French were permitted to pass unmolested. The Hanoverian army was now driven from one part of the country to another, till at length it made a stand near a village called Hastenbeck, where it was hoped the numbers of the enemy would have the least opportunity of coming to a general action. But the weaker army was still obliged to retire, and, after a feeble effort, left the field of battle to the French, who were not remiss in urging the pursuit. The Hanoverian forces retired towards Stade; by which means they marched into a country where they could neither procure provisions, nor yet attack the enemy with hopes of success. Unable, therefore, by their situation, to escape, or by their strength to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole body laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable capitulation, which was called the treaty of Closter-Seven, Hanover was obliged to submit peaceably to the French who now were determined to turn upon the king of Prussia with undiminished forces.

The situation of this monarch was become desperate; nor could human foresight discover how he could extricate himself from his difficulties. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side, commanded by marshal Broglio. The Russians, who for some time had hovered over his empire, under the conduct of general Apraxin, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia; and penetrating as far as Breslau, turned to the strong fortress of Schweidnitz, which, after an obstinate defence, they obliged to surrender. Another army of the same power entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and, still pressing forward, laid Berlin under contribution. On another quarter, a body of twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and exacted tribute from the whole country. In this multitude

of invaders, it was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every incursion, though his enemies fled before him : while he pursued one body, another penetrated from behind ; and even while he was victorious, his dominions were every day diminishing. The greatest part of his territory was laid under contribution ; most of his strong cities were taken ; and he had no resources but in the generosity of a British parliament, and his own extensive abilities.

The succours of the English could be of very little advantage to him, particularly as the Hanoverians were restrained by treaty from acting in his favour. The ministry, however, conscious that something should be done, planned an enterprise against the coasts of France, which, by causing a diversion in that part of the kingdom, would draw off the attention of the enemy from Prussia, and give that monarch time to respire. Beside this intention, England also hoped to give a blow to the French marine, by destroying such ships as were building or were laid up in the harbour of Rochefort, against which city their operations were principally intended. The English ministry kept the object of their enterprise a profound secret ; and France was for some time filled with apprehensions, till at length the fleet appeared before Rochefort, where the commanders spent some time in deliberating how to proceed. After consultation, it was determined to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, and of no benefit to the invaders. In the mean time, the militia of the country, recovering from their consternation, had leisure to assemble, and there was the appearance of two camps on shore. The commanders, who, from the badness of the weather, were prevented from landing, now began to fear greater dangers from the enemy on land. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had been preparing for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness to reduce it by any other means but a sudden attack. This induced them to desist from further operations ; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any effort.

From this expedition, therefore, the king of Prussia reaped very little advantage ; and the despondence among the English was so great, that the ministry had thoughts of giving up his cause entirely. It was supposed that no military efforts could

save him ; and that the only hope remaining was to make the best terms possible for him with his victorious enemies. The king of England was actually meditating a negotiation of this nature, when his distressed ally expostulated with him to the following purpose. “Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune ? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired ? Consider the step you have made me undertake ; and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us ; but I entreat that you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe.” In this terrible situation, England resolved, more from motives of generosity than of interest, to support his declining cause ; and success, that for a long time fled her arms, began to return with double splendor. The efforts of the parliament only rose by defeat ; and every resource seemed to augment with multiplied disappointment.

CHAP. LI.

GEORGE II. (Continued.)

THE East was the quarter on which success first began to dawn upon the British arms. The war in our Asiatic territories had never been wholly suspended. It was carried on at first by both nations under the colour of lending assistance to the contending chiefs of the country ; but the allies soon became the principals in the contention. This war at first, and for a long time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was carried on with doubtful success ; but at length the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendancy, by the conduct of Mr. Clive. This gentleman had at first entered the company’s service in a civil capacity ; but finding his talents more adapted to war, he gave up his clerkship, and joined among the troops as a volunteer. His courage, which is all that subordinate officers can at first show, soon became re-

markable ; but his conduct, expedition, and military skill, soon after became so conspicuous, as to raise him to the first rank in the army.

The first advantage that was obtained from his activity and courage was the clearing the province of Arcot. Soon after the French general was taken prisoner, and the nabob, whom the English supported, was reinstated in the government, of which he had formerly been deprived.

The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the globe, sent over a commissary to Europe to restore peace. A convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing that the territories taken on either side since the conclusion of the last peace should be restored ; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party should be acknowledged by both ; and that for the future neither should interfere in the differences that should arise between the princes of the country.

This cessation, which promised such lasting tranquillity, was, nevertheless, but of short duration. Compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when advantage is opposed to good faith. In a few months, both sides renewed their operations, no longer under the name of auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms, in government, and in commerce. It is not sufficiently known what were the motives for this infraction ; but wherever there is trade there is avarice ; and that is a passion which overleaps the bounds of equity. Certain it is that the prince of the greatest power in that country declared war against the English from motives of personal resentment, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of the principal British forts in that part of the world, but which was not in a state of strength to defend itself against the attack even of barbarians. The fort was taken, having been deserted by the commander ; and the garrison, to the number of a hundred and forty-six persons, were made prisoners.

They expected the usual treatment of prisoners of war, and were therefore the less vigorous in their defence ; but they soon found what mercy was to be expected from a savage conqueror. They were all crowded together into a narrow prison, called the Black-Hole, of about eighteen feet square, and receiving air only

by two small iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient circulation. It is terrible to reflect on the situation of these unfortunate men, shut up in this narrow place, in the burning climate of the East, and suffocating each other. Their first efforts, upon perceiving the effects of their horrid confinement, were to break open the door of the prison; but as it opened inward they soon found that impossible. They next endeavoured to excite the compassion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons; but with this he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was asleep, and no person dared to disturb him. They were now left to die without hopes of relief; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and despair. This turbulence, however, soon after sunk into a calm still more hideous; their efforts of strength and courage were over, and an expiring languor succeeded. In the morning, when the keepers came to visit the prison, all was horror, silence, and desolation. Of a hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these the greatest part died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The destruction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company. But the fortune of Mr. Clive, backed by the activity of an English fleet under admiral Watson, still turned the scale in their favour. Among the number of those who felt the power of the English in this part of the world, was the famous Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince, who had long infested the Indian Ocean, and made the princes on the coast his tributaries. He maintained a large number of galleys, and with these he attacked the largest ships, and almost ever with success. As the company had been greatly harassed by his depredations, they resolved to subdue such a dangerous enemy, and attack him in his own fortress. In pursuance of this resolution, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah; and though they sustained a warm fire as they entered, yet they soon threw all his fleet into flames, and obliged his fort to surrender at discretion. The conquerors found there a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects to a considerable value.

From this conquest colonel Clive proceeded to take revenge

for the cruelty practised upon the English at Calcutta ; and, having arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal, he met with little opposition either to the fleet or the army, till they came before Calcutta, which seemed resolved to stand a regular siege. As soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries, which he soon returned with still greater execution, and in less than two hours obliged them to abandon their fortifications. By these means, the English took possession of the two strongest settlements on the banks of the Ganges ; but that of Geriah they demolished to the ground.

Soon after these successes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced with as little difficulty as the former ; and all the viceroy's store-houses and granaries were destroyed. In order to repair these losses, this barbarous prince assembled an army of ten thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, and professed a firm resolution of expelling the English from all their settlements in that part of the world. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive, obtaining a reinforcement of men from the admiral's ships, advanced with his little army to fight these numerous forces. He attacked the enemy in three columns ; and, though the numbers were so disproportioned, victory soon declared in favour of the English. This, as well as several other victories gained by this commander against such a numerous enemy, teach us no longer to wonder at those conquests which were gained formerly by European troops over this weak and effeminate people. Indeed, what can slavish Asiatic troops do against an army, however small, hardened by discipline, and animated by honour ? All the customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics, tend to effeminate the body, and dispirit the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack dressed in long silken garments, with no other courage than what opium can inspire, no other fears from a defeat but of changing their tyrant, with their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object of aim, their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious on the slightest wound, every soldier among them unacquainted with cool intrepidity, which provides against danger, and only fighting by the same fury that raises their passions ; if we consider all these circumstances, we shall

not be surprised at European victories, and that two or three thousand men are able to defeat the largest armies they can bring into the field. All the heroism of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in this view, will sink in our esteem, and no longer continue the object of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a small body of foreigners soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his subjects at home. His cowardice now rendered him despicable, and his former cruelty odious. A conspiracy, therefore, was projected against him by Ali Khan, his prime minister ; and the English, having private intimations of the design, resolved to second it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, colonel Clive, knowing that he had a friend in the enemy's camp, marched forward, and soon came up with the viceroy, who had by this time recruited his army, and fitted it once more for action. After a short contest, however, Clive was as usual victorious ; the whole Indian army was put to flight, and routed with terrible slaughter. Ali Khan, who first incited his master to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments to the English till he saw there was no danger from his perfidy. But upon the assurance of the victory he openly espoused the side of the conquerors ; and, in consequence of his private service, was solemnly proclaimed, by colonel Clive, viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, in the room of the former nabob, who was solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his perfidious successor.

The English, having placed a viceroy on the throne (for the Mogul had long lost all power in India), took care to exact such stipulations in their own favour as would secure them the possession of the country whenever they thought proper to resume their authority. They were gratified in their avarice to its extremest wish ; and that wealth which they had plundered from slaves in India they were resolved to employ in making slaves at home.

From the conquest of the Indians, colonel Clive turned to the humbling of the French, who had long disputed empire in that part of the world. Chandénagore, a French settlement higher up the Ganges than Calcutta, was compelled to submit to the English arms. The goods and money found in this place were considerable ; but the chief damage the French sustained was

from the ruin of this their chief settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of the continent. Thus, in one campaign, which was carried on by the activity of Clive, and seconded by the operations of the admirals Watson and Pococke, the English became possessed of a territory superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and the number of its inhabitants, to any part of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and the survivors of those who were imprisoned at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English power became irresistible in that part of the world.

This success was not a little alarming to the French ministry; and it is supposed that even the Dutch entertained some jealousy of this growing greatness. To make some degree of opposition, the king of France sent out a considerable reinforcement under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, from whose great experience sanguine hopes were conceived. Lally was one of the bravest soldiers in the French service, but the most unfit man in the world to be connected with a trading company, as he was fierce, proud, and precipitate, not without a mixture of avarice, which tempted him to share in their gain. He had been from his youth bred up to arms, and carried the spirit of discipline to a faulty extreme, in a place where the nature of the service required its relaxation.

Under the guidance of this whimsical man, the affairs of the French for some time seemed to wear a face of success. He took from the English their settlement of Fort St. David, and plundered the country of the king of Tanjore, in alliance with the enemy. He then entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of the English on the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important place, a greater variety of difficulties presented than he had expected or prepared for. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while on the other side the French soldiers acted with the greatest timidity; nor did even the council of Pondicherry second the ardour of the general. It was in vain that Lally attempted to lead on his men to a breach that had been practicable for several days; it continued open for a fortnight, and not one dared to venture the assault. To add to his embarrassments, he was very ill sup-

plied with provisions, and he found the garrison had received a reinforcement. Despairing, therefore, of success, he raised the siege, and this so intimidated his troops, that they seemed quite dispirited in every succeeding operation.

But while success was thus doubtful between the contending nations, a rupture seemed to be in preparation upon a quarter where the English least expected. The Dutch, under pretence of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, equipped seven ships, which were ordered to sail up the Ganges, and render their fort at Chinsura so formidable as to exclude all other nations from the saltpetre trade, which was carried on there, and thus monopolize so beneficial a commodity. This design, however, colonel Clive thought proper to oppose. He accordingly sent the Dutch commander a letter, informing him that he could not permit his landing, and marching his forces to the fort intended, as he foresaw that it would be detrimental to the commerce of Europe. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs of monopoly as were imputed to him, and he only requested the liberty to land and refresh his troops; which request, seemingly so reasonable, was quickly granted. However, the Dutch commander continued submissive no longer than he supposed himself unable to act with vigour; for as soon as he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, he boldly began his march to Chinsura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English in his passage up the river, to retaliate the affront he pretended to have received.

Whether the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out upon this occasion to oppose the Dutch, or whether it was only pursuing its voyage down the river to England, is not known; but certain it is, that she was prevented by the Dutch commander from going onward, and obliged to return to Calcutta with the complaints of this treatment to colonel Clive. The colonel was not slow in vindicating the honour of his country; and as there happened to be three India ships at that time in the harbour, he gave them instant orders to meet the Dutch fleet, and sink them if they offered to resist. This command was obeyed with great alacrity; but, after a few broadsides on either side, the Dutch commander struck, and the rest of the fleet followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without any great damage, captain Wil-

son, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the fleet of the enemy, and sent their men prisoners to the English fort; while about the same time their land-forces were defeated by colonel Ford, sent by Clive upon that duty. This contest threatened a new rupture in that part of the world; but a negotiation soon after ensuing, the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were not able to withstand, and were content to sit down with the loss.

In the mean time, the operations against the French were carried on with much more splendid success. The troops headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, and possessed of prudence and bravery, marched against general Lally, resolved to come to a decisive engagement. On his march, he took the town of Wandewash; he afterwards reduced the fortress of Carangoly, and at length came up with the French general, who had no thoughts of declining the engagement. In the morning early the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides. The engagement continued with great obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp, which they as quickly abandoned, leaving their baggage, cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors.

The retaking the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to the French, of all their former dominions in India, but the strong town of Pondicherry, their largest and most beautiful settlement. This city, which was the capital of the French establishments in India, exceeded, in the days of its prosperity, all other European factories there, in trade, opulence, and splendor; and whatever wealth the French still possessed, after repeated losses, was deposited there. As soon as the fortresses adjacent were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before the city, determined to blockade it by land, while admiral Stevens shut up the harbour by sea. A regular siege was at that time impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate would not fail to obstruct all such operations. However, neither the rains nor the inclemency of the climate were able to abate the ardour of the besiegers; the blockade was continued, and the garrison was pressed in such a manner, that it was reduced to extreme distress. Though the French soldiers

were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, Lally the commander was determined to hold out to the last. In the midst of the garrison's distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been seized with vigour. One of those terrible tempests, common in that climate, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour. Lally wrote the most pressing letters to the French residents at the Dutch settlements, to be supplied with provisions ; but to his mortification, instead of seeing the French boats coming to his relief, he only saw, in less than four days, the English admiral again entering the harbour, having repaired the damage he had lately sustained. Lally, however, still determined to hold out, and with a savage obstinacy saw his troops half consuming with fatigue and famine round him. At length, finding that a breach had been made in the rampart, and that no more than one day's provision remained, he permitted a signal to be made for ceasing hostilities. Yet the strong perverseness of his temper continued ; he sent a paper filled with reproaches against the English, and alleged that he would not treat upon honourable terms with an enemy that had transgressed all the laws of honour. He surrendered the place not in his own person, but permitted some inferior officers in the garrison to obtain terms of capitulation. This conquest put an end to the power of France in India. The chief part of the territory and trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, was annexed to the British empire. The princes of the country, after some vain opposition to the English power, were at length contented to submit.

In the mean time, while conquests shined upon us from the East, it was still more splendid in the western world. Some alterations in the ministry led to those successes which had been long wished for by the nation, and were at length obtained. The affairs of war had been hitherto directed by a ministry but ill supported by the commons, because not confided in by the people. They seemed timid and wavering ; and but feebly held together, rather by their fears than their mutual confidence. When any new measure was proposed which could not receive their approbation, or any new member was introduced into government whom they did not appoint, they considered it as an infringement upon their respective departments, and threw up their places in

disgust, with a view to resume them with greater lustre. Thus the strength of the crown was every day declining, while an aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne, intent only on the emoluments, not the duties of office.

This was at that time the general opinion of the people, and it was too loud not to reach the throne. The ministry that had hitherto hedged in the throne were at length obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose activity at least would counterbalance their timidity and irresolution. At the head of the newly introduced party was the celebrated Mr. William Pitt, from whose vigour the nation formed very great expectations, and they were not deceived.

Though the old ministers were obliged to admit these new members into their society, there was no legal penalty for refusing to operate with them; they therefore associated with each other, and used every art to make their new assistants obnoxious to the king, upon whom they had been in a manner forced by the people. His former ministry flattered him in all his attachments to his German dominions, while the new had long clamoured against all continental connexions, as utterly incompatible with the interests of the nation. These two opinions carried to the extreme might have been erroneous; but the king was naturally led to side with those who favoured his own sentiments, and to reject those who opposed them. Mr. Pitt, therefore, after being a few months in office, was ordered to resign, by his majesty's command, and his coadjutor, Mr. Legge, was displaced from being chancellor of the exchequer. This blow to his ambition was but of short continuance; the whole nation, almost to a man, seemed to rise up in his defence, and Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were reluctantly restored to their former employments, the one of secretary of state, the other of chancellor of the exchequer.

The consequences of the former ill-conducted councils still seemed to continue in America. The generals sent over to manage the operations of the war loudly accused the timidity and delays of the natives, whose duty it was to unite in their own defence. The natives, on the other hand, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, and incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who had been appointed to the supreme command there, had been for some time recalled, and

replaced by lord Loudon; and this nobleman also soon after returning to England, three commanders were put at the head of separate operations. General Amherst commanded that designed against the island of Cape-Breton; the other was [1758.] consigned to general Abercrombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderoga; and the third still more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne, commanded by brigadier-general Forbes.

Cape-Breton, which had been taken from the French during the preceding war, had been restored at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was not till the English had been put in possession of that island that they began to perceive its advantageous situation, and the convenience of its harbour for annoying the British trade with impunity. It was also a convenient port for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to that nation. The wresting it, therefore, once more from the hands of the French, was a measure ardently desired by the whole nation. The fortress of Louisbourg, by which it was defended, had been strengthened by the assistance of art, and was still better defended from the nature of its situation. The garrison also was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to oppose a landing. An account of the operations of the siege can give but little pleasure in abridgment; be it sufficient to say, that the English surmounted every obstacle with great intrepidity. Their former timidity and irresolution seemed to vanish, their natural courage and confidence returned, and the place surrendered by capitulation. The fortifications were soon after demolished, and rendered unfit for future protection.

The expedition to Fort du Quesne was equally successful: but that against Crown-Point was once more defeated. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds by which nature had secured the French possessions in that part of the world. Braddock fell in the attempt, a martyr to his impetuosity; too much caution was equally injurious to his successor. Abercrombie spent much time in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give him a severe reception. As he approached Ticonderoga, he found them deeply entrenched at the foot of the fort, and still farther secured by fallen trees, with their branches pointing against him. These difficulties the English ardour attempt-

ed to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English force, however, was still superior; and it was supposed that when the artillery was arrived, something more successful might be performed; but the general felt too sensibly the terrors of the late defeat to remain in the neighbourhood of a triumphant enemy. He withdrew his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George.

But though in this respect the English arms were unsuccessful, yet upon the whole the campaign was greatly in their favour. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from their colonies the terror of the incursions of the Indians, while it interrupted that correspondence which ran along a chain of forts with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. This, therefore, promised a fortunate campaign the next year, and vigorous measures were taken to ensure success.

Accordingly, on the opening of the following year, [1759.] the ministry, sensible that a single effort, carried on in such an extensive country, could never reduce the enemy, resolved to attack them in several parts of their empire at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions driven forward against three different parts of North America, at the same time. General Amherst, the commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown-Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was at the opposite quarter to enter the river St Laurence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in America; while general Prideaux and sir William Johnson were to attempt a French fort, near the cataracts of Niagara.

The last-named expedition was the first that succeeded. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was begun with vigour, and promised an easy conquest; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches, by the bursting of a mortar; so that the whole command of the expedition devolved upon general Johnson, who omitted nothing to push forward the vigorous operations of his predecessor, to which also he added his own popularity with the

soldiers under him. A body of French troops, who were sensible of the importance of this fort, attempted to relieve it, but Johnson attacked them with intrepidity and success; for in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout. The garrison soon after, perceiving the fate of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. The success of general Amherst was less splendid, though not less serviceable; upon arriving at the destined place, he found the forts both of Crown-Point and Ticonderoga deserted and destroyed.

There now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North America into the possession of the English; and this was the taking of Quebec, the capital of Canada, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition; the siege by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe, of whom the nation had great expectations. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-four, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly at the siege of Louisbourg; a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command.

The war in this part of the world had been hitherto carried on with extreme barbarity; and retaliating murders were continued without any one's knowing who first began. Wolfe, however, disdained to imitate an example that had been set him, even by some of his associate officers; he carried on the war with all the spirit of humanity which it admits of. It is not our aim to enter into a minute detail of the siege of this city, which could at best only give amusement to a few: it will be sufficient to say, that when we consider the situation of the town on the side of a great river, the fortifications with which it was secured, the natural strength of the country, the great number of vessels and floating batteries the enemy had provided for the defence of the river, the numerous bodies of savages continually hovering round the English army, we must own there was such a combination of difficulties as might discourage and perplex the most resolute commander. The general himself seemed perfectly sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking. After stating, in a letter to the ministry, the dangers that presented, "I know," said he,

“that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures. But then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine.” The only prospect of attempting the town with success was by landing a body of troops in the night below the town, who were to clamber up the banks of the river, and take possession of the ground on the back of the city. This attempt, however, appeared peculiarly discouraging. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the bank above lined with sentinels, the landing-place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark, and the steepness of the ground such as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time. All these difficulties were removed by the conduct of the general, and the bravery of the men. Colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity, and dislodged a small body of troops that defended a narrow path-way up the bank; thus a few mounting, the general drew the rest up in order as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm, the French commander, was no sooner apprised that the English had gained these heights, which he had confidently deemed inaccessible, than he resolved to hazard a battle; and a furious encounter quickly began. This was one of the most desperate engagements during the war. The French general was slain; the second in command shared the same fate. General Wolfe was stationed on the right, where the attack was most warm: as he stood conspicuous in the front line, he had been aimed at by the enemy’s marksmen, and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed; but a second ball, more fatal, pierced his breast; so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier that was next him. Now struggling in the agonies of death, and just expiring, he heard a voice cry, “They run!” upon which he seemed for a moment to revive, and asking who ran, was informed the French. Expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier’s breast, and his last words were, “I die happy.” Perhaps the loss of the

English that day was greater than the conquest of Canada was advantageous. But it is the lot of mankind only to know true merit on that dreadful occasion when they are going to lose it.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory. The French, indeed, in the following season, made a vigorous effort to retake the city ; but by the resolution of governor Murray, and the appearance of an English fleet under the command of lord Colville, they were forced to abandon the enterprise. The whole province was soon after reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, who obliged the French army to capitulate ; and it has since remained annexed to the British empire. To these conquests about the same time was added the reduction of the island of Guadaloupe, by commodore Moore and general Hopson ; an acquisition of great importance, but which was restored at the succeeding peace.

These successes in India and America were great, though achieved by no very expensive efforts ; on the contrary, the efforts the English made in Europe, and the operations of their great ally the king of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no signal advantages. A defensive war in Germany was all that could be expected ; and that he maintained against the united powers of the continent, with unexampled bravery. We left the French and Imperialists triumphing in repeated successes, and enjoying the fruits of an advantageous summer campaign. But as if summer was not sufficient for the horrors of war, they now resolved to exert them even amidst the rigours of winter, and, in the depth of that season, sat down and formed the siege of Leipsic. The capture of that city would have been fatal to the interests of the king ; and by one of those rapid marches, for which he was remarkable, he seemed with his army unexpectedly to rise up before the town. Such was the terror of his arms, that even, vanquished as he seemed, the French, though superior in numbers, raised the siege and retreated. He was resolved to pursue, and at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, where he gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction.

In the mean time, the Austrians in another part of the empire were victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, the king of Prussia's generalissimo, prisoner. The king having just fought a

battle, again undertook a dreadful march of two hundred miles in the depth of winter, and came up with the Austrian army near Breslau. He there disposed his forces with his usual celerity and judgment, and obtained another victory, in which he took not less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and gave his distressed Hanoverian allies fresh hopes of being able to expel the French troops from their territories.

Soon after the capitulation of Closter-Seven had been signed between the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain that the treaty was not strictly observed. The Hanoverians exclaimed against the rapacity of the French general, and the brutality of his soldiers. The French retorted the charge, accused them of insolence and insurrection, and resolved to bind them strictly to the term of their agreement, sensible of their own superiority. Treaties between nations are seldom observed any longer than interest or fear holds the union; and among nations that take every advantage, political faith is a term without meaning. The Hanoverians only wanted a pretext to take arms, and a general to head them. Neither were long wanting. The oppressions of the tax-gatherers, whom the French had appointed, were considered as so severe, that the army once more rose to vindicate their freedom, while Ferdinand, prince of Brunswick, put himself at their head.

Nothing could be more fortunate for the interests of the king of Prussia than this sudden insurrection of the Hanoverian forces. From this time he began to oppose the enemy upon more equal terms; he faced them on every side, often victorious, sometimes repulsed, but ever formidable. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him, and, it must be added, its horrors also. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter, great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity discovered. Armies were by the German discipline considered as composing one great machine, directed by one commander, and animated by a

single will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding generals will take their lessons of devastation, and improve upon the arts increasing human calamity.

England was all this time happily retired from the miseries which oppressed the rest of Europe ; yet from her natural military ardour she seemed desirous of sharing those dangers of which she was only a spectator. This passion for sharing in a continental war was not less pleasing to the king of England, from his native attachments, than from a desire of revenge upon the plunderers of his country. As soon, therefore, as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech to his parliament, observed that the late successes of his ally in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons concurred in his sentiments, and liberally granted supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him.

From sending money over into Germany the nation began to extend their benefits ; and it was soon considered that men would be a more grateful supply. Mr. Pitt, who had at first come into popularity and power by opposing such measures, was now prevailed on to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, the connexions with which he was obliged to co-operate, and perhaps the pleasure he found in pleasing the king, all together incited him eagerly to push forward a continental war. However, he only coincided with the general inclinations of the people at this time, who, allured by the noble efforts of their only ally, were unwilling to see him fall a sacrifice to the united ambition of his enemies.

In order to indulge this general inclination of assisting the king of Prussia, the duke of Marlborough was at first sent into Germany with a small body of British forces to join with prince Ferdinand, whose activity against the French began to be crowned with success. After some small successes gained by the allied army at Crevelt, the duke of Marlborough dying, his command devolved upon lord George Sackville, who was at that time a favourite with the English army. However, a misunderstanding

arose between him and the commander-in-chief, which soon had an occasion of being displayed at the battle of Minden, fought shortly after. The cause of this secret disgust on both sides is not clearly known; it is thought that the extensive genius, and the inquisitive spirit of the English general, were by no means agreeable to his superior in command, who hoped to reap some pecuniary advantages which the other was unwilling to permit. Be that as it will, both armies advancing near the town of Minden, the French began the attack with great vigour, and a general engagement of the infantry ensued. Lord George, at the head of the British and Hanoverian horse, was stationed at some distance on the right of the infantry, from which they were divided by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. The French infantry giving ground, the prince thought that this would be a favourable opportunity to pour down the horse among them, and accordingly sent lord George orders to come on. These orders were but ill obeyed; and whether they were unintelligible, or contradictory, still remains a point for posterity to debate upon. It is certain that lord George shortly after was recalled, tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and declared incapable of serving in any military command for the future. The enemy, however, were repulsed in all their attacks with considerable loss, and, at length giving way, were pursued to the very ramparts of Minden. This victory was splendid; but laurels were the only advantage reaped from the field of battle.

After these victories, which were greatly magnified in England, it was supposed that one reinforcement more of British troops would terminate the war in favour of the allies, and a reinforcement was quickly sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, and the whole nation was flushed with the hopes of immediate conquest. But these hopes soon vanished on finding victory and defeat successively following each other. The allies were worsted at Corbach, but retrieved their honour at Exdorf. A victory at Warbourg followed shortly after, and another at Zierenberg; but they suffered a defeat at Camperdown; after which both sides went into winter-quarters. Thus the successes on either side might be considered as a compact by which both engaged to lose much and gain little; for no advantages whatever followed from victory. The English

at length began to open their eyes to their own interest, and found that they were waging unequal war, and loading themselves with taxes for conquests that they could neither preserve nor enjoy.

It must be confessed that the efforts of England at this time, in every quarter of the globe, were amazing, and the expense of her operations greater than had ever been disbursed by any nation before. The king of Prussia received a subsidy; a large body of English forces commanded the extensive peninsula of India; another army of twenty thousand men confirmed their conquests in North America; there were thirty thousand men employed in Germany, and several other bodies dispersed in the different garrisons in various parts of the world; but all these were nothing to the force maintained at sea, which carried command wherever it came, and had totally annihilated the French power on that element. The courage and the conduct of the English admirals had surpassed whatever had been read of in history; neither superior force, nor number, nor even the terrors of the tempest, could intimidate them. Admiral Hawke gained a complete victory over an equal number of French ships in Quiberon Bay, on the coast of Bretagne, in the midst of a tempest, during the darkness of the night, and what a seaman fears still more, upon a rocky shore.

Such was the glorious figure which Great Britain, at this time, exhibited to all the world. But while her arms prospered in every effort tending to the real interests of the nation, an event happened, which for a while obscured the splendor of her victories. On the twenty-fifth of October, the king, without having complained of any previous disorder, was found, by his domestics, expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine he would take a walk into the gardens of Kensington, where he then resided. In a few minutes after his return, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of this bringing his attendants into the room, they lifted him into bed, where he desired, with a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before she could reach the apartment he expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and afterwards the surgeons, upon opening him, discovered that the right ventricle of the heart was actually ruptured, and that a great quantity of blood was discharged through the aperture.

George the Second died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign, lamented by his subjects, and in the midst of victory. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode of his death, and the precise time of its arrival, it was he. The universal enthusiasm of the people for conquest was now beginning to subside, and sober reason to take her turn in the administration of affairs. The factions which had been nursing during his long reign had not yet come to maturity, but threatened, with all their virulence, to afflict his successor. He was himself of no shining abilities; and while he was permitted to guide and assist his German dominions, he intrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. However, as we stand too near to be impartial judges of his merits or defects, let us state his character as delivered by two writers of opposite opinions.

“On whatever side,” says his panegyrist, “we look upon his character, we shall find ample matter for just and unsuspected praise. None of his predecessors on the throne of England lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity. His subjects were still improving under him, in commerce and arts; and his own economy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his conduct, made no change in his behaviour, which was generally guided by reason. He was plain and direct in his intentions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants, not parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In short, through the whole of his life he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left others their unenvied greatness.”

Such is the picture given by his friends; but there are others who reverse the medal. “As to the extent of his understanding, or the splendor of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praise, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country, and to that he sacrificed all other considerations. He was not only unlearned himself, but he despised learning in others; and though genius might have flourished in his reign, yet he neither promoted it by his influence nor example. His frugality bordered upon avarice;

and he hoarded not for his subjects, but himself. He was remarkable for no one great virtue, and was known to practise several of the meaner vices." Which of these two characters is true, or whether they may not in part be both so, I will not pretend to decide. If his favourers are numerous, so are those who oppose them :—let posterity therefore decide the contest.

CHAP. LII.

GEORGE III.

IT undoubtedly demands a nice hand, and a delicate touch, to trace out events of so recent a date as those of the present reign, at a time when most of the personages are still existing on the scene of action. To bestow partial praise upon some will be construed into tacit blame of others; to approve indiscriminately will be deemed servile adulation; whilst to censure none will betray symptoms of deviating from that line of candour, and an inflexible love of truth, which should mark the path of every historian through the intricate mazes of the political labyrinth. If the hand of intervening time had softened the passions, and put its seal on the events which are to be narrated, we might delineate with more certainty and confidence: but, as the political features are so flexible and apt to vary, especially in those on whom death has not yet closed the busy scene, the portraits, which we now imagine to be striking likenesses, may hereafter, to our readers, lose many traces of resemblance. We shall, therefore, pursue what appears to us to be the most proper and satisfactory mode of producing a faithful picture of an epoch so momentous in the annals of British history, by drawing a correct outline of the fact, and giving to the principal agents such lights and shades as, in all human probability, will stand the test of time.

GEORGE III., the eldest son of Frederic prince of Wales, who died before the late king, ascended the throne when he had only just completed his twenty-second year. The jealousy which the late king had always entertained of the princess dowager of

Wales having prevented her and her son from frequenting the court, and all apparent intercourse with them being avoided by those who wished to retain the king's favour, no idea whatever could be formed of the manners and sentiments of the young monarch. His education was conducted in so private a manner, that no mention would have been made of it, but for a difference which took place between those who were intrusted with the care of it. It was, however, thought not to have been deficient in a moral, whatever it might have been in a political, view; and, as the king was the first of his family who was born in England, and supposed to be free from the predilection of his two predecessors for their continental possessions and alliances, the maintenance of which had involved the nation in so much expensive warfare, the British nation hoped to see in him a free *British* king worthy to rule a free people. They were impatient to develope the bias of his inclination, and the public expectation was never more excited upon a similar than upon the present occasion.

The king was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies on the day after his accession; and, on the ensuing day, he held a council, at which his brother the duke of York and John earl of Bute were sworn in as members. The king's friendship for this latter nobleman gave birth to that jealousy of a court favourite which is never to be eradicated from the minds of Englishmen, and which the earl's enemies lost no opportunity of inflaming. He had been lord of the bed-chamber to the late prince of Wales, and groom of the stole to his son. He was a most accomplished scholar; but, having never filled any public station, and being totally unacquainted with state intrigues, it must be allowed to have been a most hazardous enterprise, and such as he would never have undertaken without the firmest reliance on enjoying the king's unlimited confidence, to attempt to break up the ministry, strong as they were from a combination of parties, and popular through success. He formed the design however, and those against whom it was levelled did not fail to penetrate it; but neither side was prepared for open hostility.

The king greatly prepossessed the popular esteem by the proclamations, which he issued immediately after his accession, against vice and immorality; loyal addresses came in from all parts, and the late king seems to have been forgotten so soon as

he was interred. His majesty's speech at the opening of the next session, which contained these words—" *Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of a Briton,*" were so gratifying to English self-prejudice and vanity, that it raised the popular regard to its highest pitch. Addresses were presented by both houses of parliament; and the commons, in the plenitude of their satisfaction, voted a second address of thanks for the gracious manner in which the king received the first.

[1761.] One of the king's measures at the close of the session was truly magnanimous, disinterested, and patriotic. He recommended to the parliament, in his speech from the throne, that they should make the offices of the judges, which till then had determined on the demise of the crown, permanent during their good behaviour, and should settle such salaries upon them as would render them totally independent of the crown. This care to secure expounders of the British code of laws in the exercise of their high functions, a point so essentially necessary to our dearest privileges, from all influence whatever, augured most favourably of the king's wisdom and liberality. Parliament expressed their strong sense of it, and passed an act accordingly.

The supplies for the continuance of the war, amounting to nineteen millions, were unanimously voted, and the civil list revenue fixed at a clear annual sum of eight hundred thousand pounds. Yet the king's increasing popularity could not protect the earl of Bute from the clamour against favoritism, which soon after broke out against him. As it was supposed he would shortly have a distinguished place in the administration, every effort was used by the ministry—who, in the preceding reign, had rendered themselves, in a manner, independent of the crown, and were aware that an attempt to break their phalanx would be speedily made by Bute—to inflame the national jealousy of the English against the Scots. Every unpopular act was laid at the earl's door, particularly the tax on beer, of which the populace expressed their disapprobation by a riot at the play-house, in the king's presence. But his attachment to Bute was not to be shaken. Mr. Legge was dismissed; and Bute was soon after appointed secretary of state, in the room of lord Holdernes, who resigned. Mr. Pitt still retained the entire management of foreign affairs, in which a diametrically opposite opinion was

maintained by him and Bute respecting continental alliances : Mr. Pitt was resolved to support, and Bute to put an end to, them. Mr. Pitt was, however, not dismissed, because matters were not yet ripe for a change ; but the removal of all the whig party was predetermined.

The king having, during the summer, declared his resolution to demand the princess Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenbourg Strelitz in marriage, she arrived at St. James's on the eighth of September ; on the evening of which day the nuptial ceremony was performed. On the twenty-second of September the coronation of their majesties took place with the accustomed splendor ; and the amiable manners of the queen made a lively impression on the hearts of her future subjects. Meanwhile the operations of the war went on unceasingly. The chief military exploit of the English in Europe, during the present year, was the attack of the island of Belleisle, situated near the south coast of Bretagne, by the land forces under the command of general Hodgson, aided by the fleet under commodore Keppel. The forces arrived before the island on the seventh of April ; and the chevalier St. Croix, the French commandant, after a very spirited defence, capitulated on honourable terms the seventh of July following. The greatest praise was, confessedly, due to the exertions of the armament which effected this conquest ; but there were not wanting those who questioned its real utility to Britain.

In America no event of any importance took place. The predatory incursions of the Cherokee Indians were, however, put a stop to by colonel Grant, and a peace made with them on his own terms. In the West Indies, the island of Dominique was subjected by a small armament under the command of lord Rolle and sir James Douglas.

In the East Indies, Pondicherry was the only place remaining in the possession of the French. Colonel Cook invested it by land, and admiral Stevens blockaded it by sea. The siege was conducted by the leaders with the utmost order and unanimity ; and although a violent storm, on the first of January, drove the fleet from before the place, and wrecked two ships of the line, yet the admiral, with unceasing perseverance and celerity, regained his lost position four days after the storm, and destroyed all hopes of assistance with which the besieged had flattered them-

selves in his absence. The city was taken by storm on the fifteenth, and a death-blow struck to French affairs in the Carnatic.

In Germany, the campaign was carried on with various but such equal success, that, at the termination of it, the French and the allies sat down nearly in the same situation as they were in at its commencement. If the scale turned on either side, the balance was against Prussia. France, however, had nearly lost all hopes of the success of her ambitious designs against Germany. She saw that Mr. Pitt continued, with increasing vigour, to support and animate the allies of Britain on the continent; and that Frederick, although often brought to the ground, sprang up, renewed, like another Antæus. The revenue of France, which had till then supported the war, was at its lowest ebb; and to Sweden, her subsidiary, it was notified by the court of Versailles that the subsidy must be withheld. As the other parties did not dare to continue the war without the assistance of France, the cabinets of Petersburg, Vienna, Sweden, and Poland, agreed to a negotiation for a peace, and declarations to that effect were signed at Paris on the twenty-fifth of March, which were delivered at London on the thirty-first of the same month. A declaration of a similar import was signed by the courts of London and Berlin on the third of April. Augsburg was the place appointed for a congress for the adjustment of continental differences, and a separate negotiation was opened at Paris and London for the settlement of the exclusive concerns of Britain and France.

It would be needless to go over the ground of this negotiation, which, as France intended should be the case, came to nothing. It was, on her side, only a political feint to draw in Spain to espouse her declining cause, imagining she would not behold with indifference the humiliation of the principal branch of the house of Bourbon before England. France, likewise, inflamed Spain with a jealousy of the increasing influence of Britain in North America, which might ultimately prove dangerous to the possessions of Spain in South America. This jealousy operated so powerfully upon Charles, that he agreed to form an offensive and defensive alliance with France, which, from its being open to all the other branches of the house of Bourbon who should choose to accede to it, was denominated the *family compact*.

Mr. Pitt soon gained information of this important measure,

and, conceiving that a war with Spain would be the unavoidable consequence, he proposed to commence hostilities, and strike such a blow, by seizing the homeward-bound plate fleet, as should inevitably paralyze the efforts of Spain during the remainder of the contest. This proposal was, however, outvoted in the council; and Mr. Pitt told the members of it he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide. He accordingly resigned his employment into the hands of his majesty; who expressed his regret at losing so able a servant, but did not express any wish for his continuing in office.

Although the earl of Egremont succeeded to Mr. Pitt, yet, as the earl of Bute was considered to be the chief engine of administration, and was soon afterwards appointed first lord of the treasury, in the room of the duke of Newcastle, whom the king dismissed, the commencement of the Bute administration is dated from Mr. Pitt's resignation.

The negotiation with France being broken off, the court of Versailles published a memorial containing the pacific overtures it had made, with a view to throw all the odium of the continuance of the war on Britain. Spain, also, began to throw off the mask, and completely justified the bold measures which Mr. Pitt advised to be taken against her. Whilst the court of London was wasting time in demanding explanations from the court of Spain respecting the family compact, the flota bearing the treasures of South America, which Mr. Pitt would have attempted to have seized, got safe into the harbours of Spain. She had gained time to prepare herself for war, and the Spanish ambassador having left England towards the latter end of December, war was declared against Spain on the fourth of January following. [1762.]

Spain having thus thrown herself into the arms of France, was obliged to adopt all her measures; the first of which was to ruin the commerce of Britain with Portugal, by obliging the latter to unite herself with France and Spain to curb the pride of Britain; or, in case of her refusal, to engage Spain to enter heartily into the war, by holding out to her the hopes of making an easy conquest of Portugal. On the sixteenth of March a memorial to that effect was delivered by the courts of France and Spain to

to that of Portugal, and a categorical answer to it demanded in four days. A measure so flagrantly unjust and insolent towards an independent monarch was treated by his most faithful majesty with becoming indignation in his answer, in which he asserted his right to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, and his resolution to maintain it. The French plenipotentiary and Spanish ambassador thereupon left Portugal, and war was declared against her by France and Spain.

The resignation of Mr. Pitt, at a period when Great Britain was engaged in war with all the great continental powers and the chief maritime strength of Europe, was censured by all who admired the talents of that able minister. Lord Bute was accused of patronizing writings full of illiberal abuse against his predecessor; and, whether such was the case or not, he and his supporters became excessively unpopular with the English nation. They were not even unanimous among themselves. Such jealousies subsisted between the duke of Newcastle and lord Bute as ended in the duke's resignation. The earl then assumed the head of the treasury, Mr. Grenville the secretaryship of state, and sir Francis Dashwood the chancellorship of the exchequer.

The campaign of the allied armies, under prince Ferdinand and the marquis of Granby, was brilliant and successful. The French were not only prevented from taking possession of Hanover, but they were deprived of the city of Cassel.

In the West Indies the French lost Martinique, which capitulated to general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney; and this capture was speedily followed by that of Grenada and the Grenadines, Tobago, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent. This expedition, by which the whole of the Charibbee islands were vested in Great Britain, was however said to have been projected by the preceding ministry.

Spain was in hopes that the distracted state of Portugal would afford her an opportunity of indemnifying herself for her losses by Britain, and she accordingly marched three bodies of men into that country; one of which, under the marquis de Sorria, overran almost the whole province of Tra los Montes, and Oporto was considered in so much danger, that the British admiral stationed there was ready to carry off the factory. This body was,

however, opposed by the peasantry in attempting to cross the Douro, and obliged to retreat to Torre de Moncorvo. The second body entered the province of Beira, and laid siege to Almeida, which surrendered on honourable terms. The third body, under the count d'Aranda, being reinforced by the second, were, however, frustrated in all their endeavours to cross the Tagus by the united efforts and bravery of the count de la Lippe Buckbong, the Portuguese commander, and the earl of Loudon, the leader of the English forces, and were obliged to evacuate the province of Estremadura. Thus the campaign in Portugal terminated, without producing either honour or advantage to the Spanish arms.

In other quarters they met with still worse success. A strong fleet sailed from Portsmouth, under the flag of admiral Pococke, having on board ten thousand land forces, commanded by lord Albemarle. Off cape Nicola they joined the fleet, which had captured Martinique and its dependencies, and thus united they made together nineteen sail of the line, eighteen of an inferior description, and nearly a hundred and fifty transport vessels. On the fifth of June they arrived before the Havannah; and, by a judicious manœuvre, the troops were landed without the smallest loss, or even opposition. The obstacles to his enterprise were regarded as insurmountable, but British valour and perseverance taught the contrary. After encountering a long train of natural and artificial difficulties, the Moro castle was gallantly carried by storm. The town itself soon after surrendered; the Spanish fleet, consisting of nine ships of the line and four frigates, besides treasure and merchandize valued at three millions sterling, fell into the hands of the English. The Spanish garrison, reduced to seven hundred men, was allowed the honours of war and a safe conveyance to Spain.

Another, no less successful, expedition was planned against Luzonia, the principal of the Philippine isles. The land forces, composed chiefly of Indians, to the number of two thousand three hundred men, were commanded by brigadier-general Drapier; and the naval force consisted of eleven ships, part of admiral Cornish's squadron. On the twenty-fourth of September the troops landed, with some opposition but little loss; and, on the sixth of October, the town of Manilla was taken by storm. The citadel was shortly

after obliged to capitulate on terms, by which the town of Manilla and port of Cavite, with the Spanish king's ships and military and naval stores, were surrendered to the captors, and a ransom of four millions of dollars was besides agreed to be paid to them for the property of individuals.

To all these losses, which not only deprived Spain, in less than ten months after the declaration of war, of the power of rendering any service to France, but even destroyed all her own resources, may be added the capture of the Acapulco ship, the Santissima Trinidad, with a cargo of three millions of dollars, by captains Parker and King, in the Panther ship of the line and Argo frigate; and also the capture of the Hermione, a register sloop, bound from Lima to Cadiz, off Cape St. Vincent, containing treasure and merchandize to the amount of a million sterling, by two English frigates.

The only unsuccessful expedition of Britain against Spain was the attack of Buenos Ayres by three frigates, some small armed vessels, and store-ships, carrying five hundred troops under the command of captain Macnamara. This small armament would have been completely successful if the commodore's ship had not taken fire; only seventy-eight men escaped out of three hundred and forty, and the other vessels reached the Portuguese settlement of Rio Janeiro little better than wrecks. It should be mentioned that the Spaniards behaved with great humanity and generosity to such of the prisoners as fell into their power, by swimming to shore to avoid the flames.

In England, the birth of a prince of Wales gave universal joy to the British metropolis and the king's subjects in general. To add to it, the treasure of the prize ship, the Hermione, arrived at the moment the cannon were firing to announce the joyous event, and paraded with great ceremony before the palace, in its road to the tower. The king and most of the principal courtiers appeared at the windows, and heightened the felicity of the people by joining in their acclamations. A very loyal and dutiful address was presented by the city of London; and its example was followed by most of the cities, towns, and boroughs, of the kingdom.

The events of this campaign induced all the belligerent powers to wish for peace. France perceived that the expectations of ad-

vantage which she had formed from the family compact were never likely to be realized; and Spain, instead of being able to retrieve her ally from humiliating disasters, saw herself about to become a partaker of them. Great Britain, or rather its ministry, began to despair of reducing the power of France. The unpopularity of lord Bute was daily increasing, through the unceasing jealousy against a court favourite and his own unconciliating deportment. His partiality to the Scots, in his appointments to offices, was, besides, too glaring not to be galling to the English. The whig party taxed him with being a friend to arbitrary power; and as they, particularly Mr. Pitt, enjoyed the utmost confidence of the monied interest, who had very little reliance on the measures of lord Bute, it was doubted that they would not come forward to facilitate the supplies for the ensuing year. A strong opposition party, divided, indeed, in political principles, but united in their enmity to lord Bute, were ready to take the field against him at the opening of the next session of parliament. For all these reasons, the minister was desirous to open a negotiation for peace.

Through the mediation of the king of Sardinia, it was agreed that a person of distinction should be sent reciprocally by France and Great Britain to London and Paris. The duke de Nivernois came to London on the part of France, and the duke of Bedford was sent to Paris in behalf of Britain in the month of September.

The limits of their respective territories in North America being the origin of the war, England and France recurred to them principally. France renounced all pretensions to Nova Scotia, Canada, and its dependencies, including Louisiana, and also to the tract of land lying between the rivers Ohio and St. Lawrence, as well as the chain of forts built by them to command it. Spain ceded Florida: so that the British territory in North America reached from Hudson's Bay to the southernmost point of Florida, and from the Atlantic to the borders of New Mexico. Great Britain was also to retain the islands of Cape Breton and St. John; but she was to resign to the French the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near Newfoundland. The Newfoundland fishery was to be in the hands of both England and France, but the former was to enjoy the greater share. In the West Indies, Britain ceded the Havannah, with a great part of Cuba, to Spain; the islands of Mar-

tinique, Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Derirade, and St. Lucie, to France. England retained the islands of Tobago, Dominique, St. Vincent, and the Grenadines. Spain agreed that Britain should enjoy, undisturbed, the right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. In Europe, Belleisle was restored to France, Minorca to England; and the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed, according to former treaties. In Africa, Goree was restored to France, and Senegal retained by England. In the East Indies, Britain surrendered all her conquests to France, on a stipulation that she should erect no forts in Bengal or Orissa, and should acknowledge the reigning subahs of Bengal, the Decan, and the Carnatic.

With respect to the allies, Portugal was to be entirely evacuated by France and Spain, and France and Great Britain were to observe a strict neutrality in the affairs of Germany. On these grounds preliminaries were signed and interchanged on the third of November.

These preliminaries underwent a long investigation in both houses. Mr. Pitt attacked them on the score of impolicy, and lord Bute defended them with more ability than his antagonists gave him credit for. He was seconded by the earl of Halifax, and carried a complete majority of three hundred and nineteen against sixty-five on the question of an address to his majesty on the peace.

When the belligerent continental powers saw France and England in earnest about a pacification, they began to think of it themselves. The imperial court proposed a congress, which was readily acceded to by that of Berlin. It took place at Hubertsburg, where the peace of Europe was finally arranged.

CHAP. LIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

[1763.] **T**HE opposition, finding all their endeavours to frustrate the addresses on the peace to be unavailing, through their own want of unanimity, at length consolidated themselves, and

every effort of the minister to divide them afterwards proved abortive.

The parliament met on the twentieth of January, and an arduous struggle commenced on the minister's proposing to raise three millions and a half by a tax on cider. The city of London presented a petition against this measure, and the cities of Exeter and Worcester, the counties of Devon and Hereford, and divers other places, instructed their representatives to oppose it; but the minister persisted, and the bill finally passed.

Both the ministerial and opposition parties considered the minister, after carrying this point, as permanently fixed in office; but they were soon afterwards astonished by his unexpected resignation, and the notice given to the foreign ministers that the king had placed the executive powers in the hands of Mr. Grenville, lords Halifax and Egremont. A place in the cabinet was offered to Mr. Pitt, but his terms were such as his majesty thought it would be inconsistent with his honour and dignity to close with.

Many reasons were assigned for the unexpected resignation of lord Bute, but, in all probability, it was solely owing to the growing strength of the opposition, which, after many attempts, he judged to be indivisible, and to a want of support in the cabinet. He is accused of having begun a paper war by hiring writers to puff his administration, and decry the opposition. Whoever began it, the licentiousness of the press was carried to an extreme. John Wilkes, esq. member for Aylesbury, was the avowed author of, or, at least, principal contributor to, a periodical paper called the North Briton, which was profuse in invective against the late administration; and as the members of the present one were all the friends of lord Bute, and he was supposed to be still possessed of a leading influence in the cabinet, Mr. Wilkes continued to pour out his philippics against them. At length No. 45 came into the world, so acrimonious in its observations on the king's speech at the prorogation of parliament, that a warrant was issued from the office of the secretary of state to make strict search for the authors, printers, and publishers, of the seditious and treasonable production, and apprehend and seize them, together with their papers, and bring them before the secretary of state. Wilkes was apprehended, and committed close prisoner to the Tower.

This event gave birth to a more important question respecting the legality of general warrants, which made a great stir, as it was considered in the light of a public, rather than of an individual, concern. Wilkes was brought before the court of King's Bench by habeas corpus, and on the sixth of May, the lord chief justice Pratt delivered the opinion of the court, which was, that the *particular* warrant in question was void for being a breach of the privilege of parliament; thus leaving the broad question of the legality of general warrants, against others than members of parliament, undetermined. Wilkes's liberation was considered by the popular party as a victory gained over an unconstitutional abuse of power. They regarded him as the oppressed champion of their cause, and associated them together under the style of *Wilkes and Liberty*.

By the death of lord Egremont on the twenty-first of August, the ministry was enfeebled, and lord Bute was so sensible of its weakness, that he brought about an interview between the king and Mr. Pitt for the purpose of placing the latter at the head of a new administration. The two conferences held on this occasion, however, failing of success, the duke of Bedford was appointed lord president of the council, and through the accession of the numerous friends of his family, this was called the Bedford administration, although Mr. Grenville retained his situations of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer.

Parliament assembled on the fifteenth of November, and, in consequence of a message from his majesty, took into consideration the paper No. 45 of the North Briton, which they resolved to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. The putting this resolution into execution raised a riot in the city of London.

On the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of November, the question of privilege of parliament, in Wilkes's case, produced warm debates; and it was, on the latter day, resolved, "that the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing, and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." The lords concurred in this resolution of the commons, but a long and spirited protest was signed by seventeen peers against it.

On the twenty-ninth of January, it was moved in the house of commons, "that John Wilkes, esq. member for Aylesbury, being guilty of writing and publishing the North Briton, be expelled this house ;" which was carried in the affirmative. [1764.] On the twenty-first of February, he was indicted in the King's Bench for the libel No. 45 of the North Briton, and also for a blasphemous and obscene publication intituled, "An Essay on Woman." He was found guilty, and as he did not appear to receive sentence, he was outlawed.

Mr. Grenville had made the resources of the country a subject of his most particular attention. He not only increased the produce of the revenue by almost annihilating contraband trade, but he put the most rigid economy in practice to diminish the expenditure ; by which means, only one year after an expensive war, he was enabled to come forward with a plan of finance which precluded the necessity of additional taxes, and even of a lottery. But, without conceiving that similar measures are not always suited to different countries, he wished to extend his plan of annihilating contraband trade to the American colonies, and thereby kindled a flame which was never to be afterwards extinguished until it had totally destroyed the sovereignty of the mother country.

The North Americans carried on a clandestine trade with the Spanish main to the great advantage of the former, and even of Britain herself ; as the Americans introduced British manufactures by means of it into the Spanish settlements, and the greatest part of the returns, which were in specie, of course found its way to England. The Americans murmured loudly at the check which this traffic received from Mr. Grenville's measures, and asserted, but uselessly, that the colonies could not make good their payments to Great Britain, unless this contraband trade was permitted, or, at least, winked at as formerly. A string of resolutions were also brought into the house for regulating the trade, and imposing certain duties on the articles of American commerce ; these resolutions were afterwards passed into an act, which enforced the payment of the new duties in specie into the English exchequer. The minister also proposed, 'that, towards further defraying the expense of projecting and securing the colonies, it may be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the

colonies.' The paper money of the colonial assemblies had so much depreciated in value, that Mr. Grenville thought it proper to declare it no legal tender in payment of money ; and this obstruction of their paper currency, added to the restrictions on their clandestine trade, and the resolutions for raising money by a stamp duty, began to throw the colonies, particularly the northern states, into a ferment. They questioned the right of the British legislature to tax the colonies ; they called the exercise of it an infringement of their charters, which gave them the sole right of taxing themselves for their own support and defence, as British subjects could only be taxed by themselves or their representatives. They adduced, as a vindication of their opposition to being taxed by the British legislature, these axioms ; 'that in every free state, every man is his own legislator ;—that all taxes are free gifts for public services ;—and that no one community can have any power over the property or legislation of another community that is not incorporated with it by a just and adequate representation.' These remonstrances were the subjects of numerous petitions from the colonists to king, lords, and commons.

As this vindication contained only abstract positions, and there were no precedents of any similar case between any other trading country and her colonies, it gave birth to much argument between those who favoured, and those who condemned, the measure. The former alleged it was just that the colonies should contribute towards the discharge of a debt incurred in support of a government which protected their liberty and cherished their prosperity ;—that the last war had been undertaken chiefly on account of the colonies, and a great part of the debt of Britain contracted in the preceding war had originated in the defence of the colonies ;—and, that if their axioms should be established, the spirit of colonization would be entirely suppressed, and it would be a rule of policy to abandon colonists to their fate, or to prevent their independency by destroying the sources of their prosperity.

On whichever side the greatest weight of argument might be, still it was certainly impolitic in the ministry, and shewed how little they were acquainted with the tempers and manners of the people they had to deal with, without any contention to stand out

for the principle when they might have enjoyed the end. It was not the tax itself, the colonists complained of, but the manner of its imposition. "Let us only," said they, "know what money you require, and it shall be raised, but leave the manner of raising it to ourselves." In fact, the colonists, descended from Britons, could not bear the idea of being looked upon as inferior to Britons, who could only be taxed by a legislature composed by and from themselves. They were tainted with that jealous love of liberty which characterizes those from whom they originated, and what lengths they would go to defend their real, or imaginary, rights, will be seen by the event of the contest to which these measures gave birth.

When the resolutions reached the colonists, they were plunged into all the horrors and carnage of an Indian war. The French, and particularly the jesuits, had acquired, with their usual unremitting perseverance and dexterity, an incredible influence over those savages, which they did not fail to exert to the prejudice of the British settlements. The French and English modes of colonization differed materially; the former made only a few military establishments, to which, at stated seasons, the natives resorted for the purposes of trade; but the latter, by making extensive settlements, trenched upon their hunting grounds, and continually drove them further back into the country. The natives apprehended that colonies would, in time, be planted in all those woods from which they derived their subsistence. To add to their apprehensions, a most unfounded and malicious report was spread, that the British colonists had formed a plan to extirpate the Indian tribes. They immediately dug up the tomahawk, and commenced a war of massacre and cool-blooded butchery, as it always is on their side. At this unfavourable moment, the colonists were apprized of the resolutions of the British legislature for taxing them. This intelligence added to their rage and despair. The colonists, the new Englanders especially, who retained the inflexibility of republicans and the opposition of sectaries, determined, at once, to strike at the root: and deny the principle, without permitting any compromise. Dr. Franklin was dispatched to England, as agent for the colonies, to exert his talents and influence in asserting their chartered rights.

[1765.] The king's speech, at the opening of parliament on the tenth of January, alluded to the measure of taxing the colonies in these words: "The experience I have had of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness in promoting that obedience to the laws, and respect to the legislative authority of this kingdom, which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole; and in establishing such regulations as may best connect and strengthen every part of my dominions for their mutual benefit and support."

After the house had again discussed the question of general warrants, which was dismissed by the previous question, their deliberations were turned towards the colonies. In a committee of the house on the seventh of February, the minister moved fifty-five resolutions for imposing stamp duties on certain papers and documents used in the colonies. The bill, introduced in consequence of this motion, passed both houses by a great majority, and became a law, or rather a sword of separation between the mother country and infant colonies, on the 22d of March, which, on that account, became one of the most important periods of this reign.

Amidst the various arguments on the impolicy of this colonial taxation, it had been asserted that the measure was part of the arbitrary system of lord Bute, whom the opposition still affected to believe to have, in some measure, the direction of administration; and it was, also, insinuated that the subjugation of the liberties of America was intended as only preparatory to the overthrowing the constitution of Britain. As the colonial agents did not fail to transmit to their constituents very particular accounts of every thing that passed during the discussion of the stamp act, they really conceived that they were intended for slavery, and determined on a vigorous resistance. Whether or not the leading people among the colonists had before this period (as has been asserted but never proved) entertained ideas of making themselves independent of the mother country, certain it is that some among them took every method of exciting the indignation of the people against the act, which they represented as unjust and inexpedient, and even stigmatized as the forerunner of slavery. The assembly of Massachusetts's Bay had, in the preceding year, denied the right of taxing the colonies to be in the British

legislature ; and on the twenty-ninth of May in the present year, the assembly of Virginia followed its example, as did the assemblies of the other colonies soon afterwards. A general congress, consisting of deputies from all the assemblies, was invited to meet together for the purpose of consulting on the mutual grievances which the colonies suffered from the late acts of the British legislature, and to frame and prepare a general petition, with addresses to the king and queen, and both houses of parliament.

Whilst these things were passing in America, the king, who had been indisposed, recommended to parliament, on his recovery, "to make such provision as would be necessary, should any of his children succeed to the throne before they respectively attained the age of eighteen years ;" and proposed to their consideration to "empower him to appoint, by instruments in writing under his sign manual, either the queen, or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years ; under the same restrictions as had been provided by a regency act which had been passed on the death of the late prince of Wales." A bill was brought in and passed through the house of lords, framed in the very terms of the king's proposition ; but, in the commons, a question arose on the words, "or any other of the royal family." The answer given and sanctioned by the ministry was, that it meant the descendants of George II. This interpretation, as it tended to exclude the princess dowager of Wales, was displeasing to the king ; and, although her name was expressly inserted on the next reading of the bill, yet the ministry, by their conduct in that affair, and their opposition to the king's inclination in other matters, were supposed to have lost his confidence.

In effect, offers were again made to Mr. Pitt to resume the helm by the duke of Cumberland, who was employed by his majesty to form a new ministry ; but this negotiation also failed. The duke, who had been one of the whig party, of which the marquis of Rockingham (the duke of Newcastle being very far advanced in years) was then reckoned the head, made proposals to the marquis, which he accepted, and he was made first lord of the treasury. The duke of Newcastle became lord privy seal,

Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer, the duke of Grafton and general Conway principal secretaries of state, and the earl of Northington chancellor.

This administration, and it would have been the case with any other of which Mr. Pitt should not have been the head, was not popular. It was also weak in talents, and this weakness was increased by the death of the duke of Cumberland, its chief prop, which took place on the thirty-first of October.

When the news of this change of ministry, which was supposed to have transferred the executive government to those who were adverse to the system adopted towards America, arrived there, the spirit of tumult broke out into open violence, at Boston first, and afterwards in several other colonies. The houses of the officers of the crown, and those particularly who were appointed for executing the stamp act, were pillaged; their furniture destroyed, their official papers burned, and their persons only saved from violence by concealment. The council of the province of Massachusetts, when called upon by the governor, shewed no readiness to suppress the riots, and the militia refused to obey his orders. The stamp officer resigned his employment through fear. The tumult, though less violent than at Boston, spread through the other colonies, and, as the stamp officers were deterred from doing their duty, the act was rendered a nullity.

On the seventh of October, deputies from nine of the colonies met in congress. New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, sent none; but New Hampshire declared its acquiescence in any petition which should be agreed on by the deputies of the other colonies. The other three colonies sent no deputies, because the letters from Massachusetts Bay, requiring the meeting of the congress, did not arrive until after the breaking up of their assemblies, which the governor prevented from reassembling in time for that purpose.

After several days of debate and deliberation, the delegates agreed upon a declaration of their rights and grievances. It set forth that they owed the same allegiance to the sovereign, as the people of Great Britain, and all due subordination to parliaments; that they were entitled to the same rights, privileges, and immunities, as their fellow subjects; that no taxes could be imposed upon free-born Britons but by their own consent, or that of their

representatives ; that the colonies were not, and could not be, represented in the English parliament ; that the only representatives of the inhabitants of the colonies were those that were chosen by themselves ; that all supplies to the crown were free gifts from the people ; that, therefore, it was unreasonable in the British parliament to grant the property of the inhabitants of the colonies ; and, finally, that trial by jury was the right of a British subject. As to their grievances, the stamp act tended to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonies ; the duties imposed, unconstitutional in their principle, were oppressive in their operation, and the payments impracticable ; the British manufactures, which they were in the habit of purchasing, contributed greatly to the revenue ; the restrictions imposed by the late acts would disable them from purchasing these articles, and consequently would materially injure the revenue ; the increase and prosperity of the colonies depended on the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties : and these considerations of right and expediences they had firmly, but respectfully, urged in memorials and petitions to the king and both houses of parliament. Besides these resolutions, associations were formed for prohibiting the importation of British manufactures until the stamp act should be repealed. On the first of November, when the stamp act was to commence, neither stamps nor distributors were to be found ; commerce was at a stand ; the courts of law held no proceedings, and the customs were no longer levied.

On the sixteenth of December, parliament met, but very injudiciously, at such a critical period, separated for the Christmas recess, without transacting any business. On the fourteenth of January, it reassembled, and the king, in his [1766.] speech, particularly recommended its attention to American affairs. The debates on the address were uncommonly long, but it was carried without a division. In the beginning of the session, numerous petitions against the stamp act, as well from British as American merchants and manufacturers, were received and read. To ascertain the truth of the facts alleged in them, and also other important matters respecting the colonies, witnesses were examined by parliament. The most distinguished among them was Benjamin Franklin, than whom no one was better acquainted with the circumstances of the colonies and the

dispositions of the people, or was more able to comprehend the policy which would be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her colonies.

In the end, after an act had passed declaratory of the right of Britain to tax America, the stamp act was repealed on the eighteenth of January by a majority of two hundred and seventy-five to a hundred and sixty-seven. A bill was also passed for indemnifying those who had transacted business, and giving validity to writings without stamps. Acts were likewise passed for repealing several duties, securing the trade of America, and opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. As the great object of this administration was popularity, so much of the cider tax as affected private persons was repealed. Resolutions of the house were, moreover, passed, declaring the illegality of general warrants.

Notwithstanding these popular steps, the ministry could not obtain what they desired; a great majority of the nation wished and expected a change. After the prorogation of parliament, the lord chancellor Northington declared he could no longer act with so incapable an administration. His majesty concurred in their incompetency: overtures were again made to Mr. Pitt, containing ample powers to form a ministry, which he accepted; and, on the twelfth of July, the Rockingham administration ended.

Mr. Pitt proposed to lord Temple to be first lord of the treasury; but that nobleman, being politically connected with his brother, wished for a greater share of power for the Grenville party than Mr. Pitt deemed expedient: so that his lordship refused the proffered office. The duke of Grafton was therefore placed at the head of the treasury; Mr. Conway retained his situation of secretary of state; lord Shelburne was constituted his colleague; Mr. Charles Townshend was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; and lord Camden, lord chancellor, *vice* the earl of Northington, who succeeded the earl of Winchelsea as president of the council. Mr. Pitt took the privy seal, and was called to the upper house under the title of the earl of Chatham; but his acceptance of a peerage deprived him, although without any reasonable grounds, of the greatest share of his popularity.

[1767.] Notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp act, the act declaratory of the right of Britain to tax the colonies

led the Americans to imagine that the British legislature had not abandoned the idea of renewing the pretensions at some more convenient opportunity. They exhorted each other to encourage the breed of sheep for a supply of wool; to promote the culture of flax, hemp, and cotton; and the fabrication of such of the coarser British manufactures as would, in future, enable them to support associations against importations, and render them in a measure independent of Great Britain. The colonial assemblies showed evident reluctance to comply with the requisition of the governors, made by the recommendation of the secretary of state, for compensation to the sufferers by the late riots; and the acts were not passed until they were informed that the lords of the treasury in England would not pay the sums voted by parliament in 1763 (for compensation to the subjects of North America for the expenses incurred during the late war in the levying, clothing, and pay of the troops raised by the respective provinces) unless the proposed compensations were made. The assembly of New York came even to a resolution not to regard the provisions of an act passed in the last session for supplying the troops stationed in the province with necessaries in their quarters. But the forcible and dignified conduct of the ministry, in enacting a law prohibiting the assembly from passing any act until they had complied with the requisition of parliament, soon reduced them to compliance. These various acts of resistance, and some riotous proceedings in different quarters, however, evinced the present temper of the colonies.

When parliament assembled in November, the ministry met with a stronger opposition than was expected. The parliamentary proceedings discovered a want of union in the cabinet; and, in a financial question respecting the land-tax, the ministry was left in a minority of eighteen—a sufficient indication of its weakness.

The earl of Chatham sought to strengthen himself by detaching the duke of Bedford from the Rockingham party. A meeting took place. Chatham regarded the reconciliation between himself and Bedford as certain. He did not, therefore, hesitate to come to an open rupture with the Rockingham party, by the dismissal of lord Edgcumbe from his office of treasurer of the household. The duke of Portland and many others instantly resigned.

The earl of Chatham saw these resignations with indifference, as he intended to supply them from the Bedford party ; but they demanded such concessions as broke off the negotiation. This disappointment, and the grief at his decreasing popularity, added to increasing bodily infirmity, threw the earl into such a gloom, that his very existence was threatened : and the expectation that he would be no longer capable of business multiplied the intrigues of opposition.

The affairs of the East India company came before parliament this session. In less than ten years this commercial company had acquired, by war and policy, more extensive possessions, and a richer revenue, than many European monarchs could boast of.

The last war in Hindostan had entirely put an end to the fame and dominion of the French in that quarter ; and although, under the treaty of 1762, the French settlements had been restored to them, yet nothing like a competition could be said to exist. But the English could not avoid taking a part in the distractions and revolutions of India which happened in the Mogul empire after the death of Aurengzebe. Delhi, the capital, had not recovered from the devastation of Nadir Shah, when Achmet Abdallah, a rebel leader, again attacked it, plundered the inhabitants, massacred them during seven successive days, and then set the city on fire. The Mahrattas finished this scene of horror ; and the imperial city was reduced to a heap of rubbish, the Mogul empire annihilated, and the country princes became independent. Mohammed Ally, nabob of the Carnatic, grateful for the assistance and friendship of the British, constantly adhered to their interests ; but Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, the subah of Bengal, who was under similar obligations to them, and owed his elevation and continuation in the subahdary to colonel Clive, was eager to throw off his dependence on them. Affairs were thus situated in January 1760, when Clive returned to England, and left the presidency of the council to Mr. Holwell until a new president should arrive from England. The English, who had greatly exhausted themselves by fighting the battles of the subah, were indignant at finding themselves not only not indemnified for their exertions and expense, but the objects of his hatred. A negotiation was therefore opened with Cossim Ally, the subah's son-in-law, for investing him with the supreme power ; and Mr. Vansit-

part, the new president, arriving in the mean while, and approving the measure, Meer Jaffier was deposed, and Cossim declared subah in his stead.

Cossim, at first, kept up appearances of good faith with the English, and discharged the promises he had made them previously to his elevation; but he secretly pined to deliver himself from all subjection to them.

Various were the opinions of the council respecting this revolution, which produced a free gift of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds to Mr. Vansittart and three other members, who were denominated the select committee, and were the approvers of the measure. The remaining members, who did not participate in this reason for approbation, highly condemned it, and expressed their surprise that Mr. Vansittart, who had been scarcely three months in the presidency, should venture to annul a solemn treaty of the company with the deposed subah. They asserted that Cossim, seeing the little faith which the British paid to their treaties, would endeavour to alienate himself from them, and build his own security on a more solid foundation. This assertion was soon after verified.

Cossim began to shew his jealousy of the English by removing his court to a distance of two hundred miles further from Calcutta. He increased and disciplined his army, and laid many restrictions on the English traders. The latter laid their complaints before the council; but the president, notwithstanding his orders from the directors to the contrary, disregarded them. He even concluded a treaty with Cossim greatly to their detriment, and in consequence of which Cossim committed so many depredations, under pretence of non-payment of certain duties, that the council voted the treaty dishonourable and a breach of their privileges. Mr. Amyatt, a member of the council, who was sent to remonstrate with Cossim, was treacherously murdered, with all his suite. Hostilities followed; and in four months Cossim was driven out of Bengal, and took refuge in the province of Oude, with Sujah ul Dowlah, the visier of Shah Allum the grand mogul.

The ferment occasioned among the proprietors of India stock by these proceedings was violent, and ended in the reappointment of lord Clive to be governor-general and commander-in-

chief of the forces at Bengal. Previously to his arrival in India, Sujah ul Dowlah had begun to make warlike preparations against the English, who resolved to carry the war into his own dominions. The nabob of Oude was soon reduced to such straits, that his master, Shah Allum, left him and threw himself on the mercy of the English; and, upon the arrival of lord Clive, and his taking the command of the army, the visier, after permitting Cossim to escape, also surrendered himself a prisoner on such terms as British clemency and generosity should dictate. The nabob was permitted to retain the whole of his territory, excepting only the province of Korah and part of that of Allahabad, and a yearly grant of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds out of the revenues of Bengal, which were granted to Shah Allum; who in return granted to the company the reversion of lord Clive's jaghire, or pension, of thirty thousand pounds yearly, and the dewanee, or collection or rent, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. The visier was also to pay to the company six hundred and fifteen thousand pounds for the expenses of the war. Thus gloriously terminated a war which at first threatened to root out the British power from India: and the addition made by the treaty of peace to the company's revenue was not less than one million seven hundred thousand pounds yearly.

Under such prosperous circumstances, the proprietors of India stock thought themselves entitled to share in the benefit, which had been obtained by and at the risk of their joint capital; and as their dividends during the war had been reduced from eight to six per cent., a motion was made and carried for raising them to ten per cent. Pending this motion, a message was received from the first lord of the treasury, importing that the affairs of the company would probably be taken into the consideration of parliament, and desiring them to prepare their documents for the occasion against the next meeting of parliament. In pursuance of this intimation, their charters, treaties with the country powers, letters and correspondence with their servants in India, the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and all other places, were ordered to be laid before the house; together with an account of all expenses incurred by government on the company's account.

Whilst the discussion of this subject was now before parliament, the proprietors, who just before had raised their dividends from

six to ten per cent., declared a dividend for the ensuing half year at the rate of twelve and a half; but this resolution was rescinded, and the company restrained from making any dividend exceeding ten per cent.

A bill was now brought in for laying certain duties on glass, tea, paper, and painters' colours, imported from Great Britain into the American colonies. This bill was certainly impolitic at the time; because, having relinquished the internal taxation of the colonies, it shewed a resolution to substitute an external one. The consequence was, that combinations were generally formed among the American merchants not to import those articles on which the new duties were laid.

Before the prorogation of parliament, which did not take place until July the second, the want of unanimity among the ministry became apparent; and general Conway and lord Northington declared their resolution to resign. The king, therefore, wrote to lord Chatham, informing him of his intention to make some changes in the ministry, and requiring his advice and assistance; but he excused himself from interfering in any new arrangement on account of ill health.

After many fruitless attempts at arranging a new ministry, lord North on the first of December was prevailed upon to accept the office of chancellor of the exchequer. His oratorical abilities were universally acknowledged, and had been advantageously displayed in the motions against Wilkes, and in the discussions of the India affairs. Mr. Thomas Townshend was made paymaster of the forces; Mr. Jenkinson a lord of the treasury; lord Gower president of the council; lord Weymouth secretary of state; and lord Sandwich joint postmaster-general. This was denominated the Grafton administration.

No very material business was transacted in the parliament of this year, and it was dissolved on the twelfth of March. [1768.]

The inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay were, however, far from being tranquil. The legislature were at open variance with the governor, sir Francis Bernard, who was much disliked; and they not only again petitioned the king, but wrote to lord Shelburne, the marquis of Rockingham, general Conway, lord Camden, lord Chatham, and to the lords of the treasury, in terms of the utmost

dissatisfaction at the late measures, and of determined resistance to them. A circular letter was also sent to the speakers of all the houses of assembly, inviting a strenuous and unanimous opposition to the late acts; and several of them united in opinion with the assembly of Massachusetts Bay. Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for America, wrote to the governor, to require that the resolutions which gave rise to this obnoxious letter should be rescinded; and if they declined to do so, he was directed to dissolve the assembly. This was done accordingly, on the first of July.

Various tumultuous proceedings took place at Boston, which were at length put a stop to, and kept within bounds by the arrival of troops; but the associations, formed in consequence of the circular letter of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, kept discord alive and prepared future opposition to the measures of Great Britain.

As it was certain that a general election must take place at the end of the session of parliament, and great efforts were making to obtain an influence, all England was agitated; but the circumstances which attended that in the metropolis, from its superior importance, its connexion with general politics, and from its bringing a celebrated character once more on the tapis, merits particular notice.

Wilkes, who had fled to the continent to avoid the sentence of the court of King's Bench, on the eve of the election appeared on the hustings and offered himself as a candidate for the city of London. To prevent his being arrested on account of his outlawry, he wrote to the solicitor of the treasury, pledging himself to a personal appearance in court on the first day of the next term. In his address to the livery, he artfully endeavoured to avail himself of the former popular phrensy in his favour, by claiming credit for his attachment to liberty, and painted his contests with government, on the two questions respecting general warrants and the seizure of papers, as claims to protection and favour. It is remarkable that, although he was received with loud acclamations, and a great majority of hands appeared in his favour, yet on the poll he was quite deserted. Not dispirited, he immediately declared himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and, at the election, was returned at the head of the poll by a great majority.

A man of Wilkes's understanding must have been aware that even his own profligate companions could not confer fame on him for a lewd poem which contains not one stroke of wit. The dæmon of corruption alone could have inspired the *Essay on Woman*. It is the most contemptible effusion of dull obscenity that ever disgraced the press. When he surrendered himself to the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, although the court granted him a reversal of his outlawry, yet lord Mansfield affirmed the judgments given against him, both for that vile production and the North Briton, and sentenced him to two years' imprisonment, to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, and to find security for his good behaviour during seven years. The enraged populace rescued him from the officers who were conducting him to prison, and carried him off in triumph. He prevailed upon them, however, to abstain from all acts of outrage, and prudently surrendered himself at midnight to the marshal of the King's Bench. The next day, a mob assembled before the prison, where they committed some acts of violence, and, at night, compelled the inhabitants of the borough of Southwark to illuminate; but they were dispersed by the soldiery.

On the tenth of May parliament assembled, and the mob again appeared at the gate of the prison, under an idea of seeing Wilkes go to take his seat in the house. Disappointed in their expectation, they tumultuously demanded his liberation. The justices, attempting to read the riot act, were assailed with stones; and the military aid became necessary. A youth, named Allen, who was mistaken for one of the principal offenders, was pursued by some soldiers into a cowhouse, and killed; as were, likewise, five or six others; and fifteen were wounded. The mob were dispersed; but they burned with rage against the soldiery, who unfortunately, though unintentionally, were principally Scots, being drafted, in the routine of duty, from the third or Scots regiment of guards.

The parliament, after passing one or two bills *pro formâ*, was prorogued to November: and on the fifteenth of October, lord Chatham, who disdained a connexion, even by name, with men and measures so generally unpopular, resigned the privy seal. Lord Bristol was appointed in his stead, and no other material alteration took place.

On the fourteenth of November, sir Joseph Mawbey presented a petition to the house, claiming a redress for Wilkes's *grievances*; but the house, on the first of January, declared [1769.] that the *aspersions* in the petition were *frivolous*.

Lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, then presented a complaint against Wilkes for having published a letter which his lordship had written to the magistrates of Surry (recommending them not to permit tumults to grow to such a head without calling in the military to aid the civil power) with an inflammatory and insulting comment, in which he denominated the affair in St. George's Fields a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project deliberately planned. Wilkes triumphantly avowed the publication, and asserted he was entitled to the thanks of the country for having exposed, in a proper light, 'that bloody scroll.' He was, however, on motion, expelled the house by a considerable majority.

In the whole of this affair, the ministry acted with an unaccountable want of judgment. If Wilkes had been arrested on his outlawry so soon as he made his reappearance in England, his election would have been prevented; but, by taking him into custody afterwards, they placed themselves in direct opposition to the greatest part of the body of freeholders of the county of Middlesex, if not of the kingdom at large. The consequence was, that, a new writ for Middlesex being issued, the freeholders retaliated by re-electing Wilkes. Ministry had now brought themselves into this dilemma, that, by pursuing the affair, they would inevitably increase their unpopularity, and by receding, they would incur contempt. They preferred the former alternative. On the motion of lord Strange, it was, therefore, resolved in the house 'that Mr. Wilkes, having been once expelled, was incapable of sitting in the same parliament, and that the election was therefore void.' A third election took place; Wilkes was again chosen, and the house again declared the election void. A fourth succeeded; and Wilkes was re-chosen by a majority of eight hundred and forty-seven. The house, however, altered the return, and declared his opponent duly elected. This decision greatly convulsed the whole nation, and a matter in itself of trivial importance was magnified by political and personal animosity into an overthrow of the rights of the people.

After the determination of the Middlesex elections, parliament prolonged the charter of the East India company for a further term of five years, under certain agreements, one of which was, that they should pay the public four hundred thousand pounds a year, and export British goods to a certain amount. They were at liberty to increase their dividend to twelve and a half per cent., provided the increase did not exceed one per cent. in any one year. A decrease in the sum payable to the public was to be made proportionate to any decrease of dividend ; and if it should be reduced to six per cent., the payment to government was to cease ; but any surplus of the company's cash, after payment of certain specified debts, was to be lent to the public at two per cent. The state of the company's affairs, at this period, occasioned much alarm.

Lord Clive, after having put an end to the war with Sujah ul Dowlah, applied himself to enforce an economy in every department of the service in India : but his conduct was severely censured by those interested persons who had hitherto enriched themselves by contrary measures at the expense of their employers. He reformed the usual mode of sub-letting the company's lands, by several regulations which considerably augmented their revenue. He not only gave up his own share of the advantages to be derived from the inland trade, which had occasioned the dispute with Meer Cossim, and which he foresaw was pregnant with innumerable disquietudes and enormities, but he excluded all the company's servants from it. These salutary measures were obstructed and evaded by them to the utmost of their power. But lord Clive did not remain to witness their total failure : he returned to England in January, 1767 ; and from that period the mismanagement of the company's affairs increased. With so much assiduity and to so great an extent were the depredations of the servants of the company carried on, that in June, in the present year, their affairs appeared in so precarious a state that India stock fell sixty per cent. in a few days, and the directors thought it necessary to send out three supervisors to scrutinise every department, with a full power of control over each. These embarrassments were heightened by a war, into which the British were plunged, soon after lord Clive left India, with Hyder Ally, or Hyder Naick, the usurper of the Mysore government.

This war, after having been carried on with indifferent success, was at length put at end to by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, and an agreement to restore all the forts and places captured on either side, without any compensation to be made by the one to the other for the other further expenses of the war. So that the war terminated without the least glory, and with great disadvantage to the company.

In the present session of parliament, application was made for the discharge of the arrears of the civil list, which had accumulated to the sum of 513,000*l.*; and a grant of that sum was voted. After which the parliament was prorogued, on the ninth of May, by a speech in which the king applauded the loyalty and affection of his faithful commons, and promised to confine for the future the expenses of his civil government within such bounds as the honour of his crown would admit. His majesty also noticed the perturbed state of the public mind, and recommended to the members to exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace and good order in their several counties.

This latter recommendation was highly necessary; for a more clamorous and determined opposition had never been before evinced; and it was not harmless, like distant thunder, but burst at the very footstool of the throne. The county of Middlesex took the lead in presenting a petition to the king, containing a series of reflexions on his reign, accusing the ministers of treason, and praying for their dismissal. The city of London presented another in equally strong terms; and the city of Westminster, and divers other places, also petitioned to the same effect, but in more moderate language. All the periodical publications teemed with political discussions couched in a style of the utmost freedom; and amongst these appeared a series of letters published in the newspapers by an anonymous writer, who assumed the signature of "*Junius*." The author, who, notwithstanding every attempt to drive him from his cover, is unknown to this day, and will perhaps forever remain so, displayed an infinite fund of information, constitutional knowledge, and brilliancy of wit; but, like a drawn sword in the hands of a madman, he converted these rare talents into instruments of cool-blooded assassination of unblemished characters, and the coarsest invective. His care to conceal himself tallied but badly with that love of freedom

which he defines to be the secret spring of his satires. He disdains to spare even majesty itself; and, in a letter to the king, he presumes to advise him to discard those little resentments which had too long directed his public conduct, and to come forward and tell his people—laying aside the wretched formalities of a king—that he had been fatally deceived. The princess-dowager of Wales, Junius assimilates to “the abandoned royal innamorata of the detested Mortimer.” Against the duke of Bedford, sir William Draper, and the duke of Grafton, he adduces the most heinous and infamous charges, but without any other proof than his bare *dicta*. Yet all these things he has the impudence to do without possessing the courage, and most probably the means, of supporting them in person when called upon to do so. He was, for a while, the admiration of England; but it was then inflamed: at present, in its cool moments, however we may admire the abilities of the writer, we must despise the character of the man, or rather of the cowardly assassin.

CHAP. LIV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE parliament being assembled on the ninth of Jan- [1770.] uary, Lord Chatham moved as an amendment to the address the following words :—“ And for these great and essential purposes we will, with all convenient speed, take into our most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which prevail in so many parts of your majesty’s dominions, and particularly the late proceedings of the house of commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, esq., expelled by that house, to be re-elected a member to serve in this present parliament; thereby refusing, by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only, to your majesty’s subject his common right, and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative.” This amendment was powerfully opposed by lord Mansfield, and supported by lord Camden. It was negatived after a vehement debate, and the address, as it originally stood, carried through both houses.

Lord Camden was, in consequence, deprived of the great seal; and Mr. Yorke, attorney-general, having been unfortunately prevailed upon to accept it, after having promised his brother the contrary, was so hurt at being refused admittance to him to explain the motives of his acceptance, that he put an end to his existence. The great seal was then put into commission.

On the twenty-second of January, the marquis of Rockingham moved for fixing a day to take into consideration the state of the nation. The duke of Grafton himself seconded the motion. The second of February was appointed for the discussion; but on the twenty-eighth of January the duke of Grafton unexpectedly resigned, and lord North was appointed his successor.

On the twenty-ninth of January Mr. Dowdeswell moved, "That the house, in the exercise of its jurisdiction, ought to judge of elections by the law of the land, and by the custom and practice of parliament, which is part of that law." The ministry could not disavow the truth of this position, but they adroitly turned it against the opposition by a motion of lord North's to add as an amendment—"And that the judgment of this house in the case of John Wilkes, esq., was agreeable to the law of the land, and fully authorised by the practice of parliament." The amendment was carried by two hundred and twenty-four against one hundred and eighty.

A motion of lord Rockingham, in a committee on the second of February, to nearly the same effect, was also got over by a motion for the speaker's resuming the chair; and lord Marchmont moved, "That any resolution of this house, directly or indirectly, impeaching a judgment of the house of commons in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final, and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the commons, tend to make a breach between the two houses of parliament, and lead to a general confusion." Lord Chatham complained of the motion being sudden, and made at midnight:—"If the constitution must be wounded," said he, "let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour." It was nevertheless carried in the affirmative, but accompanied by a strong and animated protest.

The popular party, however, were resolved to keep the business alive. As the petition presented to the king by the city of

London had lain unanswered, a motion, supported by the lord-mayor and sheriffs against the other aldermen, was carried by a considerable majority, for calling a common hall to address a remonstrance to the king on the subject. It assembled on the sixth of March, and an address, remonstrance, and petition, was then signed, and ordered to be presented. It stated, that, under a secret malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the house of commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights. It represented the expulsion of Wilkes as worse than the levying of ship-money of Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second, and as vitiating all future proceedings of that parliament. It asserted that the house of commons did not represent the people; and concluded by praying for a dissolution of it, and the removal of the king's evil ministers forever from his presence. The king's answer was firm and temperate. It expressed his readiness to receive the requests and listen to the complaints of his subjects; but it gave him great concern to find that any of them should have been so misled as to offer him an address and remonstrance disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. He had ever made the law of the land the rule of his conduct, esteeming it his chief glory to reign over a free people; and had been careful as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in him, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers the constitution had placed in other hands. It concluded by declaring an intention of persevering in the same line of conduct.

On the first of May, lord Chatham presented a bill to reverse the adjudications of the house against Wilkes; but it was rejected on motion for a second reading. His lordship then desired the house might be summoned for the fourth of the month, having, as he said, a motion of great importance to make relative to the king. They were summoned accordingly, and lord Chatham moved "That it is the opinion of the house that the advice inducing his majesty's answer to a late address of the city of London is of a most dangerous tendency, inasmuch as the exercise of the clearest rights of the subjects has been thereby checked and reprimanded"—"an answer so harsh," observed his lordship,

“as to have no precedent in the history of the country, and such as the Stuarts had never dared to venture upon in the zenith of their power.” This motion was not only negatived by a great majority, but the house resolved that to deny the legality of the present parliament, or to assert their acts to be invalided, was unwarrantable, and tended to destroy the allegiance of the subjects.” This resolution was followed up by a joint address of both houses, thanking the king for his conduct on the occasion.

As a last effort, lord Chatham moved, some time afterwards, for an address to the king to dissolve the parliament; but the motion received rather a rough negative.

During this session lord North moved the repeal of the port duties of 1767, excepting the duty on *tea*, which was intentionally continued on the avowed principle of asserting the power of the parliament; and when urged by the opposition not to preserve the contention when he relinquished the revenue, he answered that “a total repeal could not be thought of till *America* was *prostrate* at our *feet*.”—The ill effects of this infatuation were manifested by subsequent events!—A motion of governor Pownall, that it should extend to all the duties, was negatived, and the bill passed in its original state.

The bill called the Grenville act was also passed, for regulating and expediting the proceedings of the house on controverted elections; a very necessary and salutary measure.

Soon after the rising of parliament, the city of London presented a third address to the king, lamenting his displeasure, and renewing their prayer for a dissolution of parliament; to which the king answered, that “he should have been wanting to the public as well as to himself, had he not expressed his dissatisfaction at their late address, and that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people, could he suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make such a use of his prerogative as was inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution, of the kingdom.” Mr. Beckford, the lord-mayor, made a reply as intemperate as it was unprecedented, which he concluded in these words: “Permit me, sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions to alienate your majesty’s affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in

particular, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution." The king took no notice at the time of this bold and unusual procedure; but, on a future occasion, he testified his displeasure at it.

Previously to the close of the session, lord Chatham had predicted "that a great blow either was, or would soon be, struck in some part of the world." In the opinion of the short-sighted politicians of the day, this prediction was soon after fulfilled by an aggression of Spain towards England; but whoever has read that nobleman's speeches on the affairs of America, and lived to see their event, must be satisfied that that intelligent statesman alluded to them, and not to the paltry event of which a brief account follows.—

In a few weeks it was known that a squadron of Spanish ships from Buenos Ayres had expelled the English from the Malouine or Falkland Islands. These islands were totally unnoticed, as being barren and inhospitable, until lord Anson gave it as his opinion that the possession of them would be of service to future navigators previously to their passage through the Magellanic straits, or round Cape Horn. They were accordingly settled by the British: and that measure again excited the jealousy of Spain for its South American sovereignty. Urged on by this jealousy, and the influence of the duc de Choiseul, prime-minister of France, and encouraged by the opposition of the British colonies and the dissensions in Britain, Spain committed an unparalleled aggression, and expelled the English from these islands.

At the meeting of parliament in November, the king in his speech noticed this national insult. Addresses poured in, calculated to convince Spain, that Britons, however divided among themselves, had but one opinion in regard to a foreign aggressor.

The British ministry began to exert themselves in the equipment of a powerful fleet, and Spain found it necessary to make concessions to avoid a rupture. The king of France, dreading a renewal of hostilities with England, and dissatisfied with the intrigues of the duc de Choiseul at the Spanish court, banished him, and recommended to Spain an accommodation.

In the end, prince Maserano acquainted lord Weymouth that

the king of Spain had empowered him to disavow any particular orders on the subject, and to promise that the islands should be restored. A convention was concluded, with a secret article that Britain should evacuate the islands within a specified time. This evacuation actually took place three years afterwards, but it was then thought an object of no consequence.

[1771.] After the recess, parliament met on the twenty-second of January. Highly to its honour, a bill was passed for disfranchising certain freemen of the borough of New Shoreham for a venal conspiracy to sell it to the highest bidder. But another proceeding happened, which had a quite different effect, as it tended to deprive their constituents of their rights, and to increase the breach between themselves and the city of London.

Although it could not be but just and reasonable that the constituents should be informed of the conduct of their representatives, colonel George Onslow laid a complaint against Wheeble and Thompson, two publishers of newspapers, for misrepresenting their speeches and reflecting on several of the members, and moved that they should be brought to justice for infringing the standing order. The motion was carried, and the printers ordered to attend the bar of the house. As the offenders could not be found, Mr. Onslow moved for an address to the king to issue a proclamation, with a reward to any person who should apprehend them. In consequence of this proclamation, Wheeble was carried before Wilkes, then an alderman of London, who not only discharged him, but took recognisances for prosecuting the person who had apprehended him. Thompson was discharged in like manner by alderman Oliver. Another printer, Miller, was then ordered to be apprehended. When the messenger came to take him, he was himself taken into custody by a constable, and carried to Guildhall, on a charge of assault upon Miller, and obliged to give bail to prevent being committed by a warrant signed by the lord-mayor and the aldermen. The house resolved this conduct of Crosby the lord-mayor, Wilkes, and Oliver, to be breaches of privileges. Crosby and Wilkes were committed to the Tower. Wilkes escaped with impunity, by refusing to appear in the house unless called to his place as member for Middlesex. A secret committee was appointed for the purpose of asserting and maintaining the dignity of parliament; but there-

the affair dropped, and the debates have been ever since reported without molestation. No words can convey an opinion on this subject so properly as those used by lord Chatham on the occasion: "To be afraid of having their deliberations published is *monstrous*, and speaks for itself. No mortal can construe such a proceeding to their advantage. The practice of locking the doors is sufficient to open the eyes of the blind. They must see that *all is not well within.*"

In this session a petition of a very interesting nature demands attention. It was signed by about two hundred clergymen and forty others, praying to be relieved from the obligation of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles of faith; but the motion to bring it in was lost by a majority of two hundred and seventeen to seventy-one. [1772.]

The protestant dissenters now thought this a proper time for making an application to parliament for a security against the penalties to which they were liable for not complying with the toleration act; and accordingly, on the third of April, a motion was made in the house for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. It was given, and the bill readily passed with the concurrence of the ministry. It was also read a first time in the lords; but, on the second reading, the motion for committing it was rejected by a hundred and two to twenty-nine.

A bill passed, although with great opposition in both houses, to prevent the descendants of George the Second from marrying without the consent of the king, his heirs, and successors. The cause of this bill was the duke of Cumberland's marrying Mrs. Horton, relict of Christopher Horton, esq., and daughter of lord Irnham; on which account his majesty forbade the parties the court.

Soon after the meeting of parliament, the princess-dowager of Wales died. She was universally beloved, until, latterly, she was thought to have joined with Bute in influencing the king to unpopular measures.

We now come to a most important epoch of this reign, in which it will be found that if Great Britain—contending with the whole host of her antient foes as well as her former friends, the colonies—was not victorious, yet she displayed great energy of character: if she lost her colonies, she did not lose either her honour or her sovereignty of the sea. [1773.]

In conformity to that part of the East India company's charter which related to the export of tea, lord North proposed that they should be allowed to export it custom free. This measure was intended to enable them to sell their stock in hand, amounting to seventeen millions of pounds, at a reduced price; and it was hoped that America, which had rejected that article, would be induced to resume its former consumption of it. It had also the improvement of the revenue in view. The colonists considering it in that light only, were the more incensed. They foresaw that if the tea was landed, its consumption would be inevitable; and they would be obliged to pay the duty, notwithstanding their efforts to oppose taxation in any shape.

To add to their discontent, letters from the governor and deputy governor of Massachusetts to official persons in England, giving an unfavourable report of the temper and disposition of the leaders in that province, fell into their hands. Franklin, then deputy postmaster-general, notwithstanding the confidence attached to his official situation, purloined and transmitted these letters to the provincial assembly then sitting at Boston; and the governor having acknowledged them, the assembly prepared a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging the governor with betraying his trust by giving partial and false information; declaring him to be an enemy to the colony, and praying for his removal from office.

In November, intelligence was received that three ships laden with tea were on their passage to Boston. As the consignees of these cargoes were nearly connected with the governor, they were the more obnoxious. The populace ordered them to relinquish their agency; but as they refused, the rioters attacked their houses, and obliged them to fly to Castle William for refuge. The governor issued a proclamation to the civil magistrates to suppress riots, and protect peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants; but it was totally disregarded.

In December the ships arrived. The inhabitants resolved to send them back to England; but the governor refusing his assent, a number of men, armed, and disguised as Indians, on the evening of the eighteenth of December boarded the ships and threw the cargoes overboard. No account of this riot arrived in

England until February, long after the parliament had met. On the seventh of March, lord North delivered [1774.] to the commons a message from the king concerning this outrageous proceeding, trusting they would not only enable him effectually to adopt such measures as might be most likely to put an immediate stop to these disorders, but would also take into their most serious consideration what further regulations and permanent provisions might be necessary to be established for better securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. The minister proposed a bill for shutting up the port of Boston, and prohibiting the lading or unlading of all goods or merchandise (except stores for his majesty's service, and provisions and fuel for the use of the inhabitants) at any place within its precincts, from and after the first of June, until peace and obedience to the laws should be so far restored in Boston, that trade might be safely carried on, and his majesty's customs be duly collected. This bill was carried, after a discussion which lasted seventeen days.

In addition to this restrictive measure, four ships of war were ordered to Boston; and general Gage, commander-in-chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts Bay, with full power to pardon treason and remit fines and forfeitures, instead of Mr. Hutchinson, who had asked leave to return to England.

A motion was again made for repealing the obnoxious duty on tea; but it was negatived, and a disposition to carry things to extremity with the colonists became general. Ministers alleged that the civil government of Massachusetts Bay was inadequate to the suppression of tumults, and proposed an act to deprive the lower house of assembly of the privilege of electing the members of the council, and vest it in the crown; to authorise the king, or his substitute the governor, to appoint the judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, and empower the sheriffs to summon and return juries; and, for the prevention of factious assemblies, prohibit town meetings from being called by the selectmen, unless with the consent of the governor. This bill passed both houses after a warm debate.

Another bill also passed, for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by

them in the execution of the law or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay. By this bill the governor was empowered, if he found that any person, who should be indicted for murder or some other capital offence incurred in suppressing tumults or riots, should not be likely to have a fair trial in the province, to send him for trial to any other colony, or to Great Britain. Lord North alleged that this bill was expedient, on the ground that no man could be safe in the execution of his duty, if the rioters themselves or their abettors were to sit as judges and jury.

A bill was also brought in for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec. The chief points of it were to ascertain its limits ; to establish a legislative council to be appointed by the crown, and their offices to be held at its pleasure ; to confirm the French laws, and a trial without jury in civil cases ; the English laws by a jury in criminal ones ; to secure to the Roman-catholic clergy the legal enjoyment of their tithes from all of their persuasion. This bill was opposed, chiefly on the grounds that the popish clergy would have a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance, while the protestant clergy were left at the king's discretion. As the bill regarded religious matters and revived an apprehension of popery, a great clamour was excited against it ; and the city of London presented a petition to the king, praying him to withhold his royal assent ; but it passed nevertheless.

When the news of the act for shutting up the port of Boston arrived in America, the consternation, rage, and resentment of the Bostonians were inexpressible. A town meeting was held, at which it was resolved to stop all imports and exports to and from Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, until the act should be repealed. These resolutions were transmitted to the other provinces, and set them also in a flame. When the assembly of Massachusetts Bay met, governor Gage informed them they were to remove on the first of June to Salem, which was thenceforward to be the seat of government. As they hastened the public business to evade this removal, the governor adjourned the court to the seventh of June, then to meet at Salem. They met accordingly ; but the only business they transacted was to appoint deputies to meet those of the other colonies, in a general congress to be holden in Philadelphia.

The measures of the British government were fast hastening towards the effect which, to any but uninformed politicians, might have been expected from them; namely, the driving the whole of the colonies into a confederation, as the assembly of Virginia termed it, "to give one heart and one mind to the people firmly to oppose every injury to American liberties."

In September, the congress, consisting of fifty-one delegates, representing twelve of the colonies, assembled in Philadelphia. They began their labours by declaring that they approved the opposition to ministerial measures in America, and that contributions for alleviating the distress of their brethren at Boston should be continued so long as their exigences required relief. They further declared, that, if the British government attempted to carry the acts complained of into execution by force, all America should combine in opposing that force. They, however, avowed their allegiance to his majesty, their affection towards, and dependence upon, Great Britain, and disclaimed the least intention of separating from her; but they claimed the rights of British free-born subjects, and stated their present grievances as resulting from a ruinous system adopted since 1763 for enslaving the colonies, and with them the British empire. To obtain redress—which was nothing less than the reversal of the whole ministerial system since 1763—they determined to abstain from all commercial intercourse with Britain, until they should have carried their point. They also framed a petition or representation to his majesty, in which they blended professions of loyalty with a determined spirit of freedom. It expressed the highest veneration for the king and constitution; denied their wanting any new privileges; and merely prayed to be restored to their former rights, which other British subjects still enjoyed. It declared that they wished not for a diminution of prerogative, but that they would always carefully and zealously endeavour to maintain the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great Britain.

An address was then framed to the people of Great Britain. It stated that the Americans, sprung from the same ancestors, entertained the same sentiments and principles which had produced and supported the British constitution, and considered themselves entitled to equal rights with other British subjects.

It insidiously endeavoured to gain them over to the cause of America by representing that the certain consequences of unconditional submission on her part would be the subversion of the constitution of the mother country by the tyrannical aristocracy which was engrafted on the power of the crown. They likewise addressed the natives of Canada, and artfully endeavoured to excite their indignation against the late act, as precluding them from the freedom which, in their new relation as British subjects, they ought to enjoy; and concluded with inviting them to join in the league of the colonies.

When congress had broken up, the effect of their proceedings became obvious. The militia were trained; arms provided for those who had them not; and resistance to the mother-country became the ruling topic. In Boston, the governor had issued writs for convening a general assembly, but afterwards judged it expedient, from the complexion of affairs, to countermand them by proclamation. The election proceeded notwithstanding, and the assembly met. The governor neglecting to open the session, they *voted themselves into a provincial congress*. He, by another proclamation, disowned their authority; but the proclamation was contemned. In this dreadful state of suspense were affairs in the colonies, waiting the further determinations of the British ministry.

A general election having taken place throughout Great Britain, in which Wilkes was again returned for Middlesex, and suffered to take his seat without opposition, the new parliament assembled on the thirtieth of November. The king's speech adverted to the daring spirit of resistance and disobedience which had manifested itself in the colonies, and expressed his resolution to withstand every attempt to diminish the authority of parliament over the dominions of the crown. It avowed the taxation of the colonies to be an essential right of the British legislature, and that the late acts must be executed; declaring that no regard was to be paid to the opinions and sentiments which had produced a confederation of the colonies; and that ministers were not to be moved, by the proceedings in America, to deviate from the plans of the former session. The address was carried by a great majority; but it produced a protest against it in the house of lords, which had never been the case before.

Notwithstanding this outward show of determined coercion, the minister was judged to be irresolute, from his abstaining to bring forward the affairs of America previously to the recess; during which petitions were prepared by the merchants concerned in the American and West Indian trades, and the Birmingham manufacturers, stating the great losses sustained by them from the suspension of traffic, and the ruin which must accrue to them, if an intercourse should not be speedily opened with the colonies. These petitions were unnoticed by the house, because the petition of congress had been refused by the king, on the ground that he could not receive it from a body of which he could not acknowledge the legality.

Lord Dartmouth, secretary of state for the American department, having laid before the house sundry papers [1775.] relative to America, lord Chatham moved an address to the king for recalling the troops from Boston. His speech was at once comprehensive and energetic. He concluded it by saying, "That, if ministers persevered in misadvising and misleading the king, he would not say that they could alienate the affections of his subjects from the crown, but he affirmed that they would make the crown not worth his wearing. He would not say that the king was betrayed, but he would pronounce that the kingdom was undone." The motion was, however, rejected by sixty-eight against eighteen.

Lord Chatham renewed his conciliatory exertion by proposing "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies;" but the motion was rejected by sixty-one voices to thirty-two.

Lord North then moved an address to the king to declare Massachusetts Bay to be in a state of rebellion, which was carried. He also moved for a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England provinces, and to prohibit them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. This motion was also carried; and the same restrictions were afterwards extended to all the colonies, except that of New York.

In the midst of these harsh and coercive measures, the minister, to the surprise of both parties, proposed a sort of conciliatory measure, which was to this effect—"That when any of the

colonies should proffer, according to their abilities, to raise their due proportion towards the common defence (to be levied under the authority of the assembly, and to be disposable by parliament), and should engage to provide for the support of its civil government, parliament should forbear to levy or to propose any further taxes on such colony, except such as might be expedient for the regulation of commerce." No good effect could be expected from such a measure, as it was merely a *suspension* of a right which the Americans denied *in toto*. It was therefore, perhaps, impolitic, as it betrayed fear and irresolution; but it passed by two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight voices.

Mr. Burke proposed another conciliatory scheme, which was, in substance, "That the Americans should tax themselves by their own representatives, agreeably to former usage and to the analogy of the British constitution, and that all acts imposing duties should be repealed;" but this scheme was also rejected.

Mr. Hartley proposed, as a medium between lord North and Mr. Burke, "That, at the desire of parliament, the secretary of state should require the several colonies to contribute to the general expense of the empire, but leave the amount and application to the contributors themselves." This plan was rejected.

The city of London presented another petition to the king, by the hands of Mr. Wilkes, then lord mayor, in which they expressed their abhorrence of the measures which had been pursued, and were then pursuing, to the oppression of their fellow-subjects in the colonies, and praying for a dismissal of ministers as a first step towards a redress of those grievances which alarmed and afflicted the people.—To which the king replied, "That it was with the utmost astonishment he found any of his subjects capable of *encouraging* the rebellious disposition which unhappily existed in some of his colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in his parliament, the great council of the nation, he would steadily pursue those measures which they had recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of his kingdom."

CHAP. LV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THERE was now no longer room for accommodation, and the die was cast for an appeal to the sword. The proceedings of the new parliament produced in America the very effect which the oppositionists had predicted—a more close and general union. The New Englanders were the first to take hostile steps, as they had been in all other measures of opposition, against Britain. The provincial congress, having met in February, directed its chief attention to the collecting of stores and levying contributions for defraying the expense of warlike preparations. General Gage first turned his attention towards some ordnance at Salem, which he sent a detachment of men to seize; but they were obliged to return without effecting their purpose.

He then sent a body of troops to destroy some stores which had been collected at Concord. The detachment consisted of about nine hundred men of the grenadiers, light infantry, and marines, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith and major Pitcairn. Although every precaution had been observed to keep the Americans ignorant of the design, the detachment soon found, by the firing of guns and ringing of bells, that they were discovered; and on their arrival at Lexington, in the morning of the twentieth of April, they saw the militia drawn up on the green. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced guard, cried out “Throw down your arms, rebels! and disperse!” This not being complied with, a firing commenced: only one man of the British troops was wounded, but eight or ten of the provincials were killed or wounded, and the rest dispersed. It was disputed on which side the firing began, each charging it on the other; but, if the veracity of the British officers may be accredited, the Americans fired first from behind a stone wall. The English then marched on towards Concord; and a body of provincial troops being discovered on a hill near the entrance of the town, the light infantry attacked and drove them from thence to a bridge beyond the town, where they rallied and renewed the contest, in which several, on both sides, fell. In the mean time, the grenadiers having exe-

cuted the business on which they came, the light infantry were called in, and the whole detachment faced about towards Boston. The provincials, assembling from all quarters, harassed their march, by firing on them from behind trees, houses, and walls; and the English were in imminent danger, from fatigue and the want of ammunition, of being cut off, if, on their return to Lexington, they had not been met by a reinforcement under lord Percy, whom general Gage had dispatched to their assistance.

In a few days afterwards, the provincial assembly of Massachusetts voted the raising of twenty thousand men, to be commanded by generals Ward, Putnam, Heath, and Thomas; and established a paper currency for defraying the expenses, for the payment of which they pledged the faith of the provinces. The militia soon poured in from all sides, and formed the blockade of Boston.

On the tenth of May the general congress, having met at Philadelphia, confirmed the resolutions and conduct of the provincial assembly of Massachusetts; and having voted that the compact between the crown of Great Britain and the people of Massachusetts Bay was dissolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary, they resolved to raise an army and establish a paper currency.

A most unexpected blow was in this month struck against the British in a distant quarter. Some private persons of the back settlements of New York and Massachusetts, without any specific authority, assembled under one Ethan Allen, and surprised Ticonderago and Crown Point, important fortresses, commanding lakes George and Champlain, which together form one of the principal keys to Canada.

On the twenty-fifth of May, when generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston with a large reinforcement from England, the British suffered all the inconveniences of a rigorous investment; but as they then amounted to ten thousand men, general Gage prepared for offensive measures. A proclamation was previously issued, offering a free pardon to all who should lay down their arms, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, two of the leaders, and delegates to the general congress from Massachusetts Bay. It also declared martial law to be in force in the province, until peace and order should be so far restored, as that justice might be again administered in the civil courts.

This proclamation was considered by the provincials as a prelude to action, and preparations were made accordingly.

On the morning of the sixteenth of June, the English were alarmed by a cannonade of the king's ships, and, viewing its direction, were surprised by the appearance of a redoubt and other works, thrown up in the night, on an eminence situated on a peninsula to the north of Boston, and within gun-shot of it, called Bunker's Hill. A cannonade also commenced from the town; but the provincials had taken care to secure themselves from the effects of it. A detachment under general Howe was debarked on Charles River to drive them from their station. The British troops ascended the hill, until they came within a few rods of the Americans, who then poured down upon them a dreadful volley, which threw the English into great disorder. Instigated by the example and persuasion of their officers, they again advanced, and a second discharge of the enemy again stopped their progress. General Howe, however, rallied and led them on a third time, and the entrenchments were forced with the bayonet. The Americans retreated to Cambridge with little loss, the nature of the ground and the entrenchments having effectually secured them from the fire of the assailants; and the English carried their point, but with the loss of two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded, including nineteen commissioned officers among the former, and seventy in the latter. In the heat of action, Charlestown, situated on the same peninsula as Bunker's Hill, and close to the foot of, was burned down, and a detachment of provincials stationed there gallantly driven out by the left wing of the British army under general Pigot. Thus terminated this dear-bought, and in the end fruitless, victory. If the English had landed on the neck of the peninsula, they would have had to assail the weakest part of the hill; they would have prevented the Americans from receiving the reinforcements which came to them from the main land; and, finally, they would have cut off their retreat. But the British commander either overlooked or despised these advantages, and the defeat at Bunker's Hill was in effect a real victory to the provincialists.

In the beginning of July, Washington (who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces) arrived at the camp

before Boston, which, notwithstanding its deficiency of every kind of stores, the British generals had made no attempt to molest. General Washington contented himself with continuing the blockade and accustoming his raw provincials to the fatigues of a military life.

The Canadians were so much discontented with the late act, that congress entertained hopes of their making a common cause also with their American brethren. Relying on this, and suspecting that so soon as sufficient troops should arrive from England, general Carleton, the governor of Canada, would take the resisting provinces in the rear, they resolved to anticipate and attack him in his own province. General Montgomery, with three thousand men, was sent upon this important enterprise. He arrived before St. John's Fort, situated on the banks of lake Champlain, and took it after a gallant resistance. Fort Champlain also surrendered to another detachment of his army : but Ethan Allen having attempted to take Montreal by a *coup de main*, was defeated and taken prisoner.

Montgomery having supplied himself with ammunition, of which he was almost totally destitute, from St. John's Fort and fort Champlain, pushed on towards Montreal ; which was in so defenceless a state, that general Carleton thought proper to retire to Quebec, where he made every possible preparation for a vigorous defence. Montgomery entered Montreal the day after Carleton had quitted it. He soon afterwards followed him to Quebec ; and when he arrived before the town, he found there the American colonel Arnold with another detachment from the army before Boston. Arnold had proposed to Washington a plan for surprising Quebec with fifteen hundred men, by sailing up to the head of Kenebec River—a navigation full of rocks and shoals—and then traversing the rough, rugged, and desolate country between that and Quebec. This daring enterprise would have succeeded, if Arnold had found boats to have conveyed him across the river when he arrived opposite the city ; but they had been purposely removed. He crossed the river at length, and assaulted one of the gates ; but the garrison having had time to prepare for his reception, he was repulsed with great slaughter. He then determined to wait the arrival of Montgomery, of whose approach he had received intelligence.

As the Americans were unprovided with artillery suitable for a siege, Montgomery resolved on a general assault. Four different attacks were planned, two of which were intended as feints; the two real ones were headed by Montgomery and Arnold. The former was instantly slain with his aid-de-camp and several other officers, and most of his party. The latter was wounded at the onset, and the whole of the garrison, after the defeat of Montgomery, having nothing to do but to oppose Arnold, he was also driven from the walls with terrible slaughter. Arnold, however, encamped on the heights of Abraham, which he fortified, and the British commander did not think proper to attack him.

Having thus seen the termination of the campaign to the northward, let us take a view of its progress in the southern colonies. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, had been obliged, in June, to retire from Williamsburg, the seat of government, on board the Fowey man-of-war; from whence he declared the province to be under martial law, and erected the royal standard. To this he added another very reprehensible measure—that of enticing the negroes to revolt against their masters, and to join the royalists. The Virginians felt the utmost indignation at this proceeding, and resolved upon immediate hostilities. Lord Dunmore having made a demand on the town of Norfolk of provisions and other supplies for his majesty's service, which were peremptorily refused, and the refusal aggravated by firing from the houses at the ships in the river, a cannonade commenced from the ships, and the town was completely laid in ashes. In Maryland, the prudence and moderation of governor Eden, although they could not prevent the province from making a general cause with the others, yet they prevented any fatal excesses; and he retired with the esteem of those he had governed. In the Carolinas, where the respective governors had adopted the rash policy of lord Dunmore, they were likewise compelled to take shelter on board of king's ships. Thus were all the hopes of ministers defeated; and, instead of intimidating the colonies, the campaign of 1775 raised their hopes and animated them to renewed exertions.

In October, the British parliament assembled; but as the king's speech, and all the consequent proceedings of parliament, tended only to increase the rupture between Britain and the colonies, it

will not be necessary to break the thread of the American war [1776.] to detail them. Washington still kept Boston closely blockaded, the chief command of which (Gage having returned to England) had devolved on Howe. The British admiral, provoked by some aggressions on the part of the town of Falmouth, situated to the northward of Massachusetts Bay, had reduced it to ruins; which so incensed the provincials, that they issued letters of marque and reprisal against the British, and began to capture all vessels carrying provisions and other stores to Boston. This retaliation was most severely felt by the British troops blockaded there, particularly the want of fuel, which it occasioned; and Washington determined to prosecute this advantage by redoubled attempts to reduce the place before reinforcements could arrive from Britain. On the second of March a battery was opened from Dorchester Heights, which commanded Boston from the west, and dreadfully annoyed it by a shower of shot and shells. The English endured this bombardment, during fourteen days, with intrepid firmness; but were at length reduced to the alternative of dislodging the besiegers, or evacuating the town. The general resolved upon the former expedient, but was baffled by a prodigious storm of wind and rain. Another work having been thrown up by the besiegers, which entirely commanded Boston Neck, or isthmus, the British troops evacuated the town rather precipitately on the seventeenth of March, leaving, from necessity, a considerable quantity of artillery and stores, of which, together with the town, Washington took possession.

To the northward, Arnold, in defiance of the severity of a Canadian winter, had maintained himself on the heights of Abraham. Eager to anticipate the arrival of succours from England, he, before the breaking up of the weather, made another unsuccessful attempt to storm Quebec; and the Isis of fifty-four guns, with the Surprise frigate and Martin sloop of war, having soon after forced their way up to the town before the passage through the ice was deemed practicable, Arnold thought it advisable to break up his camp, and begin to retreat. In May, when all the reinforcements had arrived from England, general Burgoyne, the next in command to general Carleton, pursued and drove the Americans back to Crown Point. As a superiority on lake

Champlain was essential to the success of the enterprises meditated by the British to the southward, the greatest exertions were made by Carleton and Burgoyne to construct a naval force sufficient to effect it.

It had been represented in England that the loyalists in the southern provinces out-numbered the insurgents, and great hopes of success were entertained in that quarter. In February, sir Peter Parker (who had been some time delayed by the refusal of the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to suffer the Irish troops to embark without being expressly authorised by the British parliament to do so), sailed with a strong squadron from Cork, having on board three thousand land forces, on an expedition against the middle or southern colonies. On account of this delay, he did not arrive off Cape Fear till the third of May. General Clinton joined him there from Boston, to take the command of the troops. It was intended that this force should have made their *coup d'essai* against North Carolina; but on their arrival they found that Mr. Macdonald, a highland gentleman, who had been entrusted by governor Martin to embody the loyalists, having assembled them too prematurely, had been defeated and taken prisoner by a superior force of provincials. All hopes being therefore destroyed in that province, Clinton determined to attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

He arrived before it on the fourth of June; but, previously to the arrival of the British, the town had been put into a respectable state of defence; and the American general Lee, having gained intimation of Clinton's design, had reached it about the same time by extraordinarily forced marches. The harbour was protected by a fort on Sullivan's Island, which the English intended to capture, and thus cut off all communication between the town and the sea. To prevent this, Lee posted himself so as to secure a communication with Sullivan's Island. Between the English and the fort lay Long Island, from which to Sullivan's Island Clinton was informed the passage was fordable. On the twenty-eighth of June, the British ships, Bristol and Experiment, of fifty guns each, with several smaller vessels, passed the bar, and commenced a furious cannonade on the fort, which was returned with equal fury. The slaughter on board the ships was dreadful; but they sustained it with undaunted resolution until the evening, when,

losing all hopes of the co-operation of the land forces—which had been disappointed in finding a fordable place between Long Island and Sullivan's Island, as they expected—the ships were compelled to retire with the loss of near two hundred men killed and wounded, and among the former the gallant captain Morris of the Bristol. The Actæon frigate, having taken the ground, was burned. The attempt was now considered as impracticable, and sir Peter Parker sailed for New York.

On the fourth of July (an ever memorable epoch in British annals and universal history!) the delegates of all the thirteen provinces, assembled in general congress, unanimously resolved that the united colonies were, and of right should be, *free and independent states*; and that they were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain was, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and in support of that declaration they mutually pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.

The conduct of the war was now entrusted to general Howe, and his brother lord Howe was to be sent out to him at Halifax with reinforcements from England. They had also a joint power, as commissioners under lord North's conciliatory bill, to bring about a pacification between Britain and her colonies. General Howe, impatient of his brother's delay, sailed from Halifax on the eleventh of June, and about the end of the month arrived at Sandy Hook near New York; whither lord Howe, finding he had left Halifax, followed him, and joined him on the twelfth of July. Lord Howe then, to his inexpressible grief, was first informed of the American declaration of independency; but he resolved, notwithstanding, to make an effort towards accommodation. He sent circular letters to the governors of the colonies, and a declaration to the colonists in general. He likewise sent a message to Washington, and to Dr. Franklin, who was returned from England and chosen a member of the congress, stating, that himself and his brother were invested with full powers for a pacification, and wished the step he had taken to be considered as the first advance to that desirable object. Washington replied, "that, from what had transpired, their powers extended merely to the granting of pardons; but that those who had been guilty of no fault,

wanted no pardon ; and that they were only defending what they deemed their indisputable rights." Franklin returned for answer, " that, preparatory to any propositions of amity or peace, it would be required that Britain should acknowledge the independence of America, defray the expenses of the war, and indemnify the colonies for the burning of their towns." The commissioners having no such powers, determined to open the campaign.

On the twenty-second of August, the British army landed on Long Island opposite to a large body of Americans, which lay encamped near the village of Brookline. Between the two armies was a ridge of hills intersecting the island from east to west, through which lay three passes. The Americans had seized each of these passes, and placed strong detachments in them.

In the evening of the twenty-sixth, the main body of the army, under Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, marched to gain the eastern pass, which they accomplished without difficulty. At nine the next morning the action commenced by a cannonade on the right wing of the Americans by generals de Heister and Grant. General Clinton, in the mean time, having turned the left wing, took the right in the rear, and immediately threw it into confusion. In their retreat to Brookline, general Sullivan and ten other American officers were taken prisoners, and numbers of the troops were slain or driven into the marshes where they were suffocated. The British gained a complete victory with inconsiderable loss ; and if Howe had given way to the ardent wishes of his troops, to be led on to the attack of the American lines, very little doubt could have been entertained of their success ; but he chose rather to attack them in form, and thus sacrificed to etiquette the favourable crisis of putting an end to the war by a single blow.

Washington was at New York when the battle commenced, and arrived only just in time to witness the defeat of the Americans. He entertained no doubt but that the British would have followed up their advantage and stormed the lines in the moment of victory. He was in despair ; but seeing that they only opened their trenches, he began to hope that the worst was over ; and, by a masterly retreat, he drew off the shattered remains of the American army to New York, and saved them from inevitable destruction. Lord Howe again renewed his pacific offers through

general Sullivan, whom he permitted to pass over to the main on his parole, but they produced, in effect, no other answer than before.

Measures were now taken for attacking New York ; and on the fifteenth of September the first division of the army landed about three miles from that town. The rest of the army followed, and Washington retreated with precipitation and some loss to Kingsbridge, which the Americans had fortified so strongly to secure a retreat, that it appeared to defy all attempts against it. The greater part of the British army (a few only being left to guard New York) were immediately re-embarked with a view to land them near West Chester, and gain the rear of the Americans ; but Washington perceiving, from this manœuvre, that if he remained in his present position he should be obliged to hazard a general engagement, which might be fatal to the colonies, prudently retreated to the White Plains, where he occupied a strong position, covered by the river Brunx in front, and the North River in his rear. To add to this natural strength, the Americans hastily threw up some lines of entrenchment.

The British army pursued them ; and a body of English and Hessians under general Leslie and colonel Donop were ordered to drive in a body of provincials who were posted on the other side the Brunx in front of the right flank of the enemy. This service was performed with the bayonet in the most intrepid manner ; and the Americans drew back their encampment, in order to consolidate and strengthen it. Howe thought it adviseable to send for reinforcements from New York before he ventured a general assault. These arrived on the thirtieth, and the next day was appointed for the attempt ; but a heavy rain, which rendered the ascent of so steep a hill very slippery, prevented its taking place ; and in the succeeding night, the Americans decamped to a still stronger position in North Castle district.

The British commander-in-chief, finding Washington too wary to be brought to an engagement, turned towards Kingsbridge, and invested Fort Washington, a strong post opposite to Fort Lee on the Jersey side. The commandant of the fort refusing to surrender, it was carried by assault, and more than two thousand made prisoners. General Howe then sent general Clinton and sir Peter Parker against Rhode Island, of which they made them-

selves masters, and dispatched lord Cornwallis to invest Fort Lee ; but he found it abandoned, and all the artillery and stores left behind. His lordship now penetrated the East and West Jerseys so far as Brunswick ; and general Washington, who had passed the North River to protect those provinces, was obliged to retreat before him to Newark, and from thence, breaking down the bridge over the Rariton, to Princetown. As his lordship's instructions were positively not to go beyond Brunswick, he requested the commander-in-chief to alter them, expressing sanguine hopes of being able, by a continued pursuit, to disperse Washington's army, or at least to take his heavy baggage, before he could cross the Delaware ; but general Howe persisted in recalling him, and in all probability prevented his not only dispersing Washington's army, but his capturing Philadelphia. After an interval of several days, lord Cornwallis was *permitted* to advance to Trenton, and the van of his army reached the Delaware just as the rear-guard of the Americans had gained the *opposite* shore. For want of boats, all further pursuit was impossible.

During Washington's retreat, Lee, who commanded a body of continentals in the province of New York, followed lord Cornwallis, to observe his motions. It is said that he wished for the defeat of Washington that he himself might be appointed generalissimo in his stead ; but his hopes, if such he entertained, were sadly reversed. General Howe had dispatched colonel Harcourt to watch Lee's motions ; and the colonel finding him slightly guarded, seized and carried him off to New York, where he was closely confined. The Americans so highly regretted his loss, that they offered to exchange six field officers for him ; but the British general refused, alleging that Lee was no prisoner of war, but a deserter from his majesty's service, in which he had formerly held a commission. The Americans threatened to retaliate on the British officers in their hands by putting them under close confinement, and actually executed their threat against several of them.

The affairs of the Americans now appeared in a dreadful state ; their soldiers were disheartened, and the civil powers were no less so ; the governor, council, assembly, and magistracy of New Jersey fled the province ; those of Philadelphia dispersed ; and the congress, expecting general Howe to take possession of Phil-

adelphia, fled to Baltimore. But general Howe, too *generous*, it has been said, to take advantage of their distress and despair, ordered his army into winter quarters. The American congress profited by this respite ; they recruited their army for three years, which had been before enlisted only for one year ; they offered liberal bounties to recruits, and promised an allotment of lands at the end of the war to all who survived, or to the families of those who fell. They also published an address to the American people, which had the desired effect of reviving their drooping spirits, and stimulating their efforts to reinforce their army.

It did not escape the penetration of Washington, that in the cantonment of the British troops they were so separated as not to be easily collected ; and that at Princeton and Bordenton, both places of danger, as being remote from the main body, there were only weak detachments of Hessians, who were rendered still weaker by a laxity of discipline. Washington projected to surprise that at Trenton. To prevent the other at Bordenton from giving any assistance, he by a successful stratagem drew them off to a distance of twelve miles from their own station, and eighteen from Trenton. Having effected this point very early in the morning of the twenty-sixth of December—which day he selected as judging the festivity of Christmas among the Hessians would be favourable to his attempt—he forced a passage over the Delaware through fields of floating ice, and surprised and completely surrounded them. Rhal, their commander, attempting to assemble his troops, was mortally wounded ; three regiments surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and the small remainder of the detachment with difficulty forced its way to Bordenton.

Notwithstanding this success, Washington did not choose to remain on the east side of the Delaware, lest general Howe should cause him to be attacked by a superior force ; but so far from showing such an inclination, he directed colonel Donop, who commanded at Bordenton, to retreat to Princetown. Washington, upon this, again crossed the Delaware, and occupied Trenton. It was then expected that general Howe would have marched against him with the main body ; but he contented himself with sending lord Cornwallis to command the detachment in the Jerseys, and remained quietly at New York.

As lord Cornwallis approached, Washington left his camp in

profound silence, and took a circuitous route to Princetown to surprise a detachment of the seventeenth, fortieth, and fifty-fifth regiments, which his lordship had left there with orders to follow him. They were preparing to do so when Washington appeared in sight. Colonel Mawhood, concluding that he was retreating from lord Cornwallis, and prevented by a fog from ascertaining his numbers, resolved to oppose his march. After the battle had commenced, Mawhood discovered the superiority of the enemy; and at the head of his own corps (the seventeenth) cut his way through them in a most gallant manner, and retreated to Brunswick—the other regiments also making good their retreats by different routes. Lord Cornwallis, finding himself out-manœuvred, hastened to pursue Washington; who avoided a general action until lord Cornwallis's troops, wearied with pursuit, were obliged to retire to Brunswick to refresh, and wait for reinforcements from the main body. Washington then overran Jersey; and, by taking possession of the chief posts on the Delaware, secured to himself a passage whenever he should deem it expedient.

We left general Carleton preparing a naval armament to drive the Americans from lake Champlain. Owing to amazing obstacles, the month of October arrived before this flotilla, conducted by captain Pringle under the direction of general Carleton, arrived at the lake; and on the eleventh they discovered the American armament, commanded by Arnold, posted to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. An engagement began and lasted till night, when several of the enemy's ships being aground and one of their gondolas sunk, the Americans fled. The British pursued them the next day, and the day after till noon, when they overtook them a few leagues from Crown Point. The engagement then recommenced, and ended in the defeat of the provincials, who burned many of their ships to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. On the fifteenth, the English anchored off Crown Point, and the provincials retreated to Ticonderoga, whither general Carleton did not think proper to pursue them; but finding it impossible to sustain his army at Crown Point during the winter, he re-embarked it, and returned to St. John's, where he distributed it into winter quarters.

To sum up this campaign—The southern expedition; was de-

feated; the northern one produced no advantage to the British; and by the middle one, general Howe gained possession of Long Island, New York, and a small part of the Jerseys.

At the end of this year the rope-house in Portsmouth was wilfully set on fire by James Aitken, *alias* John the painter. He had lately been in America, where he had imbibed a rooted antipathy to England; and he resolved to vent it in setting fire to her dock-yards and principal trading cities and towns. Previously to his execution, he asserted that he had informed Mr. Silas Deane, an agent from America to Paris, of his projects, and had been promised by him great rewards if he succeeded.

On the last day of October, parliament met; and the king's speech particularly noticed the successes of general Howe, as affording the strongest hopes of *ultimate success*; although the delays, unavoidable in commencing operations, prevented the progress from being complete. The addresses were carried after a violent opposition.

Soon afterwards, lord John Cavendish exhibited a printed paper in the house, purporting to be the proclamation of his majesty's commissioners in America, and called upon the ministers to avow or disavow its authenticity. The minister acknowledged its authenticity, and his lordship expressed his astonishment at the contempt and indignity offered to the house, who, through the medium of a common newspaper only, were informed that they stood engaged to America to revise all those laws by which the Americans conceived themselves to be aggrieved; but at the bare mention of a *reconciliation* he should waive *punctilios*, and move—"That the house should resolve itself into a committee to consider of the revisal of all acts of parliament by which his majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved." This unexpected motion surprised the ministry, who however insisted, that, till the spirit of independency was effectually subdued, it would be idle and futile to enter upon revisions; then would be the time to talk of legislative regulations for their future government. The motion being rejected, the Rockingham party and others of the minority seceded from the house.

[1777.] They were, however, soon brought back again, through an alarm created by a bill brought in by the minister, to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons

charged with, or *suspected* of, treason committed in America or on the high seas. This bill, as Mr. Dunning, one of the late members, declared, might operate not only as a suspension of that great bulwark of British liberty, the Habeas Corpus act, but enabled the crown at its pleasure to commit any person, without bail or mainprise, to any place of confinement in Great Britain, or to banish them without any evidence of criminal conduct. Such a legal construction surprised even the minister himself, who was not till then aware of the enormous stretch of the royal prerogative which the bill produced. He agreed to receive the amendments proposed by Mr. Dunning; which were, first, "That the clause empowering his majesty to confine persons under this act in any part of his dominions, be restricted by the words 'within the realm;'" and, secondly, that an additional clause be inserted, "that nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to persons resident in Great Britain." Lord North, by thus striving to please both parties, satisfied neither; the opposition thought he conceded too little, and the high prerogative party accused him of having deserted them and given up every thing. The bill passed in its amended state.

On the ninth of April, the king sent a message expressing his concern at acquainting the house with the difficulties he laboured under from the arrears of the civil list, amounting to six hundred thousand pounds and upwards. The house thereupon resolving itself into a committee of supply, the minister moved, "that the sum of six hundred and eighteen thousand pounds be granted, to enable his majesty to discharge the debts of the civil government; and that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, over and above the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, be granted as a further provision for the same." This motion was carried after a vehement debate; but the most remarkable event attending it was the speech of the speaker of the house in presenting the bill to the king for the royal assent, in which he made use of these words—"In a time, sire, of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue—great beyond example—great beyond your majesty's highest expense; but

all this, sire, they have done, in the well grounded confidence that you will apply *wisely* what they have granted *liberally*." On the return of the speaker and the attendant members, the thanks of the house were immediately voted to him. Mr. Rigby however, in a subsequent debate, arraigning his conduct in this affair as an insult to the king and as equally misrepresenting the sense of parliament and the state of the nation, the speaker appealed to the vote of the house as a sanction of his conduct; but Mr. Fox moved, "That the speaker of the house, in his speech to his majesty at the bar of the house of peers, did express with just and proper energy the sentiments of this house." The minister wished Mr. Fox to withdraw the motion, and Mr. Rigby even conceded somewhat; but Mr. Fox still persisting, the motion was carried.

Towards the close of the session, lord Chatham made another effort to put an end to civil war, by moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to the present unnatural war against the colonies, upon the only just and solid foundation; namely, the removal of accumulated grievances." This motion was negatived by ninety-nine to twenty-eight voices; and on the seventh of June the session terminated.

CHAP. LVI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

DURING the cessation of hostilities, Washington had, with the utmost assiduity and perseverance, occupied himself with training and organising his army, or rather congregation of peasants, whose untractable love of independence—the natural consequence of the cause they were embarked in—rendered them uneasy under the yoke of military discipline. General (now sir William) Howe, knight of the bath, as if disdaining to enter the lists with his brave veterans against such an undisciplined rabble, gave Washington full scope for his exertions by not commencing the campaign till June, when half the season for action in America

was over. He then passed over into the Jerseys in full force, with a determination to bring the American commander to a general action; but his camp at Middlebrook had been rendered impregnable, as well by natural as artificial means. Howe made a feint of getting between Washington and the Delaware, to draw him from his position; but the American was too wary. He then pretended to make a precipitate retreat—having previously sent lord Cornwallis to secure the passes, so that Washington, hemmed in, might be compelled to engage. Washington fell into this snare. The Americans left their camp to pursue the British, and on the twenty-sixth lord Cornwallis encountered the van of the enemy under lord Sterling, and put them to the route. Washington, finding he had been deceived, and aware that Cornwallis had taken a circuitous route to his right to cut off his retreat, hastily returned to Middlebrook, and fortified the passes of the mountains on that side before Cornwallis could arrive. General Howe then concluded that it would be useless to attempt any other expedient to draw the enemy into a battle, and, leaving the Jerseys, he crossed over to Staten Island.

His next project was to attack Philadelphia from the sea side; and, leaving general Clinton with a strong body of troops to defend New York, he embarked the rest of the army on the fifth of July; but, by some unaccountable delay, it did not sail till the twenty-third. When he arrived off the capes of the Delaware, he was informed that the enemy had blocked up that river; and he proceeded southward to Chesapeak Bay, and sailed up Elk River. It was the twenty-fourth of August before the troops were landed, and they were then to proceed to Philadelphia by a circuitous and difficult route.

Washington, who had been for some weeks in a state of suspense as to the destination of the British army, no sooner ascertained it than he made a forced march to the southward, and took possession of the heights on the eastern side of the river Brandywine, which falls into the Delaware below Philadelphia, with a view to dispute the passage. At day-break on the eleventh of September, the British army approached; the right commanded by general Knyphausen, marching directly to Chadsford, where the Americans had erected batteries, and the left under lord Cornwallis, taking a circuit to cross the forks of the Brandywine

and gain the rear of the enemy's right flank. Both parties were successful; Knyphausen attacked the enemy, and obliged them, notwithstanding their batteries, to pass the river, the British troops following them. Lord Cornwallis having also crossed behind the enemy's rear, general Washington sent Sullivan to oppose him; but his lordship dislodged him twice, and forced him to retire with the loss of one thousand killed and wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners. The main body, under Howe, had by this time crossed the river, and lord Cornwallis joined it. The only retreat for the Americans was between the Delaware and the division commanded by Howe; and, as he made no attempt to impede them, Washington drew off in the night to Chester. Howe remained *several days* after this affair at Brandywine; and, receiving intelligence that the American general Wayne, with fifteen hundred men, lay in ambush in a wood to his left, he dispatched major general Grey with a detachment to dislodge him. The major executed his orders so completely, that four hundred of the enemy were killed and taken with scarcely any loss on the British side. Howe then began his march towards Philadelphia (Washington retreating as he advanced), and entered it on the twenty-sixth.—The congress had previously removed to York Town in Virginia.

So soon as lord Howe knew that the British army were in possession of Philadelphia, he moved round with the fleet to sail up the Delaware and open a communication with it. The British army lay encamped near Germantown, about six miles from Philadelphia, and Washington, unwilling to let the late loss at Brandywine prey upon the spirits of the Americans, and having in mind his success at Trenton, which so inspirited them under similar misfortunes, determined to make an attempt to surprise it. On the third of October, he left his encampment on the banks of the Schuylkill, and, marching all night, arrived at Germantown at three the next morning. The fortieth regiment, under colonel Musgrave, was first attacked, but made so gallant a resistance, that the rest of the British army had time to form. Major general Grey, by a rapid movement, brought the left wing seasonably to its relief; and, after a conflict of several hours, the Americans were compelled to retreat. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to about six hundred men; that of the enemy, including prisoners, to double the number.

It was now necessary to the maintenance of the British army in Philadelphia during the winter to open the Delaware, which was commanded by an American fort at Red Bank and another on Mud Island opposite to it. From the one to the other the Americans had likewise sunk vast machines headed with iron (called by them *chevaux de frise*) to prevent the passage of ships. On the twenty-second of October, colonel Donop, with a body of Hessians, was sent to storm Red Bank; but owing to the want of scaling-ladders, which were absolutely necessary, as the parapet wall was eight feet high, the attempt failed. The colonel fell, and his detachment was repulsed with great slaughter. An attack was at the same time made by the shipping on the fort on Mud Island, but it also failed; and the *Augusta* man-of-war and *Merlin* sloop were stranded, and the former blown up. A passage through a narrow creek having been discovered, which took Mud Island in the rear, preparations were made for another attack; but the provincials retreated across the river to Red Bank, which they also, soon after, evacuated. The British then weighed the *chevaux de frise*, and the navigation was opened.

Notwithstanding that the situation and numbers of the enemy in their camp at White Marsh, to which Washington retired after his defeat at Brandywine, invited and offered an opportunity of successful attack, general Howe contented himself with marching to offer them battle, but, Washington declining it, he retired into winter quarters in Philadelphia. Washington upon this quitted his camp, and, instead of retreating further back into the country (as he had intended to do), and leaving a large tract of fertile land open to the British, from whence they might have drawn whatever supplies they wanted, approached, and, as it were, blockaded them in Philadelphia. Thus ended this unparalleled campaign of general Howe, in which, with thirty thousand veterans, backed by successive victories, against eight thousand raw soldiers, the British cause in this quarter rather lost than gained ground. Howe, like the British lion roused, was terrible in battle; but he soon fell asleep and lost more during the pause of inaction than he had gained by dint of action.

It is now time to turn towards the north, where the termination of the campaign was most disastrous to the British arms. General Burgoyne, who had passed the winter in England, was sent

out to supersede Carleton in his military command; and, as might have been expected, the latter, who had conducted himself with judgment, vigour, and success, instantly resigned his civil one, disgusted at so unmerited a preference.

A plan had been *sagaciously* concerted at home between the secretary for American affairs and Burgoyne, to march an army from Canada, and to effect a junction with general Clinton, who was to advance up the Hudson River to meet it. For his part of this arduous task, Burgoyne required only eight thousand regulars, two thousand Canadians, and one thousand Indians. Nearly the whole number were ready when Burgoyne arrived in Canada. After having sent colonel St. Leger with a body of light troops and Indians to make a diversion on lake Ontario and Mohawk River, he himself, on the sixteenth of June, sat out from fort St. John, and on the second of July reached Ticonderoga, which the Americans, notwithstanding its strength, precipitately quitted. Their rear-guard was, however, overtaken and severely handled by general Frazer; and the remaining naval force of the Americans, which lay at Skenesborough, was destroyed by commodore Lutwydge.

General Burgoyne resolved to penetrate through the country to Hudson River, leaving to major general Philips the care of bringing the stores by the way of lake George to fort George, from whence there was a waggon road to fort Edward on the Hudson. On account of the difficulty of his progress through wilds, woods, and swamps, (over the latter of which he had several times to construct bridges with great loss of time) he did not reach the Hudson till the thirtieth of July, and he was then detained several days longer waiting for the re-embarkation of his stores. The Americans had in the mean time reinforced general Schuyler at Saratoga, and sent Arnold to watch colonel St. Leger, and prevent his junction with Burgoyne. The British wanted stores, and it being reported that the Americans had a vast quantity at Bennington, twenty miles to the eastward, Burgoyne dispatched colonel Baum with six hundred men to seize them; although it was represented to him that three thousand men were not more than adequate to the enterprise, and that the heaviness of German motion (Baum and his detachment were Germans) was not calculated for surprising an enemy.

The event turned out so. When Baum reached Bennington, the enemy was so strong, that, instead of attacking them, he was obliged to entrench himself, and send back for a reinforcement. Colonel Breyman (another German) with five hundred men were sent to his assistance ; but so attached were they to forms of discipline, that, in marching through thickets, they stopped to dress their ranks ten times in an hour. No wonder, then, that before Breyman arrived, the first detachment was surrounded by a body of troops which general Stark was marching to join general Schuyler, and obliged to surrender after Baum had been mortally wounded. Breyman was next attacked, and obliged to retreat with a very great loss. To add to this first check, colonel St. Leger had been, about the same time, compelled by the Indians of his detachment to retire from before fort Stanwix, with the loss of his artillery and stores, on a false rumour that Burgoyne's army had been totally routed, and that Arnold was marching a great force against him.

General Burgoyne having, with great difficulty, collected thirty days' provision, and constructed a bridge of boats, crossed the river on the fourteenth of September, and, on the nineteenth, arrived at Stillwater, where the American army, commanded by general Gates, who had superseded Schuyler, were encamped. The enemy immediately attacked him ; and, after the engagement had lasted from noon till sunset, the British remained masters of the field without any other advantage. At this crisis, Burgoyne received intelligence from general Clinton, that he intended to make a diversion in his favour by an expedition from New York up the Hudson. Burgoyne sent to desire him to hasten his motions ; but, after having reduced forts Montgomery and Constitution, and having a clear road to Albany, Clinton unaccountably gave up all thoughts of cooperating with Burgoyne, and returned to New York, leaving him to his fate.

The British troops had been under a short allowance of provisions some days previous to the seventh of October ; and on that day Burgoyne began his retreat towards Saratoga. As he was compelled to dislodge the enemy, who nearly surrounded him, the general himself headed fifteen hundred men, and advanced to force a passage. The enemy, perceiving the lines weakened by this movement, fell upon the left and centre, which, being over-

borne by numbers, were compelled to retire within their lines. The Americans closely pursued and stormed them in different parts; but general Arnold, who commanded, being wounded, and night coming on, they were obliged to retreat; not, however, before the German entrenchments had been carried, sword in hand, which greatly endangered the whole camp.

During the night, General Burgoyne changed his ground, and occupied another strong post. The next day he offered to renew the battle, but the provincials declined it, having taken means to inclose the British army, and gain an easier victory. General Burgoyne again made a similar retreat, and arrived at Saratoga on the tenth, where he found all the passes secured by the enemy. No hope remained but that of reaching fort Edward by a rapid night-march, and crossing over the river: but he was informed that both the road and the fort, as well as the opposite bank of the river, were beset by the enemy. A council of war was then held, and the unanimous result was, to open a treaty with Gates. A *convention* was the consequence, by which it was agreed that the British army should march out with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms: they were to embark from Boston for Europe, on condition of their not serving again in America during the present war. On this occasion general Gates behaved with the greatest feeling, and would not permit any of his troops to leave the lines to witness the piling up the British arms.

Thus ended the Canadian expedition which not only raised the hopes of the Americans to the *acmé*, but encouraged France and Spain to take part in the contest against us, as had been predicted by lord Chatham in these ever memorable words: "*France and Spain are watching the maturity of your errors.*"

The British parliament met in November, and the debates were chiefly on American affairs; but, when the catastrophe at Saratoga could no longer be kept from them, the most bitter sarcasms and taunting invectives were hurled at the ministry. Lord North was styled the political Sangrado, who prescribed bleeding for all ills; and who, if mortal symptoms appeared to attend his practice, would still persist in drawing more blood, because his reputation was staked on this effectual remedy. Ministers deprecated the pelting of this merciless storm, and endeavoured to allay it by apparent dejection, and a confession of their being un-

-fortunate : but that was no reparation for the disgrace the British arms had suffered ; and as the means of investigating whether it ought to be attributed to the ignorance or inadequacy of the ministry, lord Chatham moved, that there be laid before the house copies of all orders and instructions to general Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada ; but the motion was negatived.

During the recess of parliament, the spirits of the ministry, which had ebbed very low began to flow again, by the numerous voluntary offers which were made for raising new regiments, to supply the loss of Burgoyne's army ; and it was determined to prosecute the war with redoubled vigour.

After the recess, the minister informed the house [1778.] that he had digested a plan of conciliation, upon which he grounded a motion for leave to bring in " a bill for removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the parliament of Great Britain in any of the colonies and plantations in North America ;" and also, " a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in the colonies in America." Lord North observed, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, who should have power to treat with congress as a *legal body*—to order an armistice—to suspend the operation of all laws—and to grant all sorts of pardons. That neither a renunciation of independency, nor a contribution in any shape, were to be exacted of America as a preliminary, or *sine quâ non* of the treaty. His lordship further declared, that these measures were founded on reason and propriety, and that he only waited for the moment of victory to have proposed them sooner with a better grace.

This plan of lord North, who was a moderate tory, was relished neither by the high prerogative tories, nor the whigs, but was assailed from all quarters. The former exclaimed that the bills would bring degradation on the country, and deplored that pusillanimity in the councils, which, after so great an expense of blood and treasure, could submit not only to give up the object of the contest, but to enter into a public treaty with armed rebels, which, after all, would not produce the end proposed.

The whigs coincided with them in the inefficacy of the bills at the present time. They contained, they said, the very same pow-

ers as were proposed by the duke of Grafton in 1776, to have been given to lord and general Howe, instead of the insufficient powers with which they were invested ; and which, had they been given at that time, would have undoubtedly put a stop to the American differences ; but affairs were since greatly altered, and greatly to our disadvantage. There was, however, something like a chance, and they would not impede the execution of a plan which had conciliation for its object. They were not, however, less severe upon the minister, "whose arguments," said Mr. Fox, "might be collected into one point—his excuses comprised in one apology—one word—*ignorance*. A palpable and total ignorance of America. He had expected much, and had been disappointed in every thing. *Necessity* only had compelled him now to speak out." Mr. Fox then declared he had it from unquestionable authority, that a treaty had been signed at Paris, ten days before, between France and the British colonies, whereby the former acknowledged and entered into an alliance with the latter, as independent states ; and he called upon the minister to give the house satisfaction on that interesting point. The minister reluctantly acknowledged, "that it was but too probable such a treaty was in agitation, though he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded." The duke of Grafton, in the house of Peers, asked the same question of ministers, and lord Weymouth, secretary of state, answered, "that he knew nothing of any such treaty, nor had received any authentic information of its being either in existence or contemplation." Yet, a few days after, lord North delivered a royal message to the commons, and lord Weymouth to the lords, informing them, "that a rescript had been delivered by the ambassador of his most Christian majesty, containing a direct avowal of a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance recently concluded with America ; in consequence of which offensive communications, his majesty had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court ; and, relying on the zealous support of his people, he was prepared to exert all the force and resources of his kingdom to repel so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression." Addresses were carried through both houses, containing the strongest assurances of support.

On the seventh of April, the duke of Richmond, in support of an address to the king on the state of the nation, declared his

conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. As the discussion was expected to take place on that day, lord Chatham appeared in the upper house, tottering under corporeal infirmities, and supported by his son, Mr. William Pitt, and his son-in-law, lord Mahon. When the duke of Richmond had concluded his motion, lord Chatham rose, and after lamenting that his bodily infirmities should have prevented his attending to his duty at so important a crisis, he declared that he made an effort beyond his strength, to appear there that day—perhaps for the *last* time—to express his indignation at the idea of yielding up the sovereignty of America. “I rejoice,” continued he, “that the grave has not closed upon me—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this antient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the load of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions. Shall a people, so lately the terror of the world, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Is it possible? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. Any state, my lords, is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men.”

The duke of Richmond urged lord Chatham to point out the mode of making the Americans renounce their independence; if he could not do it, no man could. Lord Chatham rose to give his idea, but, pressing his hand to his heart, he fell down in a convulsive fit, and the house was cleared. On the eleventh of May he expired, in the seventieth year of his age. The king, with the advice of parliament, annexed a permanent annuity of four thousand pounds to the earldom of Chatham, and twenty thousand pounds were voted to discharge the incumbrances. So nobly did the nation reward a man, whose counsels she had neglected during the whole of the American disturbances. What course he would have pursued, if he had been in power, is uncertain; but, from his opposition to coercive measures, it may be gathered that he would have tried concession in the first place; and, on failure

of that, would have acted with more spirit and energy than had marked lord North's measures.

Soon afterwards, general Burgoyne returned to England on his parole, and was refused admission to the royal presence. He was ordered to rejoin his troops, whom the congress refused to release until the convention of Saratoga had been formally ratified by Britain. Burgoyne, not choosing to comply, was divested of all his employments.

In June, the commissioners under lord North's new conciliatory acts arrived in Philadelphia, but by the same fatality which attended all the ministerial measures—that of their being taken too late—the French treaty with America had *long* preceded them, and the British troops were at that time under a necessity of evacuating Philadelphia. The congress rejected their offers and concessions.

The British army crossed over the Delaware on the eighteenth of June, under the command of sir Henry Clinton, to whom Howe, who was recalled, had previously resigned it.

As Washington expected that Clinton would have passed the Rariton, he crossed that river far above Philadelphia; but Clinton disappointed him by approaching the sea coast, and making for Sandy Hook. Washington sent the marquis de la Fayette (a French officer who had volunteered his services to America) with a detachment to harass the rear of the British; and general Lee, who had been lately exchanged, was sent to support him, while Washington followed with the main body. On the twenty-seventh of June, the British encamped near Monmouth Court house. Early the next morning, the enemy were discovered; and, general Knyphausen being ordered to proceed on before with the baggage to Middletown, general Clinton prepared to receive them. Lee commenced the attack, but his division was soon broken, and obliged to retreat to form themselves again. He was now attacked in turn, and driven back to the main body of the army under Washington, which had just arrived in time to save his division from a total rout. Washington himself was now attacked by the British light infantry and rangers, and, after an obstinate action in an intensely hot day, both parties desisted only through weariness and fatigue. In the night, the British continued the retreat, and on the thirtieth of June arrived at

Sandy Hook, whither lord Howe with the fleet, which had sailed from the Delaware at the same time as the British evacuated Philadelphia, arrived the day before, and conveyed them over to New York.

The French admiral, count d'Estaing, with fifteen sail of ships, having six thousand land forces on board, had arrived at the mouth of the Delaware on the eighth of July. On the eleventh he appeared off Sandy Hook; but finding lord Howe, whose force was vastly inferior, prepared to receive him, he bore away for Rhode Island, to cooperate with general Sullivan in an attempt upon Newport; and within a few days after his departure, four sail of a squadron which had been sent out to reinforce lord Howe, and had been dispersed by tempestuous weather, arrived *separately* at Sandy Hook—thus narrowly escaping being captured.

On the approach of the French fleet to Rhode Island, sir Robert Pigot, the British commander, was under the necessity of burning four and sinking two frigates; after which he made every preparation for a vigorous defence. But lord Howe being reinforced, although still inferior to d'Estaing, sailed after him; and, on his appearance off Rhode Island, the French admiral put to sea to engage him. After much manœuvring to gain the weather gage, the fleets were separated by a storm, which obliged the enemy to steer for Boston to refit (by which means Sullivan was obliged to withdraw from Rhode Island); and lord Howe having followed the French squadron to Boston, where he found them lying in Nantasket Roads so well defended by land batteries that an attack was hopeless, resigned the command to admiral Gambier, who returned to New York.

Admiral Byron at length appeared off Boston, but a furious storm drove him from the coast; and d'Estaing, taking advantage of his absence, sailed for the West Indies, to cooperate with the marquis De Bouillé, governor of Martinique, who had already captured the island of Dominique. A detachment of four thousand British troops, conveyed by a small squadron under commodore Hotham, sailed from America at the same time, and arrived at Barbadoes (fortunately without falling in with d'Estaing), where it was joined by a small squadron of three sail of the line and three frigates under admiral Barrington. An expedition was immediately planned against St. Lucie, on which island

a landing was effected on the thirteenth of December. General Meadows carried several of the advanced posts ; but, before he could effect the reduction of the whole, d'Estaing appeared in sight. Barrington stationed his small squadron across the Caureenage, so that it might be supported by some land batteries. On the fifteenth of December the French admiral bore down on him with ten sail of the line, but was so severely handled in two different attacks, that he was glad to haul off. He then landed five thousand troops, and, placing himself at the head of them, marched to assault the British lines ; but general Meadows receiving him with no more civility than Barrington had shewn him before, he retreated with great loss, re-embarked his troops, and left the island to its fate, which soon after surrendered.

On the continent of America, the whole province of Georgia was brought under the British dominion by a body of troops under the command of colonel Campbell, who had been detached by sir Henry Clinton for that purpose. After a few inconsiderable actions, which were, however, highly honourable to the small force the colonel had with him, general Prevost, governor of East Florida, was ordered to join and cooperate with colonel Campbell in this enterprise ; but he did not arrive until the colonel had completed the object of his mission.

Having thus ended the campaign in America, it will be necessary to take a short retrospective view of affairs in Europe. From the moment that a war between Britain and France became inevitable, both parties exerted themselves to secure the pre-eminence at sea. Admiral Keppel was appointed to the command of the British fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, which sailed from St. Helen's on the thirteenth of June ; and on the seventeenth, as they entered the bay of Biscay, two French frigates, the *Licorne* and *Belle Poule*, were perceived reconnoitring them. A gun was fired to bring them too, but they refused ; and a chase ensuing, the *Licorne* wantonly poured a whole broadside into the *America*, and struck to her immediately after. The *Belle Poule*, after a warm action with the *Arethusa*, escaped by running ashore. The next morning another French frigate, the *Arethuse*, coming on the same service of reconnoitring, was captured. From the papers found on board the *Licorne* and *Arethuse*, admiral Keppel learned that the French fleet in Brest

Water amounted to thirty-two sail of the line ; and he thought proper to return to St. Helen's for a reinforcement. In July, the fleet being then augmented to thirty sail, he went again in search of the enemy, and in the afternoon of the twenty-third he descried them off Ushant ; but having the weather gage, they declined coming to an action. The British admiral chased to windward the three next days, and on the twenty-seventh, the enemy falling considerably to the leeward, he came up with them, and the two fleets engaged for some time as they crossed each other in opposite directions. So soon as Keppel had repaired his damages, he tacked and made signals for the van, commanded by sir Robert Harland, and the rear, under sir Hugh Palliser, to take their stations. This order was instantly obeyed by Harland ; but Palliser, who had fallen considerably to leeward, took no notice of them. The enemy making a movement indicative of an intention of cutting off the rear, Keppel, to prevent it, left his station and sailed to leeward, until he was opposite the enemy's van, whilst Harland was ordered to cover the rear. At five o'clock, p. m., Keppel sent orders, by the Fox frigate, to Palliser, to come into his wake and renew the action ; to which message the latter answered, " that he was *knott*ing and *splic*ing, but would obey the order so soon as possible." At six and seven the signals were again repeated ; but the day closed before Palliser joined the admiral ; and in the night the enemy made towards their own coast, and were scarcely visible the next morning. The British fleet returned to Plymouth ; and, notwithstanding the just reason which Keppel had to complain of Palliser's not supporting him, he took no notice of it in his account of the action to the admiralty. A letter, however, soon after appearing in the public prints, which contained severe reflections on Palliser, he applied to Keppel to sign a statement, not only justificatory of his conduct, but tending to criminate himself. Keppel refused to put his hand to it, and Palliser exhibited five articles of accusation against him for misconduct, which were declared, by the court of inquiry appointed to try their merits, to be false, slanderous, and malicious. As the public were led to believe that these charges had been brought against Keppel by the ministry, to screen themselves from the charge of sending him out with an inadequate force, the sentence of the court was

received with extravagant joy in the metropolis, as well as throughout the kingdom: illuminations took place, and the populace were scarcely to be restrained from demolishing the houses of lord Sandwich and Palliser.

A court of inquiry was then demanded by sir Hugh into his own conduct, which terminated in his acquittal: but the opponents of the ministry did not think fit to let the matter [1779.] rest there. In the ensuing session of parliament, Mr. Fox moved a vote of censure on lord Sandwich for sending out Keppel with a force so inferior to that of the enemy; and the motion was negatived by a majority of thirty-four voices only. He then moved, "that the state of the navy, at the breaking out of the present war, was inadequate to the services of the state." The majority against this motion was increased to seventy-two. A third motion of Mr. Fox for the removal of lord Sandwich, on the same grounds of complaint as the house had before rejected, was negatived by a large majority.

The Howes, uneasy at the censure thrown on them respecting their conduct in America, demanded an inquiry; which lord North reluctantly agreed to, on the ground that no misconduct had been alleged against them. The necessary papers were laid before the house, and witnesses examined; but the evidence tending to criminate the ministry, by proving that the force sent to America was inadequate to its subjugation, they proposed to confine it merely to military operations. The opposition, being thus defeated in their object, which was in reality to scrutinise the conduct of the ministers rather than that of the commanders, abated much of their zeal for carrying the inquiry any further, and the committee was dissolved without coming to any resolution whatever.

Spain, which was not before prepared to take part with France against Great Britain, now pulled off the mask. She had offered herself as a mediatrix between them; and insidiously proposed to blend the claims of France and herself together, and to make them the subject of one and the same discussion. Britain made no objection to this proposition, so reprobated in Mr. Pitt's time; but Spain introduced another, which was, that an armistice should take place and a congress be held at Madrid, to which America should be allowed to send commissioners as an independent

power. At this the British ministry indignantly spurned. Spain expected it; and her ambassador was ordered to deliver a hostile manifesto, and leave the British court without the customary previous form of taking leave.

It is now time to turn towards affairs in the West Indies, whither admiral Byron had arrived on the sixth of January, and joining admiral Barrington at St. Lucie, the French commander, d'Estaing, kept himself close in Fort Royal harbour. Not being able to draw him from thence, Byron left St. Lucie on the sixth of June to convoy the homeward-bound fleet of merchantmen during part of their voyage; and d'Estaing seized that opportunity to detach a squadron, with a strong body of land forces, to invest St. Vincent's, where the Caribbs were known to be inimical to the British settlers. The small garrison on that island being thus beset by external and internal foes, was totally inadequate to its defence, and it was surrendered on the same terms as had been granted to Dominique. D'Estaing, having been reinforced from Europe, proceeded to Grenada, which, after a resolute defence by lord Macartney, shared the same fate. Byron, on his return, hastened to save Grenada, but it was too late. He resolved, however, to seek the enemy, and on the sixth of July the adverse fleets met; but d'Estaing, having effected his purposes in the islands, and turned his views toward the continent of America, was not inclined for close quarters. Therefore, after an indecisive action, he returned to Grenada, from whence he soon after unexpectedly directed his course towards Georgia, whither we shall follow him. The British fleet bore away for Antigua.

We left colonel Campbell in full possession of Georgia, where he was, soon after its reduction, joined by general Prevost, who took upon himself the chief command. As the British army threatened the Carolinas from Georgia, general Lincoln hastened to attack colonel Campbell in his post at Augusta, on the southern bank of the river Savannah. This post not being tenable, Campbell quitted it, and retreated to the town of Savannah. Lincoln marched along the northern bank of the river with a view to cross over and cut off all the back-country supplies from the British. Prevost was no sooner apprised of this movement, than he determined on a *coup de main* against

Charleston in South Carolina, before which place he arrived with his small army of only four thousand men, including Indians, on the eleventh of May. The place was, however, too well secured to be won without a much greater loss of men than he could afford. The garrison alone outnumbered his army ; and as Prevost knew that Lincoln was hastily retracing his steps to Carolina in pursuit of him, he retired to a small island to the south of Charleston harbour, and from thence to Savannah, against which Lincoln was again directing his course with about five thousand men. The garrison at Savannah did not exceed eight hundred men, and, of these, two companies of Highlanders, who had been dispatched to reconnoitre the enemy, were totally cut to pieces at the outset. This misfortune was occasioned by their impetuosity, which hurried them into an engagement with the whole left wing of the provincials, although the enemy's numbers were as ten to one. Flushed with this success, the enemy stormed the lines. A regiment of Hessians were at first overborne by the whole provincial force, but the remaining companies of Highlanders, inflamed with a desire to revenge their slaughtered comrades, arrested their progress by a dreadful slaughter of them, until colonel Maitland rallied and brought back the Hessians. The Americans were then quickly repulsed, and not only obliged to abandon the siege, but to retire to some distance.

Soon after this affair, d'Estaing appeared off Savannah, and sent in a haughty summons demanding a surrender, to which a spirited answer of denial was returned. Lincoln, hearing of the arrival of d'Estaing, returned to join him, and the French and Americans conjointly broke ground and battered the place ; but their progress was so slow, that they soon grew weary of it, and determined upon a general assault. It took place on the ninth of October ; but the brave little band in the garrison received them so roughly, that they were repulsed with the loss, in killed and wounded, of six hundred and thirty-seven French and two hundred and sixty-four Americans. The latter again made a precipitate retreat, and d'Estaing, re-embarking his troops, sailed for the West Indies, and from thence to France, extremely mortified at the destruction of his vast projects in the American southern provinces.

In the northern provinces, detached expeditions only, and pro-

ductive of no important event, took place during this year. But when Sir Henry Clinton heard of the arrival of the French fleet off the coast, he was apprehensive that an attack would be made on New York, and he caused general Pigot to evacuate Rhode Island and join him. This fear having subsided by the departure of d'Estaing, sir Henry Clinton prepared for an attack on Charleston, South Carolina; but as this year was too far spent for military operations, he was obliged to defer it to the next.

The Spaniards overran West Florida, and deprived the English of the Mississippi trade. In return, the latter captured Fort Omoa, wherein they found a good booty, besides two register ships valued at upwards of six hundred thousand pounds. In Africa, a French squadron surprised the British forts, settlements, and factories at Senegal, and made an easy prize of them.

During these transactions abroad, Britain had to cope at her own doors with the whole combined maritime force of the Bourbons, which effected a junction soon after the delivery of the hostile manifesto of Spain. In August, the enemy's fleets, consisting of sixty-five sail of the line and a host of frigates, sloops, and fire-ships, entered the channel, where sir Charles Hardy, with only thirty-eight sail of the line and a small number of frigates, was obliged to retire before them. The combined fleets steered towards Plymouth, and in their way captured the *Ardent* of sixty-four guns, which was sailing to join the British admiral. They then paraded off Plymouth during several days, and great apprehensions were entertained of an attack, against which the garri-son was, by an extreme neglect, totally unprovided; but on the approach of the equinox they retired to Brest without effecting any thing of consequence. Sir Charles Hardy kept the seas till November to protect the British trade, which received no check but from Paul Jones, a private adventurer, who commanded an American squadron consisting of a ship of forty guns, a frigate of thirty-six, another of thirty-two, a brig of twelve, and a cutter. This squadron fell in with the Baltic trade under convoy of the *Serapis* of forty-four guns, captain Pearson, and the *Countess of Scarborough* of twenty guns, captain Percy, on the twenty-third of September. After a most desperate conflict, the two British ships of war were compelled to strike, but the whole convoy escaped. Jones carried his prizes into the Texel; but, in his way

thither, his own ship was so battered, that she sunk. The British government presented a strong memorial to the states general on the subject of their admitting the enemy to bring British prizes into their ports, but it received only an evasive answer; and it was plain that matters were hastening to a rupture in that quarter.

One of the chief objects of Spain was to wrest Gibraltar from Britain, whose possession of it had, not without reason, long excited her jealousy. It was too strong, however, to be carried by assault, and in July the Spaniards blockaded it by sea and land.

In this session of parliament, a triple attack was planned against the ministry; which was to be conducted by Burke, Dunning, and Fox. To Burke was committed the task of a reform in political economy; Dunning undertook to attack the preponderancy of either of the three constitutional branches; and to Fox was assigned an investigation of the executorial conduct of ministers. As a prelude to Burke's celebrated plan of reform in the public [1780.] expenditure, petitions, in which the county of York took the lead, were presented to the commons, praying, "that, before any new burthens were laid upon the country, effectual measures might be taken by that house to inquire into and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of the public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state in such manner as to the wisdom of parliament should seem meet." To effect these purposes, Burke brought in a bill for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments; for the sale of forest and crown lands; and for more perfectly uniting to the crown and principality of Wales the counties palatine of Chester and Lancaster, and the duchy of Cornwall: but it was finally lost; as were also certain motions of the duke of Richmond and earl Shelburne, in the house of peers, for preventing profusion in the public expenditure.

On the sixth of April, Mr. Dunning made his famous motion, "That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished;" which was carried against the ministry by a majority of eighteen. On the tenth of April, Mr. Dunning moved, "That there be laid before the house every session, within seven days after the meeting of parliament, an account of

all monies paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of parliament since the last recess." This motion was carried without a division, and followed by another for rendering certain officers of the crown incapable of a seat in that house, which was carried by a majority of two. This success of opposition was arrested by the illness of the speaker, on account of which the house adjourned to the twenty-fourth of April, during which interval the ministry had found means to work a change in the disposition of some of the opposition members; for, when Mr. Dunning on that day moved for an address to his majesty, "that he would be pleased not to dissolve the parliament, or prorogue the present session, until the objects of the petitions were answered," the motion was rejected by a majority of fifty-one. Thus ended the high expectations which the opposition had formed from these well-concerted and popular attacks on the ministry; and an affair soon after happened which, as it threatened the destruction of the whole constitution, obliged both the court and popular parties to lay aside their differences with each other, and to act with unanimity against the common destroyer.

An act of parliament had passed in 1778 to relieve the Roman catholics from some of the heavier penalties of the tenth of king William. The enlightened spirit of England saw this humane measure in its proper light; but the distorted vision of Scotch fanatics made them view it as an attack upon their religious liberties and the forerunner of popery. Associations to prevent the growth of popery were formed; of which lord George Gordon, a young hot-headed man, ambitious of popularity, however obtained, was chosen president: the flame extended to the lower classes in England, and it was resolved to petition for a repeal of the act of 1778. Lord George Gordon declared he would not present the petition unless he was accompanied to the house by twenty thousand men.

On Friday, the second of June, a mob, supposed to consist of not less than fifty thousand persons who had assembled for the purpose in St George's Fields, marched in three divisions to the house of commons, and beset the avenues to it. They soon began to grow impatient, and insulted several members of both houses, obliging them to join in their shouts of "No popery!"

and to wear blue cockades. Lord George Gordon frequently left the house of commons, of which he was a member, to harangue and rouse their passions by the most inflammatory discourses. After the adjournment of the house, the mob—many of whom were misled bigots, but by far the greater part lawless depredators growling for plunder—demolished the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. On Saturday, the storm abated only to gather new force; and on the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the mob, setting the civil and military powers at defiance, committed the most shocking depredations, and reduced the whole metropolis to a scene of conflagration and plunder. They destroyed the houses of catholics as well as those of some protestants. Three hundred desperate ruffians were released out of Newgate, and the prison destroyed by the flames. This Newgate reinforcement directed the fury of their deliverers against the police and civil magistrates: the houses of sir John Fielding the head of the police, and lord Mansfield chief-justice of the court of King's Bench, were soon added to the wreck. The other prisons next became their objects, and different gangs effected the demolition of the King's Bench, the Fleet, and New Bridewell. The toll-houses on Blackfriar's bridge, and thirty other different places, were all on fire at the same time; the Bank of England was attempted by one party, whilst another marched to cut off the pipes of the New River, and render abortive all attempts to extinguish the conflagrations; trade was suspended; the houses and shops near the scenes of riot were shut; and consternation and dismay pervaded the city. Ministers seemed by their inactivity to have been infected with no less terror than the citizens, as it was not until the night of Wednesday, that the military force was rendered sufficient to attempt to put a stop to this anarchical career. Then the roar of musquetry in different parts, added to the infernal yell of the populace intoxicated with their uninterrupted progress and the strong liquors of which they had plundered the unresisting citizens, produced the most poignant sensations. On Thursday the mob, who had suffered greatly from the fire of the soldiery during the preceding evening, began to disperse and disappear; but the shops were not opened. The military were reinforced, and on Friday lord George Gordon was apprehended by virtue of a warrant from the secretary of state, and order and tranquillity restored.

Lord George Gordon was afterwards tried for high-treason; but, as the charge could not be brought home to him, he was acquitted. Of his deluded votaries, according to a return made to lord Amherst, two hundred and eighty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-three wounded; many, of whom there is no account, fell victims to intoxication and the flames, and twenty-five to the justice of the law.

On the nineteenth, both houses of parliament met, pursuant to the adjournment; and the king's speech lamented the necessity he had been under of employing force to suppress the late riots, and solemnly assured them that he had no other object but to make the laws of the realm and the principles of an excellent constitution in church and state the rule and measure of his conduct. An address of thanks was voted unanimously, and, on the eighth of July, the session closed without any thing more of importance having been transacted.

It is now time to turn from domestic to foreign occurrences, which yielded no pleasing prospect on which the fatigued eye of Britons might repose. As the states general of Holland not only withheld the succours stipulated by the treaty of 1678 and other subsequent ones, but continued to supply France with naval and military stores, a fleet of Dutch merchant ships convoyed by a small squadron of men-of-war, commanded by count Byland, was met by commodore Fielding on the first of January, who desired permission to search the convoy to ascertain whether they contained any articles contraband of war. The Dutch admiral refusing this request, commodore Fielding fired a shot a-head, which was answered by a broadside. Fielding returned it, and the Dutchman struck. Such of the ships as had contraband articles on board were detained; and it was signified to the count that he might hoist his flag, and prosecute his voyage with the rest. The count refused to quit his convoy, and accompanied the commodore to Portsmouth. The states general demanded reparation and redress; but, instead thereof, the king suspended, provisionally, all the stipulations of the existing treaties between the states general and Britain.

The demand of the states general was founded on the principle that free bottoms make free goods; or, in other words, that all neutral vessels and all articles on board of them, except war-

like stores or ammunition, should not be liable to seizure or detention. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, who were equally jealous with the states general of the maritime power and commerce of the English, thought the present a seasonable time, when Britain was put to so hard a struggle, to level this stroke at her, which would have effectually destroyed her sovereignty of the sea, if it had been tamely acquiesced in : and, as they armed to support this principle, the confederacy was styled, " The armed neutrality." The conduct of count Byland was intended as a trial whether the English were disposed to acquiesce in this principle or not. The British court, however, not wishing at that time a rupture with the powers of the Baltic, evaded the general question, by making the refusal of the states general to furnish the stipulated succours the reason for suspending all treaties between them.

Early in the year, sir George Rodney was dispatched with a powerful fleet to the relief of Gibraltar ; and, on his passage, he fell in with a fleet of Spanish merchantmen under convoy of a sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and two sloops, all of which he captured. Having sent his prizes to England, he continued his course, and soon afterwards came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven sail of the line, commanded by Don Juan de Langara. As the wind blew on shore, the British admiral stationed himself between it and the enemy, to cut off their retreat ; and as they perceived it to be impracticable, the battle began at four o'clock p. m. and lasted with great fury till two o'clock the next morning, when the Phœnix of eighty guns, Langara's own ship, the headmost of the enemy's line, struck to the British admiral ; the Monarca, Princessa, and Diligente, of seventy guns each, also struck, and were carried into port. The San Julien and San Eugenio, of seventy guns each, were taken possession of, but afterwards run ashore and were totally lost. The rest escaped, in a very shattered state. Notwithstanding the inferiority of the enemy, yet, as the sea was boisterous, and the fleets on a lee-shore in a dark night, this action is surpassed by none in point of nautical skill and intrepidity.

Having relieved Gibraltar, Rodney steered for the West Indies, after sending home his last prizes under the care of admiral Digby, who on his passage captured the Prothée, a French ship

of sixty-four guns, and some merchant ships, part of her convoy. Admiral Geary, who commanded in the Channel, also captured twelve ships of a fleet of merchantmen from St. Domingo. To counterbalance this success, an outward-bound English fleet of East and West Indiamen with stores, artillery, ammunition, &c. convoyed by the Ramillies and three frigates, fell in with a French and Spanish squadron in the Bay of Biscay, and the greatest part of the merchantmen were taken.

In America, we left sir Henry Clinton preparing for an attack on Charleston, South Carolina; who, having given the command of New York to general Knyphausen, sailed from thence escorted by admiral Arbuthnot. The Americans, being aware of Clinton's intended operations, had rendered the town as secure as nature and art could effect it, both on the sea and land sides. The American commodore Whipple, with nine sail of ships, guarded the entrance over the bar; Fort Moultrie, upon Sullivan's Island, was strengthened; and general Lincoln, with seven thousand men, manned the works of the town. The British army, having been landed to the southward of Charleston harbour, advanced across the country to Ashley River, at the confluence of which and Cooper River the town is situated. On the first of April, they broke ground at eight hundred yards distance from the enemy's works. Meanwhile the fleet approached the bar, and the larger ships having been lightened of their provisions, water, and many of their guns, the whole got over it on the twentieth of March, and, driving the American commodore before them, passed by Fort Moultrie through a tremendous fire. The fleet being ready to cooperate and the first parallel completed, general Clinton summoned the town; but Lincoln refused to surrender. The siege was then pressed on with uncommon vigour; during which lord Cornwallis, major Moncrieff, who had so ably done his duty in the defence of Savannah as chief engineer, major Fergusson, colonels Webster and Tarleton, and the naval officers, greatly signalled themselves for their zeal, activity, unanimity, and bravery. At length, all things being in readiness for a general assault, the town capitulated.

General Clinton then detached lord Cornwallis to attack a body of provincials under colonel Burford, which had been collected to throw itself into Charleston, but, being too late, had taken a sta-

tion on the northern banks of the river Santee. His lordship routed them with great slaughter ; and South Carolina being entirely cleared of the enemy, general Clinton left it to the care of his lordship, and returned to New York.

Lord Cornwallis applied himself to the re-establishment of civil government and tranquillity in the province ; but hearing that general Gates was marching southward towards Camden, he again resumed his military occupations, and marched to meet him with fifteen hundred regulars and five hundred militia. Gates entered the province with upwards of five thousand men ; and on the fifteenth of August both armies met near Camden. Lord Cornwallis having with great judgment taken his ground where the narrowness of it would prevent the whole body of the enemy from acting, colonel Webster and lord Rawdon were ordered to begin the battle. This order was obeyed with so much alacrity and impetuosity, that the enemy were soon completely routed, and pursued to a distance of twenty miles from the field of battle. All their artillery was lost ; nine hundred men killed, and one thousand captured. Colonel Tarleton was then detached to attack another party, commanded by general Sumpter ; and he executed his orders so effectually, that the whole were killed, taken, or completely dispersed, with the loss of all their ammunition, artillery, and one thousand stand of arms.

Lord Cornwallis now began his march towards North Carolina, and established himself at Charlotteburgh as a central and convenient post, from whence he could send detachments to scour the province ; but one of these, under the brave major Fergusson, having penetrated so far as the King's Mountain, was entirely cut off, after a most gallant resistance against a vast superiority of numbers. By this misfortune, lord Cornwallis's schemes in North Carolina were annihilated, and he was obliged to return to South Carolina, and wait for reinforcements from sir Henry Clinton.

During that general's absence from New York, Washington's force was too feeble to make any attempt upon it. Soon after Clinton's return, a reinforcement of seven sail of the line, some frigates, and numerous transports, having six thousand land forces on board, arrived at Rhode Island from France. De Guichen was likewise expected from the West Indies with his whole

fleet, and Washington went to Rhode Island to concert with the French commanders a plan for overpowering Clinton and Arbuthnot in New York. During Washington's absence, Arnold—disgusted, as he himself says, at the interference of France between the mother country and her colonies, but, as the Americans allege, urged by pecuniary embarrassments, the result of extravagance, and angry at congress for not passing some accounts which were overcharged—formed the resolution of delivering up the strong post of West Point on the North River to the English. The possession of this important fortress would have enabled them to have cut off all communication between the northern and southern provinces. Arnold desired Clinton to send a confidential agent to him; and major André, his aid-de-camp and adjutant-general of the British army, undertook the affair. He was landed at night from the Vulture sloop of war, and passed the night in conference with Arnold. In the morning it was discovered that the Vulture had been forced by the batteries to shift her station and drop lower down the river towards New York, so that it became necessary for André to return by land. Before he could pass through the American lines, he was challenged, and, by imprudently offering his watch and purse to be suffered to pass on, raised suspicion where there was none before. Arnold, hearing of the detention of one John Anderson, the feigned name under which he had given André a passport, immediately escaped on board the Vulture, and André then threw off all disguise, and acknowledged his real name and situation. Washington appointed a board of general officers to try him. The magnanimity and candour with which he made his defence, which was, that necessity, and not choice, had conducted him into the American lines, and that without any of the intentions of a spy, procured him the admiration of his judges as a man, but could not avert their sentence of death as a spy. Every effort was made by sir Henry Clinton to save the life of this estimable young man; but the only mode which Washington would agree to, namely, the exchange of Arnold for André, being incompatible with the practice of warfare, could not be complied with. André regarded not death, but the ignominious shape in which it was to be inflicted on him. He made a most pathetic appeal to Washington as a man and a soldier, and only requested to die

the death of a soldier and not of a malefactor. His request was refused ; and on the twenty-second of October, André, who stepped forward to serve his country with the heroism of a Codrus, died with the firmness of a Socrates. As it was undoubtedly questionable whether André could be considered to have merited the sentence which was passed upon him, it would have reflected splendour on the American character not to have put it into execution ; as it was, there certainly remains a dark spot of malignant revenge upon it.

Winter approaching without the arrival of the count de Guichen, both armies, after coming to an agreement for the exchange of prisoners, retired to their respective quarters.

We are now to look towards the West Indies for the reasons which prevented de Guichen's junction with the Americans. He had arrived before St. Lucie with twenty-five sail of the line and eight frigates, full of troops ; but the dispositions made by general Vaughan and rear-admiral Parker induced him to retire to Martinique. Sir George Rodney having, as we have already seen, left Gibraltar in February, arrived at the Leeward Island station about the latter end of March, and, following the enemy to Martinique, offered them battle. They, notwithstanding their superiority, would not venture out ; and Rodney, to entice them, retired to St. Lucie, leaving some swift-sailing frigates to watch them and give him intelligence of their motions. On the sixteenth of April, news were brought that de Guichen had sailed, and on the evening of the day following Rodney got sight of him. The night was passed in manœuvring ; de Guichen endeavouring to avoid an action, and Rodney to counteract his intentions. The skill of the latter rendered a battle unavoidable ; and, departing from the established rule of naval tactics, that of fighting in a line, Rodney proposed to bear down with all his force upon one division of the enemy, and, after crippling that, to attack the rest upon more equal terms. The dispositions were properly made for this new mode of fighting, and the battle commenced ; but some of the captains, either from obstinate attachment to former usage or from misconception of the admiral's orders, disconcerted his plan, and prevented a decisive issue of the contest. The French fleet were, however, driven from the scene of action ; and Rodney followed them with all the expedition the

shattered condition of his ships would allow, but ineffectually. The fleets met again on the nineteenth of May, and another partial action ensued, which was as indecisive as the former, and both retired, the British to Barbadoes, and the French to Martinique, to repair their damages. The designs of the French commander, which were to have annihilated the British power in the West Indies, and then to have cooperated with the Americans in an attack on New York, having, however, been rendered abortive by the damages his fleet had sustained in these engagements, de Guichen sailed for Europe. Rodney, who was apprised of the second part of his design, thought he might have sailed for New York, and immediately proceeded thither; but, finding his mistake, he returned to St. Lucie.

CHAP. LVII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

AN affair happened in September, which fully brought to light the inimical views of the states general towards Great Britain. The *Mercury*, an American packet, having been captured by the *Vestal* frigate, Mr. Laurens, formerly president of congress, was found on board, and his papers, which had been thrown overboard and dexterously fished up again, disclosed the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between Holland and the American provinces. Sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador at the Hague, was instructed to represent to the states general this clandestine correspondence of one of their body with the rebellious subjects of a sovereign with whom they were in strict amity; and to demand not only a formal disavowal of such a procedure, but a speedy satisfaction for it. This demand being evaded by the states general, war was declared against them on the twentieth of December.

A considerable portion of the session of parliament for this year—which was remarkable for the introduction of Mr. William Pitt, second son of lord Chatham, and of Mr. Sheridan, a dramatic poet, afterwards two of its brightest luminaries—was oc-

cupied by a consideration of East India affairs, at which it will be now necessary to take a retrospective glance.

A war between Britain and France naturally engenders hostilities in India ; and, immediately on the developement of the hostile intentions of France, the East India company, with their usual circumspection and foresight, resolved on a bold and decisive measure, which might effectually secure their possessions from the impending storm. Orders were dispatched to Madras for an attack on Pondicherry ; and major-general Munro, early in August, 1778, advanced at the head of the company's forces to execute their design. Sir Edward Vernon was to cooperate with the naval force in those seas ; and, on his appearance before Pondicherry, monsieur de Tronjolly, the French naval commander, hastily quitted it. The departure of the French squadron facilitated the operations of the besiegers ; and, after a very gallant attack and defence, Pondicherry capitulated on honourable terms.

A powerful and extensive confederacy had been forming, during some months previous, against the British, among the native powers of Hindostan. The Mahrattas, who, after the decline of the Mogul empire, were the most formidable state, were at the head of it. Their dissatisfaction originated in the following circumstances : Madur Row was prime minister to his father, who, with his assistance, had usurped the reins of government ; and, after his death, he succeeded him. Madur Row was assassinated by his uncle, Raganant Row, who was obliged to fly the vengeance of the people, by whom his nephew was greatly esteemed. Raganant sought and obtained refuge at Bombay ; and the presidency concluded a treaty, whereby they engaged to place him in his nephew's official situation, on condition that he should cede them an extensive territory. The presidency declared war against the Mahrattas, and Hyder Ally was called upon to assist, according to the stipulations of the treaty of 1769. Hyder took the field, but was soon reduced to great straits, from which he ably extricated himself, and concluded a separate peace with the Mahrattas. He was, however, deeply incensed against the presidency, and imputed his ill success to their intentional failure of supporting him. The presidency continued the war against the Mahrattas until 1774 ; when general Clavering, colonel Monson, and Philip

Francis, esq. who had been appointed assessors in council to the governor-general by an act passed in 1773, arrived in Bengal; and as their professed objects were peace with the country powers, an inviolable observation of public faith, and a strict impartiality towards the natives, their first act was to urge the presidency of Calcutta to condemn the war. Warren Hastings, the governor-general, opposed this measure; but he was outvoted in the council, and a treaty of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, at Poonah, in 1776. The death of his two colleagues soon after leaving Mr. Francis unsupported in the council, Mr. Hastings regained his ascendancy. Hyder Ally, since his late peace with the Mahrattas, had assiduously sought their friendship, as likewise that of the neighbouring powers; and a negotiation was at length opened between Hyder Ally, France, the Mysore, and the Mahrattas. Hastings soon gained intelligence of it, and formed a scheme to anticipate their designs. As the Mahratta nation were the sinew of this hostile league, he conceived the project of changing its government, and placing it in other hands more in the British interest. Moodagie Boosla, the rajah of Berar, who was on a friendly footing with the presidency of Calcutta, and at variance with Hyder Ally and the Nizam, was fixed upon to fill the Mahratta throne, and Raganant was promised the place of prime minister. The presidency of Bombay soon after declared the treaty of Poonah violated, and an expedition was undertaken, which failed through the treachery of Raganant; and another peace was concluded between the presidency of Bombay and the Mahrattas, at Wargaum. The rajah of Berar then deserted the British, and joined the confederacy against them; so that from Delhi to cape Comorin, from the Indus to the coast of Coromandel, all, except Arcot, were hostile to them. The first object of attack was the Carnatic, against which Hyder Ally undertook to lead an expedition, and began to make immense preparations for it. The force on the Madras establishment did not exceed thirty thousand men, dispersed in very distant quarters; part lay on the Malabar coast, and a large detachment, under colonel Baillie, in the Guntoor cirar. Hyder passed the Ghauts, and desolated the level country; whilst his son, Tippoo Saib, was sent against the northern circars. Hyder Ally laid siege to Arcot; and sir Hector Munro, the British general, advanced with a twofold view

of raising the siege and effecting a junction with colonel Baillie. On Munro's approach, Hyder raised the siege; but posted himself in such a manner as to cut off all communication between colonel Baillie and the main body under Munro. Baillie, with his small force of two hundred Europeans and one thousand eight hundred sepoys, encountered Tippoo Saib, at the head of thirty thousand horse and eight thousand foot, and entirely routed him; but was afterwards drawn into an ambuscade by Hyder, and taken prisoner, with the loss of his whole detachment, after an almost unparalleled resistance against such an immense superiority of force. Hyder then resumed the siege of Arcot, and took it, not without suspicion of the connivance of the nabob. The presidency of Calcutta, alarmed at Hyder's successes, resolved to assist that of Madras, and requested sir Eyre Coote, one of their body, to assume the command of the army in the Carnatic. It was agreed that he should sail immediately to Madras; and that, whilst he should be directing the operations of the army, admiral Hughes should attack the ports and shipping of Hyder on the Malabar coast. Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras at the close of the year 1780, and found affairs in a more gloomy situation than he had been even given to expect. Encouraged by his successes, Hyder had laid siege to Vellore, Wandewash, Permacoil, and Chingleput, all strong holds. Sir Eyre Coote called a council of war, to consult whether it [1781.] would be best to proceed at once against Hyder's army, or to relieve these places; and the latter alternative being adopted, he took his measures so effectually, that the sieges were raised and the garrisons reinforced and supplied in the course of a few weeks. Sir Eyre Coote also disarmed the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, who, notwithstanding the generosity shown them when that city surrendered to the English, had evinced their treachery in collecting provisions for a fleet and army which they expected from the Mauritius. The provisions were removed, and all their other preparations destroyed.

Discouraged by these successful measures, Hyder remained inactive until he was strongly reinforced; after which he made preparations to besiege Trichinopoly. Although the British army was small, and indifferently provided, sir Eyre Coote resolved to follow and bring him to an engagement. With this view he made

an attempt on the fortress of Chillumbrum, but was compelled to retire. This discomfiture heartened Hyder, who now, for the first time, showed a disposition to risk a battle, and advancing towards the British army, chose an advantageous post at a small distance from it.

Although the swarms of hostile cavalry precluded the British commander from procuring the least knowledge of the number and disposition of the main body, by intercepting all his scouts, sir Eyre Coote saw that a decisive blow must be struck, or southern India abandoned ; and he resolved to risk a general engagement. On the first of July, the English army, consisting of one thousand seven hundred Europeans and three thousand five hundred native troops, marched out in two lines—the first led by sir Hector Munro, and the second by general Stuart—to attack an enemy seventy thousand strong, advantageously posted, and defended by a numerous artillery. By a prompt and happy movement, sir Eyre Coote attacked their left wing diagonally, and threw them into disorder. Hyder changed his front, with a view to bring his whole force to act at once against the British ; but, by the efforts of Munro and Stuart, and the guidance of Coote, they pursued the advantage they had gained at first with unremitting diligence, until it ended in a decisive victory over the Mysoreans. This was the famous battle of Porto Novo, which dispelled the awe in which Hyder had been hitherto held, and preserved the British possessions in India. Coote followed up this success by reducing Passore, a place of considerable importance ; and both armies being soon after reinforced, the English by a body of troops from Bengal, and Hyder by his son Ally and his forces, a second battle took place on the twenty-seventh of August, in which Hyder was again defeated. On the twenty-seventh of September, he was routed a third time ; and was then obliged to retire into the interior country, and leave the English in the quiet enjoyment of their possessions.

Sir Edward Hughes had been also successful at sea ; and, by destroying Hyder's shipping in his own ports, had blighted his hopes of becoming a maritime power. So soon as he heard of the Dutch war, he, with the assistance of sir Hector Munro and a body of land forces, reduced Negapatam, one of their settlements, and compelled Hyder to evacuate Tanjore. Thus terminated the military and naval campaign of this year in India.

In Europe, hostilities recommenced by an attempt of the French to carry the island of Jersey by a *coup de main*. The baron de Rullecourt, who led the expedition, surprised the town of St. Hilier, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, who, at dawn of day, found the market-place full of French troops. The governor's house was surrounded, and he was brought prisoner to the market-house ; where he was intimidated by de Rullecourt into signing a capitulation. Elizabeth castle was then summoned ; but captains Aylward and Mulcaster, who had retired thither, refused to acknowledge a capitulation signed by the governor in his present circumstances ; and, firing upon the French troops, compelled them to retreat. Meanwhile, major Pierson, of the ninety-fifth regiment, having assembled a body of troops, sent to require de Rullecourt to surrender, and gave him twenty minutes for consideration. When the time elapsed, Pierson began the attack : at the commencement of which de Rullecourt was mortally wounded ; and, in less than half an hour, the French troops surrendered at discretion. The joy of the victors was greatly damped by the death of the gallant Pierson, who was killed by almost the last shot the enemy fired.

Notwithstanding the supplies which had been thrown into Gibraltar by Rodney, in the preceding year, the garrison was reduced to great extremities, until it was again relieved by admiral Darby, at the beginning of the present year ; and the Spaniards, then despairing of reducing it by blockade, resolved to effect it by force. Stupendous works were raised, from whence one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon and eighty mortars roared incessantly, night and day, for several months, against the garrison ; but without producing the expected effect. At length, on the twenty-seventh of November, being a very dark morning, the besieged sallied out, at three o'clock, with incredible silence and regularity ; drove the Spaniards from their immense works, and in two hours completely destroyed the whole of what had cost the Spaniards two years' labour, an immense expense, and no little blood. The British retreated into the garrison with the same silence and regularity, after having put a stop to the siege for that year at least.

Admiral Digby, after relieving Gibraltar, returned to the Channel ; but no occurrence took place there worth mentioning until

December, when Digby, who was then lying in Torbay, dispatched admiral Kempenfeldt with twelve sail of the line, a fifty-gun ship, and four frigates, to intercept a convoy of naval and military stores which, at that late season, the French were sending out to the East and West Indies. On the twelfth, Kempenfeldt fell in with them; but the French fleet, consisting of nineteen sail of the line, was too much above his strength for him to cope with. He nevertheless brought off twenty of the transports and store-ships, part of their convoy.

In the summer, as admiral Parker was returning from the Baltic with six sail of the line and some frigates, having under him a convoy of merchantmen, he fell in with the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with eight ships of the line, ten frigates, and five sloops, having also the Dutch Baltic trade, bound to the Texel, under convoy. Both admirals ordered their respective convoys to make the best of their way, under protection of the frigates. The English admiral then bore down on the Dutch, who lay to for him to leeward; and, when within half a musquet shot, the engagement began. The contest of national skill and valour lasted, with unremitting fury, for nearly four hours; during which the English had five hundred men killed and wounded, and the Dutch lost one thousand one hundred. One of the Dutch ships was sunk, and two rendered forever unserviceable. The British ships were much shattered, but not beyond reparation. The event was, therefore, in favour of Britain; but the admiralty were blamed for not having reinforced him from Chatham, or the Downs, where so many ships were lying idle as might have enabled Parker to have taken or destroyed the whole of the enemy's fleet. Parker resigned his command in disgust, and did not conceal his sentiments on the occasion.

Commodore Johnstone was sent to attack the Cape of Good Hope with a seventy-four, a sixty-four, three fifty-gun ships, a bomb-ship, a fire-ship, and some sloops. The French admiral, Suffrein, was ordered to watch his motions; as he was proceeding to India with five sail of the line, and other armed ships and transports, amounting together to forty sail. Suffrein surprised Johnstone in Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, and attacked him when totally unprepared; but he was repulsed with great loss. He then stood for the Cape of

Good Hope, which, by this junction, was rendered too strong for Johnstone's force to attack, and he gave up the attempt; but on his return he captured five rich homeward-bound Dutch East-Indiamen, and burnt another.

The West Indies, which had been terribly desolated by a hurricane at the end of the preceding year, were now again to feel the scourge of war. Admiral Rodney and general Vaughan surprised the Dutch island of St. Eustatius; the booty in which sold, much under its value, for three millions sterling. A squadron of Rodney's fleet soon after captured a fleet of Dutch merchantmen, estimated at six hundred thousand pounds sterling; and some private adventurers brought away from Demerara and Essequibo every valuable ship in those places: so that the Dutch paid dear for their perfidy. On the other hand, the French captured the island of Tobago, and the Spaniards wrested the province of West Florida from England.

In this year Britain made her last efforts for the recovery of America; and the event fully proved the blindness, want of authentic information, and credulity, of the ministry; who during the whole course of this disastrous war suffered themselves to be buoyed up by partial advantages, whilst they either could not see, or shut their eyes against the general complexion of affairs. The victories gained by Britain afforded her but empty fame, which a single defeat tarnished. From the vast extent of the American continent, it was necessary that the British should make detachments; and the Americans, levelling their whole force at these, cut them off in detail, and weakened the main body without ever striking a blow at it, or risking an action, which might have been fatal to them. Great Britain was to learn that America could not be subdued; and it was well for her that the important question was put to an issue and decided at home as it was, since it prevented another appeal to the sword, which must have been in favour of America.

The plan of the campaign was, that Clinton should keep Washington, and Rochambeau the French commander, at bay; whilst Cornwallis should march through North Carolina, join Arnold in Virginia, and, thus united, crush de la Fayette. In January, lord Cornwallis began his march northward; and general Green, who had superseded Gates, retired beyond the Pedee, after having de-

tached colonel Morgan, with a body of light troops, to penetrate, by a circuitous route to the westward, into South Carolina. Cornwallis, not choosing to have such an enemy in his rear, detached colonel Tarleton to attack Morgan. Tarleton discovered him posted at a place called the Cowpens, near an open wood : his detachment was drawn up in two lines, with a corps de reserve of cavalry in the rear. The British broke the first line, and were pursuing them, when the second line, which had purposely opened to let them pass, poured in a destructive fire. The first line had formed again on the right of the English, and the corps de reserve came forward. Thus attacked on all sides, the British were thrown into a disorder which all the efforts of Tarleton could not recover, nor prevent a precipitate retreat. They lost their cannon, and above four hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

When the news of this misfortune reached Cornwallis, he marched to intercept Morgan ; but that dexterous partizan got off, and joined general Green. Cornwallis then advanced to attack them both, although their united force amounted to six thousand men, and his own did not exceed two thousand. On the fifteenth of March he came up with them at Guildford courthouse ; and after having taken precautionary measures, to avoid a repetition of an ambuscade in the woods, into which Tarleton had fallen, the attack commenced, by instantaneously breaking the first line of the continentals. The second made a firmer stand ; but were at length also obliged to fall back on the third line, which was posted in the woods. This mode of fighting, being what the Americans were most experienced in, enabled them to make such a defence as rendered the success of the day dubious, until the grenadiers of the seventy-first regiment passed a deep ravine by a rapid movement, and threw them into a confusion which terminated in a total rout. The loss of the British amounted to five hundred killed and wounded : that of the continentals was considerably greater ; but their loss was hourly repairing, whilst that of the British was irretrievable. Lord Cornwallis, unable to pursue his advantage, continued his march to effect a junction with Arnold ; and on the seventh of April he reached Wilmington in Virginia.

General Green, being reinforced after his defeat, marched to

Camden, in South Carolina, where lord Rawdon was posted. Green, however, did not think proper to attack him immediately, although his force was far superior ; and he encamped on a rocky eminence called Hobkirk Hill, to await the arrival of further reinforcements. Lord Rawdon resolved to anticipate the enemy before they became yet more numerous ; and by attempting the strongest side of their encampment, which he justly presumed would be less vigilantly guarded, he came unexpectedly upon their left wing, which he threw into confusion. They rallied again, and, from their superiority of number, extended their front, with a view of surrounding the British. Lord Rawdon, by a quick and happy conception which never manifests itself but in a real genius for war, instantly ordered the columns to form, and charge in one line. The attack was irresistible, and produced a complete victory. But in his lordship's circumstances, although valour and skill might for a while stem the torrent, yet they could not long make head against it. His small force was reduced to eight hundred men ; and the provincials who had before feigned to be well affected to Britain, perceiving him thus reduced to act solely upon the defensive, threw off the mask, and flocked to join the enemy. Reinforcements arriving from Charleston, he again followed Green, and endeavoured to bring him to an action ; but experience had taught him to avoid it. Lord Rawdon soon after returned to England, and the command devolved on colonel Stewart. Green, having been considerably reinforced, determined to attack him. An action took place at Eutaw Springs, in which both sides displayed consummate skill and bravery. The provincials were repulsed and beaten ; but their loss was presently retrieved, whilst that of the British was without remedy. They were obliged to retire to their posts at Charleston and Savannah, which were scarcely maintainable against the accumulating numbers of the enemy.

During these transactions to the southward, lord Cornwallishad effected a junction with general Phillips, and pressed hard upon de la Fayette, who commanded the continentals in that province. Washington was aware that the only mode of saving Virginia from being subjugated by a general so experienced, persevering, and fertile in expedients, was to give the British commander-in-chief to apprehend a serious attack upon New York, which would

cause him to weaken Cornwallis's army. He made every necessary motion for that purpose, and the feint succeeded. Clinton recalled the troops he had detached to strengthen Cornwallis in Virginia. Washington, having thus gained his point, decamped suddenly on the twenty-fourth of August, and marched rapidly to Philadelphia, which he reached on the thirtieth. Count de Grasse, with the French fleet, entered the Chesapeake about the same time.

Clinton, finding himself out-mancœuvred, sent to inform Cornwallis of Washington's motions, and assured him that he would either reinforce him or make the best diversion he could in his favour. Unfortunately for Cornwallis, this assurance did not leave him at liberty to shift for himself and to devise means to avert the impending storm, but necessitated him to remain at his post, York Town in Virginia, although he had an unfavourable opinion of it, till he saw what those measures were which the commander-in-chief intended to take for his relief.

Washington joined la Fayette, and de Grasse blocked up York River with twenty-four sail of the line. The English fleet under admiral Graves, consisting of nineteen sail, appeared on the fifth of September; and an engagement ensued, which was indecisive. Barras, who had succeeded Terney in the command of the fleet on the north station, joined de Grasse soon afterwards; and this superiority rendering the French masters of the Chesapeake, Cornwallis, with his small band of six thousand men, was pent up by an enemy of twenty-one thousand in a most disadvantageous situation. On the fourteenth of October the enemy opened their batteries, and soon silenced those of the British, which were totally enfiladed. Finding a longer defence impracticable, Cornwallis endeavoured to cross York River to Gloucester Point; but that expedient being also frustrated by a storm, he was reduced, in order to save the lives of his gallant band, to the grating necessity of capitulating. With this severe mortification ended the American campaign!

When parliament assembled, on the twenty-seventh of November, Mr. Burke moved, "That the whole of the proposed address, except the first paragraph, be omitted, and the following words inserted:—And we will, without delay, apply ourselves with united hearts to propose and digest such counsels as may,

in this crisis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of system, command the confidence, of all his majesty's subjects." This amendment was vigorously seconded by Mr. Pitt, but miscarried. The opposition party had matured their attacks upon the ministry during the recess, and had chosen Mr. Fox to take the lead. The majority of ministry visibly declined; the oppositionists pushed their advantage, and general Conway proposed an address to the king to put an end to the American war. The country members deserting the ministry on this motion, it was negatived only by a majority of one. Conway again renewed his motion under a different form, and it was then carried by two hundred and thirty-four against two hundred and fifteen. To this address the king answered, that he should take such measures as should appear to him to be most conducive to restore harmony between Britain and the revolted colonies, and that his efforts should be directed in the most effectual manner against their European enemies, till such peace could be obtained as should consist with the interests and permanent welfare of his kingdom.

The ministry finding their situation no longer tenable, lord [1782.] North, on the nineteenth of March (when the earl of Surrey renewed a motion which had been, a few days before, moved by sir John Row for the removal of ministers, and had been negatived by a majority of only nine), declared, that his majesty had determined to change administration, and that himself and colleagues only retained their stations until another was formed. A schism had taken place among the whigs, of whom the marquis of Rockingham headed the strongest party, and lord Shelburne the other. As the latter was the more agreeable to the king, the lead of administration was offered to him; but, distrusting his own strength, he prudently declined it, and Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury; Shelburne and Fox, secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; Keppel, first commissioner of the admiralty; Conway, commander-in-chief of the forces; and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor. Whiggism was now triumphant, and the Tories escaped a direct censure of the house of commons by a precipitate resignation. Mr. Burke's reform bill was now brought forward and passed, by which several useless offices were abolish-

ed ; but what is remarkable in this backsliding patriot was, the introduction of a clause to liquidate a new arrear of the civil list amounting to three hundred thousand pounds.

An affair of the highest moment now occupied the deliberations of parliament. Mr. Grattan, one of the Irish members, had moved for a limitation of the perpetual mutiny bill. The rejection of the motion was accompanied by a general dissatisfaction throughout that kingdom. The representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers, assembled at Dungannon, passed resolutions declaratory of the rights of Ireland ; in which they asserted that the claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom was unconstitutional and illegal, and a grievance of which it was their decided and unalterable determination to seek the speedy and effectual remedy. They knew their duty to their sovereign, and were disposed to be loyal ; but they also knew what they owed to themselves, and were resolved to be free.

On the sixteenth of April, Mr. Grattan moved a declaration of rights, under the form of an address to the throne. In his support of this motion, Mr. Grattan passed unbounded encomiums upon the volunteers and the late conduct of the Irish nation. He beheld, he said, with joy and admiration, her progress from injury to arms—from arms to liberty. Was England ready to acknowledge the independence of America, and would she refuse liberty to Ireland ? If she was capable, after enabling his majesty to repeal the declaratory act against America, of wishing to continue that against Ireland, the Irish nation was not capable of submitting to it. Such was the spirit which Ireland had caught from America, and such was the ferment which Mr. Grattan's eloquence gave rise to, that the address was voted unanimously, and immediately transmitted to the king. It asserted that Ireland was a distinct kingdom, although inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain ; and that the king, lords, and commons, of Ireland had alone the right of making laws to bind that kingdom. His majesty, in a royal message to the English house of commons, recommended to their most serious attention the state of affairs in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment as might give a mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. On the sev-

enteenth of May, on the motion of Mr. Fox, the obnoxious act was repealed, and the Irish parliament virtually declared independent of that of Britain.

On the third of May, Wilkes renewed a motion, which he had annually made since his being a member of parliament, for expunging the resolution of 1769, relative to the Middlesex election; and it was carried by one hundred and fifteen against forty-seven. Thus ended this famous contest! Another motion made by Mr. Pitt, to appoint a committee to inquire into the state of representation in parliament, was rejected. Till this time the whigs carried on affairs with apparent unanimity, lord Shelburne making the same motions in the upper house as Mr. Fox brought forward in the lower; but this harmony was interrupted by the death of the marquis of Rockingham, on the first of July. Those of his party then looked upon the duke of Portland as their leader, and as the properest person to be first lord of the treasury; but the king made choice of lord Shelburne, who accepted the office without any previous communication with them. Lord John Cavendish and Fox immediately resigned their offices, and were followed by most of the Rockingham party. Mr. Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Townshend and lord Grantham, secretaries of state.

The English West Indies experienced the first hostilities this year. At the close of the last, whilst the British fleet was attempting to relieve Cornwallis's army, the marquis de Bouillé invaded and subdued St. Eustatius. In January, the French retook the Dutch settlements of Demerara and Essequibo. Soon afterwards the British and French fleets both arrived in the West Indies from America; the former from New York, the latter from the Chesapeake. The French, encouraged by their superiority, sailed with eight thousand land forces, under the command of de Bouillé, to make an attempt on St. Christopher's. Sir Samuel Hood, the British naval commander, made very spirited and judicious efforts for its relief, by drawing off the French fleet, and getting into their anchorage in Basseterre road; but the garrison, consisting of only six hundred men, was, nevertheless, obliged to capitulate, after an obstinate resistance. The islands of Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's, and Jamaica was threatened. De Grasse was to be joined

by twenty-six sail of Spanish ships of the line, lying at Hispaniola and Cuba, and the combined fleets were then to sail against Jamaica. In February, sir George Rodney joined sir Samuel Hood with a strong reinforcement from England of twelve ships of the line, and took command of the whole, amounting to thirty-six sail. Rodney resolved to bring de Grasse to action before he could join the Spanish fleet; and, frigates being properly stationed to give him advice of his sailing, intelligence was brought on the eighteenth of April that de Grasse had weighed anchor. Rodney pursued and overtook him near Guadaloupe. On the morning of the twelfth of April the fleets began to engage on opposite tacks; and, as the French ships were thronged with troops, the slaughter among them was dreadful. During five hours neither side appeared to have any advantage; at the end of which, Rodney's ship, supported by three others, broke through the enemy's line near the centre, and placed it between two fires. This daring and well-conducted measure proved decisive. The *Cæsar* was the first French ship which struck, but by some accident she soon afterwards blew up, and all on board perished. The *Glorieux*, the *Hector*, and *Ardent*, followed her example, and the *Diadem* sunk at a broadside. The *Ville de Paris*, commanded by de Grasse, after a most desperate resistance, struck to admiral Hood in the *Barfleur*. The shattered remains of the French fleet fled towards Cape François with so much precipitancy, that sir Samuel Hood, who was detached in pursuit of them, could capture only the *Jason* and *Caton* ships of the line, and two frigates. This victory was one of the most glorious in the British naval history. The French had about three thousand men killed; nearly double the number wounded; and their whole loss, including prisoners, was nearly twelve thousand men. Their whole train of artillery, and thirty-six chests of money, destined to pay the fleet and army in the West Indies, were taken on board the captured ships.

Rodney, whose division had been very severely handled, could not pursue the enemy so soon as sir Samuel Hood, whose division had suffered less; and, when he was on the point of following the next day, he was becalmed during that and the three succeeding days. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the victory

secured our remaining West India possessions, and put a stop to any further operations of the enemy in that quarter.

On the continent of North America, the war only lingered. Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Clinton, undertook no expedition; and Washington who, like Fabius, would risk nothing, did not choose to attack him, as he was still formidable. In the East Indies, whilst the events of which notice has already been taken were passing in the Carnatic, Mr. Hastings was not inattentive to the company's interest in Bengal. He exerted himself to break the confederacy of the native powers and to provide resources for defence against treacherous friends as well as open foes. Amongst the former were Cheyt Sing, zemindar of Benares, and the Begum princesses of Oude, who refused the supplies demanded of them as holding lands of the company, and gave other proofs of inimical intentions. Mr. Hastings, therefore, subdued the Benares, and seized the treasures of Cheyt Sing, who fled; he likewise caused the nabob of Oude to confiscate the effects of the Begums as being in rebellion. By these means he not only recruited the treasury, and prevented the native powers from doing any harm, but he detached the Mahratta prince, Moodejee Scindia, from the alliance.

To further their scheme of ruining the British affairs in India, the French sent out Suffrein with a squadron and a large body of land forces. At Mauritius he was joined by M. de Orves, and his fleet, thus reinforced, consisted of ten sail of the line, one fifty-gun ship, and several frigates, transports, and store ships, with which he sailed for the coast of Coromandel. Admiral Hughes had only six sail of the line, when Suffrein was seen standing off Madras, but he was luckily reinforced the next day by two more sail of the line and a fifty-gun ship. Suffrein, who thought he had only six sail, bore directly for him, in hopes to overpower him and cooperate with Hyder Ally; so as not only to reduce Madras, but all British India. But, perceiving his mistake, he immediately hauled off to the southward. Hughes followed him; and perceiving the fleet to the eastward, and the convoy steering south, he chased the latter, to oblige the French admiral to return to protect them. Hughes retook five English prizes and captured a valuable French transport with artillery, ammunition, and three hundred soldiers on board, for the service

of Hyder Ally. Suffrein, fearing the loss of the whole convoy, faced about, and two actions ensued, which, although not decisive, were beneficial to the British. Hyder Ally fully expected that the superiority of the French fleet would crush the British, and that he might then capture Madras, depose the nabob of Arcot, and place his son Tippoo in his place; but finding that the French fleet always retired before the British, he began to entertain a higher opinion of British valour; and the other native powers receiving the same impressions, were afraid to declare against the English.

Sir Eyre Coote commenced his operations by detaching major Abingdon to relieve Tellicherry, then blockaded by Hyder's troops, which was happily accomplished; but another detachment of two thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, commanded by colonel Braithwaite, which was stationed to protect Tanjore, lying carelessly encamped in consequence of Hyder's recent defeat at Tellicherry, was surprised and cut off by Tippoo. This disaster laid open all the Carnatic to the south, and a body of French troops arriving from Mauritius, the Mysoreans joined them and took Cuddalore, while Hyder watched the motions of sir Eyre Coote. They next attacked Vandiwash, and sir Eyre Coote marched to its relief. Hyder retreated and posted himself very strongly at Redhill. Coote pursued, and attacked him on the second of June. The Mysorean was completely routed, and obliged to retire into the interior, which, it is probable, he would never have reached if the British had had any cavalry to pursue him. Hyder's disappointment, added to his being apprised of the success of Mr. Hastings in weakening the confederacy, and his apprehension that the whole British force in India would soon be turned against himself, so preyed on his mind, that he withdrew to his capital, and died soon after. Sir Eyre Coote, finding his constitution destroyed by his late fatigues, resigned the command to major-general Stuart, and retired to Madras, where this military saviour of British India soon after ended his days.

The French fleet, having refitted at Ceylon, returned to the coast of Coromandel; and sailing to Negapatam, where the British admiral lay, another action ensued, which was also indecisive, but the French were compelled to make a quick retreat. Suffrein was soon after reinforced by two ships of the line, and sailed

to Trincomalé, which he took by surprise. Hughes advanced to save the place, which occasioned a fourth action, in which the English, although very inferior in force, again made the enemy sheer off, and they ventured in sight no more this year.

Towards the close of it, colonel Humberston was dispatched with a considerable body of troops to the Malabar coast, where he was successful; but, penetrating into the interior country, he was repulsed and involved in a precarious situation. Tippoo pursued him to Paniary, where colonel Macleod was just arrived with a body of troops from Madras. Tippoo invested the town, but was obliged, by the bravery of the British garrison, to raise the siege, and retire precipitately towards the Carnatic. General Matthews, who had been sent from Bombay to Humberston's relief, no sooner received the news of Tippoo's retreat than he attacked Onore, the capital of Bednore, which he carried by assault; but, not profiting by the example of Humberston, whom he came to extricate, he involved himself in a like difficulty, by penetrating into the interior, where he was surprised and overpowered by Tippoo. Although these and the following operations took place in the subsequent year 1783, yet, as they finished the Indian war and are very soon detailed, it may be better to connect and conclude them in this place.

Sir Edward Hughes returned to Madras in April 1783, and sailed on the second of May in quest of the enemy. Another action took place on the twentieth of June, which was also indecisive, because the French, having the wind, did not choose to come to a close engagement; and Hughes returned to Madras for a supply of stores and provisions.

General Stuart's plan of operations for this year was, to expel the French from the Carnatic, where they had been reinforced by fresh troops under the marquis de Bussy and a detachment from Tippoo. Leaving the Mysore country with his main army, he detached colonels Long and Fullerton to invade the southern parts of Tippoo's dominions; and they overran the whole Coimbatour country. General Stuart in the mean time determined to besiege Cuddalore, where the French were strongly fortified; and, having passed the month of May in making the necessary preparations, he marched for that place in the beginning of June. On the seventh he carried the outworks, and some days after he

repulsed a very vigorous and well-concerted sally. Every approach was making to ensure success, when orders from Europe put a stop to his progress, and all further hostilities in India ceased.

In Europe, the siege of Minorca by the Spaniards led the van of military operations. That fortress was strong; but its works were so extensive as to require six thousand men at least to defend them, whereas the British were far short of a third of that number. The Spaniards sat down before it with sixteen thousand land forces, and an immense train of artillery. The garrison made a most noble defence, until the scurvy and putrid fever—the consequences of a salt and unwholesome diet—combining with the cannonade of the enemy, forced them to capitulate.

After the reduction of Minorca, the king of Spain turned all his thoughts towards Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, a French nobleman, who had commanded at the siege of Minorca, now undertook that of Gibraltar. The besiegers received an immense augmentation of land and sea forces from France as well as Spain, and the flower of the nobility of both kingdoms volunteered their services on the occasion. Ten machines, called floating batteries, were constructed upon a plan which, it was imagined, would render them incapable of being either sunk or burnt. These were mounted with heavy brass cannon, and were to batter the place from the sea side, with about eighty gun-boats and bomb-ketches, besides a swarm of frigates, sloops, and schooners, mounting in the whole above twelve hundred pieces of heavy cannon, whilst three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers were brought to bear on it from the isthmus on the land side. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to fifty sail of the line, were to cover and support the attack, in which not less than one hundred thousand men were employed. The besiegers were so well assured of the success of their grand attack, that the comte d'Artois and the duc de Bourbon, the French king's brother and cousin, repaired to the camp to witness this triumph over Britain.

On the thirteenth of September, the floating batteries were anchored in a line at the distance of one thousand or twelve hundred yards from the rock. The cannonade and bombardment from the sea, the isthmus, and the rock, were awfully sublime.

During several hours, the floating batteries appeared to defy the showers of red-hot balls which the besieged poured upon them; but, about two o'clock, smoke was distinguishable from the admiral's ship, and soon afterwards another was observed to be in the same condition. The whole line was now visibly disordered; and, at the close of the day, those two ships were in flames and others were beginning to take fire. Signals of distress were thrown out from the floating batteries; but the Spanish launches, which had been employed in supplying the batteries with men during the attack, did not choose to venture any more alongside of them. Captain Curtis, who commanded the English gun-boats in the bay, and had come out to complete the confusion of the floating batteries, seeing no longer an opposing enemy, but fellow-creatures in distress, with true British generosity and magnanimity exposed himself and gallant band to the most imminent danger in rescuing them from the flames. He brought off about four hundred; nearly fifteen hundred more perished by the flames and the sea (exclusive of those who fell on the isthmus); and the floating batteries were all destroyed. The attack having thus failed, the besiegers resumed the blockading system, in hopes that the combined fleets would be able to prevent any succours from being thrown into the garrison from the sea side; but lord Howe arrived with the British fleet at a time when they were driven away by a storm, and effectually disappointed these hopes.

The event of this campaign having turned out favourable to Britain in every quarter, except America, whose independence had been virtually acknowledged, all hopes of crushing her vanished, and the inimical powers began to think of a pacification. A negotiation was opened at Paris; but it was protracted by the insidious conduct of France, who wished certain concessions of the American western territory, of the navigation of the Mississippi, and of the fisheries, to be made by the United States to Spain previously to the acknowledgment of the independence of the former by Britain. The United States, however, penetrated into this drift of France to fetter and keep them, in a measure, dependent on her, and they concluded a provisional treaty with Britain in November. Baffled in this attempt, France urged Spain to insist upon the cession of Gibraltar; but the British court was inflexibly bent on keeping it, and her European

enemies, fearing to encounter her, when her hands were disengaged of the Americans, at length gave up the point. The preliminaries of peace were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain, on the twentieth of January, and between the former and Holland soon after. An armistice ensued, which was followed by a definitive treaty. [1783.]

To sum up the whole of this war in few words—Britain lost her colonies; but she convinced the naval powers of Europe of the inefficacy of disputing with her the sovereignty of the seas. She was gaining strength when her European enemies were losing it, and, excepting America, she may be justly said to have been victorious in every quarter.

CHAP. LVIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THERE were at this time two parties, besides that of the minister, in the British house of commons. Lord North headed the most numerous, which comprised a host of political strength and Fox and Burke, seconded by Erskine and Sheridan, led the other, which included, besides talents, the chief interest of the whig aristocracy. These two parties agreed to blend themselves into a strange compound of professed whigs and tories; and, on the seventeenth of February, when the preliminary articles of peace were to be discussed, they avowed their confederacy, and bore down the ministerial party by a majority of two hundred and twenty-four to two hundred and eight. This junction of Mr. Fox with a man out of power, the magnitude of whose offences, when possessed of it, he had stigmatised as deserving of a public scaffold, was denominated in the house a monstrous coalition. The confederacy made a kind of side-wind justification of their own conduct, by moving a vote of censure upon that of the ministry for conceding more by the peace to the enemies than the actual situation of affairs, or their comparative strength, entitled them to. This motion passed the commons by a majority of sixteen, but was negatived by the lords.

In consequence, however, of this censure of the commons, lord Shelburne resigned, as did the chancellor of the exchequer soon after, and a ministerial vacancy took place for nearly a month. On the twentieth of April, a new administration was announced. The duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury ; lord North was made secretary for the home, and Mr. Fox for the foreign, departments ; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer ; lord viscount Stormont president of the council, and the earl of Carlisle privy seal. The great seal was put into commission, in which lord Loughborough was the first in nomination. The coalition had gained every point but the public confidence, and that they had irrecoverably lost. The basis of this unnatural union, namely, that the peace was not so favourable to Britain as she had a right to expect, was regarded only as an artifice to cover a gross dereliction of political honour and rectitude, for base views of ambition, interest, and revenge.

One of the first measures of the new ministry was to pass a bill, renouncing, in express terms, the legislative authority of the British parliament over Ireland. This measure of Irish emancipation was thought expedient, because the repeal of the declaratory act did not remove the cause, but only an effect of it. No other business of consequence was transacted during this session, which was put an end to on the sixteenth of July, with an intimation that it would be convened at an early period to deliberate on East India affairs, which required serious attention.

Accordingly, when the parliament met in November, the king's speech recommended a consideration of the situation of the East India company, and Mr. Fox gave notice that he should on that day week bring forward the business. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners for the benefit of the proprietors and the public, and also a bill for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India. The preamble to the former bill stated, that disorders existed and increased in the India management, which diminished the prosperity of the natives, and impaired and threatened with utter ruin the valuable interests of the nation. The government was to be taken from the directors and proprietary, and to be vested in

seven commissioners. These were to be assisted by a board of nine directors, to be named, in the first instance, by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors.

Mr. Pitt was the first and most strenuous opposer of this bill, on the grounds that it annihilated chartered rights and created a new and immense body of influence unknown to the British constitution. He argued, that, by this attack on charters, the other public companies of the kingdom, the Bank of England, the national creditors, the public corporations, and even Magna Charta, the foundation of all our liberties, would have no security. The influence which would accrue to the ministry would be new, enormous, and unexampled. The right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be an ambitious man, but it now appeared he was ready to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of his ambition. Mr. Dundas also opposed the bill, on the grounds, that, so far from increasing the influence of the crown, it would inevitably overbear its power. It would create a fourth estate, which would overturn the balance of the three established by the constitution. The bill, however, passed the commons by a very great majority. When it was presented at the bar of the house of lords, earl Temple declared that he was happy to embrace the first opportunity of entering his protest against so infamous a bill; against a stretch of power so truly alarming, and that went near to seize upon the most estimable part of our constitution—our chartered rights.

The king had been deceived by the ministry as to the tendency of the bill, and had given it his concurrence, until lord Temple undeceived him. The royal indignation was excited, and, seeing the business in its true light, his majesty was inimical to its adoption. He delivered sentiments to that effect to those of his counsellors who were not of the coalition party, and particularly to earl Temple. The bill was also become extremely obnoxious to the public, and the house of lords exhibited the sense of both king and the majority of the nation by rejecting the commitment of the bill. The coalition now openly animadverted on secret influence, which they assumed as still existing, and the schism between the crown and the ministry rendered a new administration absolutely necessary. At midnight, on the eighteenth of December, the seals were demanded from the secretaries of state by a royal mes-

sage, and the next morning letters of dismissal, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet.

In a few days, Mr. Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Carmarthen and Mr. T. Townshend secretaries of state; earl Gower lord president of the council; lord Thurlow lord high chancellor; the duke of Rutland lord privy seal; and the earl of Northington was recalled from the government of Ireland to make way for earl Temple.

The nation was now placed in the novel and embarrassing situation of being about to be governed by a ministry who could not carry a single measure. Immediate supplies were necessary to the public service, and the opposition, being in a majority, could refuse them and thereby retard the dissolution of parliament. With this view they postponed the third reading of the land-tax bill, that Mr. Erskine might move an address to the king, stating that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of parliament, and humbly representing to his majesty the inconveniences of a prorogation or dissolution in the present conjuncture. This address, which had no precedent since the Revolution, was carried without a division, and presented to the king, who answered that he should not interrupt their meeting after their adjournment by any exercise of his prerogative.

[1784.] After the adjournment, the house resumed its consideration of the state of the nation; and an address to his majesty to dismiss the present ministry was carried by the opposition. Every measure passed against the ministry; and a bill for the better government of India, introduced by Mr. Pitt, was likewise lost: but the majority of opposition declined on every division; and, to add to their mortification, the city of London, and several other places, presented most loyal and affectionate addresses of thanks to the king for his dismissal of the late ministry.

Attempts were made by the independent members to bring about an accommodation between the ministerial and anti-ministerial parties, but they proved abortive, because Mr. Pitt's resignation was demanded by the latter as a preliminary measure, with which he refused to comply. The address to the king for dismissing the new ministry produced a fresh mortification to the opposition; for when it was presented to him, he replied:—

“You require the removal of my ministers without alleging any charge of delinquency.” Thus neither a reconciliation, nor a removal of ministers, being to be brought about, Mr. Fox at length brought the matter to an issue by moving a representation to the crown of the dangerous and pernicious tendency of maintaining a ministry, which, wanting the confidence of that house, and acting in defiance to its resolutions, must prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people. This motion was carried by a majority of one only ; and here this extraordinary contest may be said to have ended. The parliament was dissolved, and a new one ordered to be convened on the eighteenth of next May.

The general election evidently spoke the sense of the people, which was totally against the coalitionists ; and Mr. Pitt, from this time, and not before, may be regarded as the *efficient* minister of the nation. The administration was a mixture of whigs and tories, as Mr. Pitt was obliged to admit many of the former ; but then they were only those who had escaped popular odium by opposing the coalition and Mr. Fox’s India bill.

Mr. Pitt’s first object was to improve the finances, and render the present taxes as productive as possible, by blocking up all the avenues of fraud. The chief article of illicit trade was tea ; in which, as it appeared to a committee of the house of commons, the smuggler had an advantage over the fair dealer of fifteen per cent., consequently the contraband was more than in a duplicate ratio to the legal trade. The minister proposed to lower the duties, so as to render the smuggler’s profit inadequate to the risk ; and to make up the deficiency of about six hundred thousand pounds to government, by an additional tax on windows. As this was only a transfer of a burthen, the bill was called the *Commutation Act*, and passed by a great majority.

Some measures were also taken for the relief of the East India company, which were only preparatory to a bill, introduced by Mr. Pitt on the second of July, for the better regulation of India. Its purpose was to leave the management of commercial affairs to the company, and to subject their territorial possessions to a board of control, to be appointed by the king, and removeable at his pleasure. The principal stand made by the opposition to

this bill was, that it would carry the patronage of the crown to a dangerous extent : but it passed both houses by great majorities. No other very important business took place (except a vote of sixty thousand pounds, to discharge a fresh arrear of the civil list), and the session closed on the twentieth of August.

Great Britain was now fast recovering from the decline into which the late war had precipitated her. Her revenue, protected against fraud, was increasing, as was also the demand for her manufactures. No sooner was a communication with America opened, than the superiority of her manufactures ensured them a preference : the settlements, which had been scantily supplied with them during the war, now made large demands ; which was likewise the case with India. Her European commerce also revived ; and enterprise and industry again inspired her artisans and merchants.

Happy would it have been for Ireland, if she had turned her attention towards similar pursuits ! but, unfortunately, she suffered herself to be misled by a few self-denominated patriots ; and, instead of drawing closer the tie of amity with Britain, whose prosperity she might have shared, she sought, after the example of America, to estrange herself from her. Mr. Gardener, a member of the Irish house of commons, brought in [1785.] a bill to restrict among other things the importation of English drapery, by subjecting it to a duty of two shillings and sixpence a yard. It was objected, that England might retaliate by a countervailing duty on the Irish linen trade, and the balance against Ireland would then be as thirty to one. From the obvious impolicy of the measure, it was rejected ; though to the great indignation of the populace, who committed various outrages in the capital. Mr. Pitt saw the urgent necessity of a commercial treaty between England and Ireland, and concerted measures with commissioners appointed by the latter, who drew up a set of resolutions, which were agreed to by both houses of the Irish parliament. Mr. Pitt, receiving these assurances of the disposition of the Irish parliament to coincide in a reciprocal participation of benefits, moved certain resolutions for the purpose, which passed both houses of the British parliament ; but national prejudice, on the part of the Irish, counteracted his intentions and their own welfare. The overtures of Britain were miserably misunderstood

and misrepresented by Ireland; and, under such circumstances, the former thought it advisable to leave the latter to herself, at least till her eyes should be opened to her own interest.

Parliament met on the twenty-fourth of January; but [1786.] the grand business did not come on till the latter end of March, when it appearing, from the report of a committee, that the income of 1785 exceeded the expenditure by nine hundred thousand pounds, Mr. Pitt grounded upon it his famous scheme for the reduction of the national debt. He proposed to increase this balance to one million, which should be vested in commissioners, to be by them laid out in the purchase of stock, and be unalienably employed in the extinction of the national debt. A bill was brought in accordingly, and carried into a law.

Whilst this bill was pending, the minister delivered a message from the king, stating his concern to inform them that the expenditure of the civil list could not be confined within the annual sum allotted for that purpose, and his reliance on their zeal to provide for the discharge of a new debt. As the regulation of the expenditure of the civil list revenue had been settled by Mr. Burke's bill, which was in full force, it was objected against this application as being a very extraordinary thing for ministers to come to the house, and, in the face of an act of parliament, to call upon it to vote money for the liquidation of debts which were provided against: but the money, notwithstanding this opposition, was granted.

Mr. Hastings, having resigned his government in 1785, had shortly after arrived in England; and Mr. Burke now presented to the house twenty-two charges against him for high crimes and misdemeanors; of which his proceedings against Cheyt Sing and his conduct towards the Begums, which have been already noticed, were by far the most serious. On the first of June, the first article of impeachment was decided in favour of Mr. Hastings; and on the thirteenth a majority of the house (including the minister) determined that the second charge, respecting Cheyt Sing, contained matter of impeachment against him. The prorogation of parliament on the eleventh of July, put a stop to further proceedings.

Soon after the rising of parliament, one Margaret Nicholson presented a paper to the king as he was alighting from his coach

at St. James's; and, whilst he was reading it, she struck at his breast with a knife. The king avoided the blow by stepping back, and the yeomen secured her as she was meditating a second. On examination before the privy council, the poor wretch turned out to be a maniac; and she was confined in Bethlem hospital. The congratulatory addresses, from all parts of the kingdom, to the king, on his escape, gave the most lively testimony of British loyalty to, and solicitude for, the sovereign.

[1787.] The first grand object of parliament, after its assembling in January, was a commercial treaty with France, which had been previously arranged at Paris between the ministers of France, and Mr. Eden on the part of Britain. In bringing forward the measure, Mr. Pitt combated the position of preceding statesmen, that rivalry and enmity were the unavoidable consequences of the relative situation of Britain and France. This assumption he termed a libel on the constitution of political societies, which supposed the existence of infernal malignity in our original frame. Many plausible objections were unavailingly made to this new treaty; but as they were never verified by experience, and the treaty itself was but short-lived, it is needless to specify them.

The dissenters, who favoured Mr. Pitt, and formed expectations of his support, now endeavoured to obtain a repeal of the test and corporation acts; but the minister opposed the measure, and it was lost.

A subject of a very interesting nature soon after occupied the house. The prince of Wales, since his coming of age, had been allowed only fifty thousand pounds per annum out of the civil list for the expenses of his establishment. This sum was totally inadequate to support the dignity of the heir apparent, even if some juvenile indiscretions could not have been objected to him; and the king refusing to give his assistance towards defraying the large amount of debts which had accumulated, the prince more than balanced, if he did not totally obliterate, his former failings, by a most magnanimous resolve. He vested forty thousand pounds per annum in the hands of trustees, for the liquidation of his debts; diminished his establishment; sold his horses; and stopped the improvements which were making to Carlton-house, his town residence.

Matters went on thus for a year : but British loyalty could no longer bear to see the heir apparent of the crown reduced to an income which was exceeded by that of many commoners ; and the prince was prevailed upon to give his assent to the laying a state of his affairs before parliament. This was done by Mr. alderman Newnham, with a notice that he should move an address to the king, praying him to take the prince's situation into consideration, and grant such relief as he should think fit, and pledging the house to make good the same. The minister and several members earnestly requested Mr. Newnham to withdraw his motion, as pregnant with inconvenience and mischief ; and Mr. Pitt said, " that by his perseverance he should be driven to the disclosure of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal." He alluded to a report which had spread about of the prince's having recently married a widow lady (Mrs. Fitzherbert) of the Roman catholic persuasion. Mr. Fox, and others in the prince's confidence, denied the assertion, and persisted in having the motion brought forward. An interview having taken place between the prince and Mr. Pitt, at the king's desire, the prince was informed, that if the motion was withdrawn every thing would be settled to his satisfaction. The prince assented ; and on the next day the accounts were laid before the house, which they would not inspect, but voted an address to the king, praying him to direct one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds to be paid out of the civil list for the discharge of the gross amount of the debts, and twenty thousand pounds more to complete the repairs of Carlton-house ; which sum they pledged themselves to make good. Notwithstanding that the prince was said to have been extravagant, yet the event was an entire refutation of such a charge ; for the total amount of his debts in the four years which had elapsed since his minority, added to his annual income, must be allowed not to have, by any means, exceeded the expenditure appropriate to his situation.

The business of Mr. Hastings again came before the house, and gave occasion to a display of oratorical powers which, whatever may be said of the ancients, could not be exceeded by them, if we are to judge from the speeches of their most famous orators which have come to our knowledge. Hitherto the popular opinion had been against the impeachment ; but when Mr. Burke

opened the Begum charge, his eloquence, like the lyre of Orpheus, might be said to have made an impression on the surrounding walls—it certainly perverted the minds of many who came prepossessed in Mr. Hasting's favour. The question for impeachment on this charge was carried by one hundred and seventy-five against sixty-eight.

In like manner six other charges were carried against Mr. Hastings. The impeachment was then voted; and Mr. Burke, in the name of the house of commons, repaired to the bar of the house of lords, and formally impeached Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Hastings was taken into custody of the black rod, but admitted to bail.

If Great Britain, at the end of the late war, found herself exhausted, she was now in a state of repose and revivification. France and the United Provinces were in a perturbed and declining situation; and it will be necessary to digress a little, to take a view of the situation of these two countries, whose internal derangement was progressing towards a revolution, dreadful in its consequences, and into whose vortex Britain was ultimately drawn, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. The ancient grudge of the provincial aristocracies of the United Provinces against the stadtholder again broke out; and the former, to counterbalance the power of the latter, who, as captain-general and admiral-general, had the command of the whole military and naval forces, armed the people; who, having the examples of America and Ireland fresh before them, and arms in their hands, demanded a participation in the affairs of government. This demand alarmed the aristocratic party, who had incautiously raised a new power they could not control; and, through fear of their going over to the Orange party, they were obliged to unite with them, to the utter destruction of their own aristocratic sway. The first step of these heterogeneous bodies was to deprive the prince of the command of the garrison of the Hague: which indignity caused the prince and princess to withdraw from that city; the former to his palace at Loo, and the latter, with her children, to West Friesland. The king of Prussia thereupon caused a memorial to be presented to the states general, urging them to use their interposition that the prince might enjoy the rights and incontestible prerogatives of his stadtholderate; but,

as in contempt of this interference, they ordered the arms of Orange to be erased from their standards, and the prince's Swiss guards to be disbanded. This haughtiness was increased by the death of Frederic III. of Prussia, who was succeeded by his nephew, Frederic William, the brother of the princess of Orange. The new king caused his ambassador, the count de Goertz, to present a memorial to the states general, in which he insisted that the government of the republic, conformably to the ancient constitution, should not be changed in any essential point. The prince stadtholder had removed his court to Nimeguen, where an ineffectual negotiation was carried on during the winter of 1786-7; and in June following the princess, for some unknown reasons, set out for the Hague, where the states general were then assembled, accompanied only by a few domestics. She was stopped, however, and conducted back to Nimeguen. This affair, which the Prussian monarch took as an affront to himself, brought matters to a crisis. The duke of Brunswic, the commander of the Prussian forces near Cleves, marched into Holland at the head of twenty thousand men, and, without the least opposition reinstated the prince in his command.

France could not regard this conduct of Prussia with indifference; but the distracted state of her own affairs, and the increasing discontents in the kingdom, restrained her from active interference. A loan for three million three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, the deficit of 1785, had been negotiated; but the parliament of Paris for a long time refused to register it, and at length yielded only to the king's *positive orders*. Their compliance, however, was accompanied with a resolution, "that public economy was the only genuine source of revenue, and the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and of restoring that credit which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin."

Monsieur de Calonne, the minister of finance, then projected a scheme of convening, by royal authority, an assembly of the most considerable persons of the kingdom, under the denomination of *notables*, "under whose sanction a reformation might be effected of whatever was vitious in the constitution of the state." The king approved the project; and an assembly of notables, consisting of one hundred and forty-four persons, was convened accordingly; but they were still more refractory than the parlia-

ment. The minister's enemies turned the defeat of his project into his ruin : he was dismissed, and afterwards exiled to his estate in Lorraine ; whither their rage pursued him, and he was obliged to seek his safety in a foreign country. The sacrifice of M. Calonne did not operate with the notables in favour of the court ; they were as inflexible as before, and the assembly was at length dissolved by the king, with a cool acknowledgment of their services.

Thus internally deranged, France contented herself with making some shew of preparation, and professing her intentions of assisting the Dutch, in case they were attacked by any foreign power ; but the court of St. James's arming at the same time, and declaring its determination to defend Prussia if the court of Versailles attacked her, the latter readily acquiesced in a proposal of the former, to reduce their respective navies on the footing of a peace establishment.—Thus all opposition to the stadtholder was crushed, and this important business terminated with honour to Great Britain.

The British parliament bestowed liberal commendations on the conduct of the minister on this occasion, and a vote for taking twelve thousand Hessians into English pay passed unanimously. Treaties of amity and alliance were soon afterwards concluded between Britain, Prussia, and the United Provinces ; by which the two former powers guarantied the stadtholderate to the house of Orange ; and each of the contracting powers agreed, in case of an attack on either to furnish the party so attacked with one thousand six hundred infantry and four thousand cavalry, or an equivalent in money, within two months after requisition.

[1788.] On the fifteenth of February the trial of Mr. Hastings commenced, and Mr. Burke's preliminary speech occupied four successive days. On the twenty-second the Benares charge was opened by Mr. Fox, and ended by Mr. Grey on the twenty-fifth. The Begum charge was begun by Mr. Adam, on the fifteenth of April ; and the evidence respecting it was summed up by Mr. Sheridan, in a speech which lasted five days.

A subject of considerable importance—the abolition of the African slave-trade—was brought before the house by Mr. Wilberforce, who depicted it, in all its various shades, as repugnant to Christianity, justice, and humanity. It would be useless to par-

ticularise his arguments against this inhuman traffic, as they must suggest themselves to every feeling mind ; curiosity can only be roused to learn what arguments could be adduced in favour of it. These were, that the evil of slavery depended on opinion, and as that state was prevalent in Africa, their minds were habituated to it as a common condition of life ; that the condition of slaves was ameliorated under English masters ; that if Britain was to forego the trade, it would still be carried on by her rivals, who would benefit themselves, not of her real generosity, but romantic extravagance ; and lastly, that the great capitals embarked in it would be sacrificed to philanthropic chimeras. Such were the outlines of the defence of this abominable traffic ; but as the house was not at that time in possession of sufficient information, the further consideration of the subject was deferred to the next session. However, as a measure of intermediate relief, a bill for regulating the transportation of slaves, and limiting the number in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, passed into a law.

Towards the close of the year, the spirits of the nation were damped by the alarming height to which an indisposition the king had some time laboured under had now attained, and against which he had been advised to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham, but without effect. On the meeting of parliament, the state of the king's health was notified to them, and an adjournment for fourteen days recommended. Upon their reassembling, it was ascertained, from the examinations of the king's physicians before a privy council, that his majesty was incapable of attending to public business. Mr. Pitt moved that a committee should be appointed to examine the journals, and report precedents for similar or analogous cases. Mr. Fox replied, there were no such precedents ; and asserted that, under existing circumstances, the heir apparent had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise. Mr. Pitt maintained, on the contrary, that the prince had no more right than any other subject, and that it pertained to the other two branches of the legislature to supply the deficiency as they should see proper. It will be proper to remark here, that, as the prince of Wales was highly incensed against the minister for his conduct in the late discussion of his affairs, and conse-

quently attached to his opponent, Mr. Fox, the present question must be considered as a struggle for power between these two political rivals. If the prince of Wales was acknowledged to have a constitutional right to the regency, Mr. Pitt must give up the premiership to Mr. Fox. The question was agitated with the greatest vehemency (the princes of the blood taking part with [1789.] the opposition), until, happily for the nation ! in March, its further progress was arrested by the king's being declared to be in a state of convalescency. It is evident, however, that his majesty's sense of these proceedings was favourable to Mr. Pitt, by his continuing him as minister. A day of national thanksgiving was appointed, on which the king, in person, went to St. Paul's cathedral to offer up his grateful devotions ; and universal joy again dispelled the gloom of the nation.

Another attempt was made by the dissenters to procure a repeal of the test and corporation acts ; but it failed. Mr. Wilberforce also brought forward the abolition of the slave trade, which was again postponed to the following session.

At the close of the present session, the king's speech, which was delivered by the lord chancellor as his majesty's proxy, observed that, " although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of the general tranquillity, yet the situation of affairs promised to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace." His majesty alluded to a revolutionary war which had broken out in the Netherlands, of which, although not immediately connected with this history, it will be proper to take a slight view, as it is correlative to, and illustrative of, a revolution which commenced in this year in another great and powerful nation, and finally convulsed all Europe.

France and Austria had harassed each other for more than a century and a half, during which the latter had been progressively losing ground. This could not escape the penetration of Kaunitz, who put an end to the struggle by the treaty of 1756. He foresaw that France, having no continental rival, would waste her strength in contending with Britain for the sovereignty of the sea. He was not mistaken. France was so enfeebled by the American war, that the emperor Joseph, in concert with Catharine, empress of Russia, hoped to despoil the Turkish empire ;

wrest from Prussia her newly-acquired provinces ; and raise his name as high as that of his famed predecessor, Charles the Fifth. To counteract these designs and preserve the balance of Europe was the cause which produced the defensive alliance between Britain, Prussia, and the United Provinces. The Russians and Austrians began their campaign against the Porte in 1788 ; but by the ability of the vizier, Jussuf Pacha, they made very little impression on the Turkish frontiers. In the beginning of the succeeding year, the grand signior died ; and was succeeded by his nephew Selim III., whose first step was to depose the vizier who had so ably conducted the preceding campaign. His successor was as arrogant and boastful as he was unqualified for the situation. The strong fortresses of Bender and Belgrade fell a prey to the allies ; and the vizier was so beaten, that his troops would no longer face the enemy, however inferior in numbers. Winter only prevented the total overthrow of the Ottoman empire.

The court of Sweden having ineffectually endeavoured to rouse that of Denmark against Russia by representing that it was their common interest to oppose her aggrandisement, Gustavus entered Russia Finland with a bold, and by no means impracticable, design of marching directly to Petersburg ; but he was stopped by the traitorous refusal of his officers to engage in an offensive war, under a pretext that the king had not the sanction of the states, which was required by the constitution of 1772. Denmark had not only refused to join Sweden, but had actually concluded a defensive alliance with Russia, who now called upon her for the aid stipulated by the treaty. A body of Swedish troops accordingly entered the Swedish province of Wermlandia and penetrated to Gottenburgh ; but, upon a threat from England and Prussia, that if Denmark prosecuted her offensive measures against Sweden, England would attack her by sea, and Prussia by land, the prince regent of Denmark thought proper to conclude an armistice, which was followed by a treaty of neutrality.

Gustavus, having thus freed himself from all apprehension of Denmark, began to reduce the power of the nobles, and suppress the mutiny of his army ; which being effectually accomplished, he prosecuted the war vigorously by sea and land against Russia, but, owing to her superiority of force, with little or none effect.

The campaign of the Austrians against the Turks was a series

of victories ; but a different scene was exhibiting in the Austrian Netherlands, where the mistaken policy of the emperor had driven the inhabitants into open revolt. These states, of which Brabant is the most considerable, enjoyed a free constitution, composed, similarly to that of England, of three estates, and the executive authority was vested in the duke of Brabant. Like England, too, the Netherlands venerated their magna charta, which they denominated *joyeuse entrée*, from the triumphant entry of the prince into his capital on the day it was obtained. Joseph by two edicts swept away all their ancient institutions ; and, as if this attack would not be sufficient to rouse them to resistance, he inflamed their bigotry, which was indeed excessive, by the suppression of all religious orders, with a view, as the Netherlands apprehended, of confiscating their immense wealth. Louvain, a famous school for Roman catholic theology, was deprived of its charter, and a German rector and professors appointed to the exclusion of the natives. All ranks flew to arms, and deputies were sent to Vienna to remonstrate on these violations of their privileges. Joseph temporised, and pretended a readiness to do them justice, that they might not distract his attention from the Ottoman war ; but, elated by his successes against the Turks during this year's campaign, he recalled count Murray, the commander-in-chief of the forces in the Netherlands, who had conducted himself with great humanity, prudence, and temperance, and to the entire satisfaction of the Netherlands, and sent general Dalton, a man of a cruel disposition, to succeed him.

Dalton immediately ordered the members of Louvain to submit to the reform prescribed by the emperor. They refused, appealing to their constitutional rights, law, and justice. Dalton replied that "subjects must not plead rights, laws, justice, or their constitution, against the will of the sovereign." The members were expelled by force, and not without bloodshed. At Malines and Antwerp, on similar occasions, the massacre was greater than that at Louvain. At length the Flemings, seeing no hopes of redress but by arms, were driven to resistance. A body of the insurgents took two forts on the Scheldt, and defeated general Schroeder, whom Dalton had dispatched against them, killing seven hundred of his men. Their numbers now rapidly increas-

ed, and, in another battle at Tirlemont, they routed Bender, another Austrian general, and took possession of Ostend, Bruges, and Louvain. They also succeeded in driving the Austrians out of Ghent. Joseph now relaxed from his former haughtiness ; he offered to comply with their former demands, and to grant an amnesty to all except the leaders of the revolt ; but the Flemish states would be no more deceived by him. On the twentieth of November they declared the emperor to have forfeited all title to the sovereignty of the Netherlands, and passed resolutions for raising, organising, and disciplining an army, and uniting themselves with the states of Brabant. Animated by the success of their countrymen, the inhabitants of Brussels, with the aid of the Flemings, overpowered Dalton, and in the latter end of December the Brabanters also published their declaration of independence. Thus all the Austrian Netherlands, except Limburgh, having thrown off the yoke, they formed themselves into a federal republic, under the appellation of the United Belgic States.

These events were “ trifles as light as air ” compared with the momentous transactions which were going on in France. The hopes of the court having been disappointed by the notables, recourse was again, of necessity, had to the parliament, and they were required to enregister an edict imposing a heavy duty on stamps ; but they refused, and supplicated the king to assemble the states general of the kingdom. The king sent them an edict of far greater importance, which, he said, he expected them to register immediately. Parliament summoned the peers of France to assist in their deliberations, and, in full assembly, persisted in their former resolution not to register the edicts, and in their supplication to assemble the states general. The king determined to hold a bed of justice ; but, such was the general ferment of the mass of the people, that the members of it were obliged to be protected by the military during their sittings, and the government of France seemed to depend, for the moment, on the point of the bayonet. The edicts of this bed of justice were forcibly registered, but at the next sitting were declared by the parliament null and void, and expunged from the records. *Letters de cachet* were then issued against them, and their sittings transferred to Troyes, one hundred miles from Paris. Disaffection increased with this contempt for parliament, and most of the public

bodies joined in petitioning, or rather demanding, from the throne the recall of that assembly, and the convocation of the states general. The king gave way: a revocation was issued, and parliament resumed its functions. The minister proposed that the supplies should be raised during five years, at the end of which the king pledged his honour that the states general should be convened; but the states refused, alleging that, when the supplies were voted, the necessity of convening them would no longer exist. The expedient of a *séance royale*, at which the king assisted in person, was next resorted to, but with no better success; and the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who espoused the popular cause, and two other members, were exiled for their freedom of speech during the debate.

The parliament presented an energetic remonstrance on these violent proceedings, in which they stated that they believed the exiled members were not guilty; were they so, the right of judging them pertained to the parliament; the prerogative of pardoning them to the king. The king's answer forbade them to have or publish any further deliberations on the subject. The next scheme of the minister was to establish a *cour plénière*, with full power to register the king's edicts, by which means the highest authority of parliament would be wrested from them. Parliament published a declaration of their resolution to oppose this arbitrary and unconstitutional innovation. A bed of justice was however held, and the edict for establishing the *cour plénière* registered; but, such was the general opposition against the measure, that an order of council was published, fixing the convocation of the states to the first of May, 1789, and suspending the *cour plénière* during the interval.

On the sixteenth of August, the court avowed its inability to answer the ordinary demands upon the treasury, and directing the future payments to be made partly in money, and partly in notes bearing an interest of five per cent. Consternation followed this act of bankruptcy, and the minister, to avoid the clamour, resigned.

In unison with the popular wish, Mr. Neckar was recalled, and the magic of his reputation effected an immediate relief of the embarrassments of government. All France now turned its attention towards the assembly of the states general, which took

place at Versailles on the fifth of May, and the session was opened by the king in a speech of tender and patriotic solicitude. A contention arose respecting the verification of their powers, which the *tiers état* insisted could only be done in a common assembly, voting not by orders but by poll; a measure absolutely subversive of the antient constitution of the states. The superior orders opposed it as a flagrant usurpation; and, after six weeks of inaction, the *tiers état*, on the seventeenth of June, declared itself the legislative body under the appellation of the national assembly.

The chamber of the clergy acquiesced in this decision; and the king, alarmed at it, held another royal session on the twenty-third, in which he proposed a plan of government which would have seemed unexceptionable: but, at the same time, declaring the proceedings of the seventeenth void, and ordering the deputies to separate immediately, they rejected the plan, and the king withdrew, followed by the nobles and some of the clergy. The *tiers état* alone remained, and refused to separate unless compelled by the bayonet. At their next meeting, the king assented to the vote by numbers instead of by orders; notwithstanding that, as it is said, the duke de Luxembourg predicted to him, that his compliance would place him at their mercy.

An army of thirty-five thousand men, under marshal Broglio, was collected near the metropolis, and more troops were still expected. The parliament insisted on their removal; but the king peremptorily refused. This refusal, added to the dismissal and banishment of Neckar on the eleventh of July, raised the popular fury to a phrensy, and, on the fourteenth, they carried the Bastille by storm.

Intimidated by these proceedings, the king issued orders for the immediate removal of the troops; recalled and reinstated Neckar in his office, and harmony seemed to be once more restored. The national assembly framed their new constitution, and presented it to the king for his acceptance; which was, after a while, granted with a *salvo* of the prerogatives of the crown. Jealousy was again inflamed, and rumours being circulated of the king's intention to retreat to the army and hoist the royal standard, the populace on the night of the sixth of October attacked Versailles, and, after the most shocking indignities offered to

the king and queen, conducted them, as prisoners, to Paris, where they were lodged in the Thuilleries and strongly guarded. After this outrage, the king signified his unconditional acceptance of the new constitution, and the parliament removed to Paris to resume its labours. These ended in an abolition of the feudal system and of all distinction of orders; the resumption of tythes and ecclesiastic property; the dissolution of monastic institutions; the division of the kingdom into eighty-three departments; the suppression of the provincial parliaments, and the establishment of departmental assemblies, and the trial by jury; and, lastly, a general declaration of rights.

This revolution created great joy in the friends of liberty in England, and at a sermon preached before the revolution society at their anniversary, Dr. Price, a famous dissenting minister, alluding to it, as to a circumstance of as high consequence as the coming of Christ, exclaimed in the words of Simeon: "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." The dissenters, who had thus signalled their joy at the overthrow of the French monarchy, fixed upon this season to bring forward the repeal of the test laws once more, and selected Mr. Fox for their champion. He accordingly brought forward the motion on the second of March, but it was [1790.] opposed by Mr. Burke, who had, in a previous debate, differed from Mr. Fox in his opinion of the French revolution, and now adjured the house "to suffer the fatal incidents which had taken place in France, and the sudden ruin of the Gallican church, to awaken their zeal for the preservation of our present happy and excellent establishment." It is almost needless to add, that a measure so unseasonably thrust upon the house, was rejected by a vast majority.

The question of a parliamentary reform was renewed, but rejected as being also unseasonable during the present revolutionary hurricane.

CHAP. LVIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

IN the spring, Britain was once more on the eve of a war with Spain on similar grounds to the dispute relative to the Falkland Islands in 1770. The British had formed a settlement at Nootka Sound, on the north-west coast of America, for the purchase of furs for the Chinese market; and Spain, in her chimerical and extravagant notions of American sovereignty, had seized the small fort, which was intended only as a defence against the natives, and confiscated the British vessels lying in the sound. When these particulars were notified in a memorial to St. James's by the Spanish ambassador, it met with this dignified and manly answer:—"That the act of violence necessarily suspended any discussion till an adequate atonement had been made for a proceeding so injurious to Great Britain." The house of commons passed a vote of one million, and vigorous preparations commenced. Spain, after having sounded France, and found no hopes of effectual assistance from her, conceded the point to England.

A notorious pamphlet written by Thomas Paine, and entitled *Rights of Man*, now made its appearance. The style was adapted to the capacity of the ignorant, and the contents were intended to pervert their understandings, and make them regard every moral or political restraint as an infringement of their natural liberties. It was industriously circulated among the people, and the more absurd were the political positions it assumed, the more agreeable were they to the class whom they were intended to entrap. Converts were daily made, and associations formed throughout the kingdom, openly professing to have in view a reform of the constitution, but secretly aiming at its destruction.

In April, the evidence on the slave trade being closed, the long expected motion was made for its abolition; but it was negatived. [1791.]

The affairs of France were hastening to a crisis. The assembly had so far stripped the once popular Neckar of the public confidence, and thwarted all his measures, that he thought proper to resign, and was suffered to retire without regret—so sandy is the

foundation of popular esteem ! The assembly continued to undermine the king's prerogative, and he had no other alternative than that of yielding to their innovations, which he affected to do with the best possible grace ; but the assembly doubted his sincerity. The king having communicated a letter he had received from the emperor containing professions of amity towards France, but at the same time intimating that, to consolidate that friendship, the decree for abolishing feudal and signioral rights, by which several princes of Germany were deprived of their fiefs in Alsace and Lorraine, should be revoked, the assembly voted a large increase of military force ; and the king was so strongly suspected of a secret correspondence with the emperor, that he was not suffered to go to St. Cloud to pass the Easter without being strongly guarded, to prevent his flight. But, notwithstanding every precaution, the king, queen, dauphin, and princess Elizabeth, effected their escape by a subterranean passage on the night of the twentieth of June. They were, however, arrested near the frontier, at a place called Varenne, and reconducted to the Thuilleries, where they were more strictly guarded than before. The king asserted that he had no intention of leaving the kingdom, but merely meant to stay at Montmedi till the constitution should be settled. All confidence was, however, at an end. On the third of September the new constitution was presented to the king ; on the fifteenth, he signified his acceptance of it, and on the ensuing day he took an oath before the assembly to preserve it. The national assembly then dissolved itself.

The anniversary of the French revolution was again celebrated in England ; but the gloomy turn of affairs in France, and the violence offered to the royal family, had rendered the cause and the favourers of it odious to those who were well affected to the British constitution. The meeting of the friends of liberty at Birmingham was put an end to by the mob, and the windows of the hotel, where they assembled, broken. The celebrated Dr. Priestley, who was an advocate of Gallic liberty, felt the effects of the popular indignation ; his chapel was demolished, and his house shared the same fate. This riot at Birmingham continued for nearly a week, when the arrival of the military put a stop to it.

The rest of this year passed over in a state of gloomy suspense, and the parliament was not convened till the beginning of the

next. The motion for the abolition of the slave-trade was then renewed ; and a bill passed the commons for [1792.] the cessation of the importation of negroes into the colonies from the first of January, 1796 ; but it was lost in the house of lords. The question of the repeal of the test laws was also brought forward, and again negatived.

The revolutionary spirit was now beginning to taint the very vitals of England. Dangerous political associations were formed among the " friends of the people," in which members of parliament, probably not foreseeing the disgraceful turn which the French revolution would take, suffered their names to be enrolled. Things were carried to such an extremity, that a royal proclamation was issued against seditious writings and correspondences, and exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to obedience. On this proclamation, an address to the king of approbation and support passed both houses of parliament. Strong exertions became necessary to quell the rising spirit of disaffection and sedition. Thomas Paine was indicted for his libel, the " Rights of Man," and fled to France. William Winterbottom, a dissenting teacher, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in Newgate for two seditious sermons ; and various persons were legally punished for writing, printing, publishing, or uttering, inflammatory works or discourses.

The East Indies since the year 1790 had again become the seat of war between Tippoo and the British ; these hostilities originated in the following manner. The rajah of Travancore having purchased from the Dutch Cranganore and Acottah, two forts in the Mysore country, Tippoo disputed his right to make such a purchase, and marched an army against Cranganore. Tippoo had so increased his power, that the company regarded him with a jealous eye ; and, as the rajah of Travancore was their ally, this pretence was immediately seized of assisting him ; but the real view was to humble Tippoo, who was the avowed friend of France. The plan of the campaign on the British side was, that the grand Carnatic army commanded by lord Cornwallis should penetrate directly to Seringapatam, the capital of the Mysore, through the country to the westward of Madras, whilst the Bombay army under general Abercrombie advanced through the Ghauts on the opposite side to form a junction with

him and attack the capital. On the twenty-first of March, 1791, lord Cornwallis took the strong town of Bangalore by storm. He then marched for Seringapatam, and arrived at Arakeery, within view of it, on the thirteenth of May. As the British advanced, the enemy were seen crossing from the island of Seringapatam to the northern side of the river Cavery, and taking a position in front of them. On the fifteenth, lord Cornwallis attacked and routed them, but in consequence of the rise of the waters, and the weakness of his draft cattle, he could not pursue his advantage. Cornwallis not having provisions sufficient for the operations of a regular siege, was obliged to return to Bangalore, after he had dispatched orders to general Abercrombie to return down the pass by which he came.

The winter months passed over in making preparations for the ensuing campaign, which the British determined to conduct on the same plan as the preceding one, that of reducing Tippoo's capital, and crushing his force, or bringing him to such terms as should ensure a lasting peace. On the first of February the British army commenced their march, and on the fifth they again arrived before Seringapatam. On the night of the seventh, lord Cornwallis, without waiting for general Abercrombie or the Mahratta allies, ordered an attack on the enemy's lines, from whence they were driven after some sharp contests, and Seringapatam was closely invested. On the sixteenth, general Abercrombie joined, and Tippoo having, as a last resource, attempted in vain to deprive the British of a supply of water, was obliged to sue for peace through the medium of lieutenant Chalmers, a British officer who was his prisoner, and whom he released for the purpose. The negotiation continued for several days, during which Cornwallis never relaxed from his operations; and, as he gained ground continually, Tippoo was reduced to comply with the following terms: first, to cede one half of his dominions; second, to pay three crores and thirty lacks of rupees; third, to restore all prisoners; fourth, to deliver two of his eldest sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. Thus terminated a war highly to the military honour of the British commander; but it has been thought, and so proved eventually, that the terms imposed on the vanquished were too severe to be submitted to in any other shape than as a temporary relief from present difficulties.

Disgusting as the scene is, we must again turn our eyes towards France, drenched with civil blood, and governed by a combination of sanguinary despots, whose ministers of justice were a phren-sied mob. As the national assembly were jealous of the residence of the French princes and their monarchical adherents on their frontiers, particularly in the states of the elector of Treves, they passed a decree, declaring prince Louis Stanislaus Xavier to have forfeited, in case he did not return into the kingdom in a short time, his eventual claim to the regency ; and, by another decree, they declared the French, assembled on the frontier, who should not return within the same time, to be guilty of a conspiracy against their country, and subject to forfeiture of their estates during their lives, but without prejudice to their children. To these decrees the king ventured to oppose his veto, which increased the popular fury against him ; and it having gotten air that the emperor and king of Prussia had signed a convention at Pilnitz in Saxony, highly inimical to France, addresses were presented from all parts of the kingdom, declaratory of their confidence in the assembly, and their dissatisfaction with the king. So that royalty was a mere cypher !

The elector of Treves apprehending an attack from France, the emperor gave official notice to the French ambassador at his court, that he had been constrained to order marshal Bender to march to his protection. Preparations began to be made for war, in the midst of which the emperor Leopold II. died, and was succeeded by his son Francis II., who resolved to pursue his father's policy and adhere to the treaty of Pilnitz. He accordingly delivered to France his ultimatum, consisting of three demands : " first, the restitution of the feudal rights of the German princes in Lorraine and Alsace ; second, the restoration of Avignon to the pope ; and, third, a security that the neighbouring powers should have no reasons of apprehension from the internal disarrangement of France." These propositions being deemed inadmissible by France, war was declared by her against the emperor on the twentieth of April.

The French, with their usual activity, got the start of the tardy Germans ; all their troops were ordered to be in motion at the same time, and to push for the centre of the Austrian Netherlands by different routs. M. la Fayette, of whom notice has been taken

in the affairs of America, was to penetrate to Givet, and major-general Gouvion to Namur. The former succeeded ; and the latter reached Bouvines, half way to Namur. Every thing seemed to promise success : when the failure of generals Biron and Dillon, two other generals who were to have supported them, but were repulsed and defeated by the Austrians, broke these well-concerted measures, and exposed them, Fayette and Gouvion, to imminent danger.

The king, who had hitherto prudently glided with the popular current, now hastily changed his course. He opposed his *veto* to a decree for assembling twenty thousand men in the vicinity of Paris ; to another against the refractory clergy ; and, finally, he dismissed the three popular ministers, Roland, Servan, and Claviere. Every method to render the king odious was made use of by the republican party, who were only the tools of a set of ambitious, intriguing, dark and bloody characters, denominated *Jacobins*, from their holding their meetings in the convent of the Jacobin friars ; whence they issued their proceedings, or rather mandates, to the populace. On the twentieth of June, a mob of about forty thousand of the refuse of Paris assembled round the palace and in the garden of the Thuilleries. There was a sufficient force in the palace to have defended it, but the king's tenderness for the lives of the people would not suffer him to give orders for repelling force by force. The gate was thrown open, and the populace penetrated to the room where the king and royal family were at dinner. They offered him many indignities : but the queen they loaded with the most indecent epithets and foul reproaches. These disgraceful transactions were at length put an end to by the calm and conciliating manners of the king, and by the arrival of the mayor, who had unaccountably delayed to do his duty in the suppression of this tumult. Complaints were made to the assembly, of this outrage, by the king, as well as by the respectable inhabitants of Paris and the different departments ; but no attention was paid to them.

The insolence of the Jacobins was disgusting to the army ; and M. la Fayette came suddenly and unexpectedly to Paris, and demanded the dissolution of seditious clubs and the infliction of exemplary punishment on the late disturbers of the public peace ; but he was obliged to return to his army with the loss of the

public confidence, and without having rendered any service to the unfortunate king. Fresh bodies of armed assassins, called Federates, were, without any legal authority, invited to Paris by the Jacobins from all the departments; and, on the first of July, the assembly proclaimed, "that the country was in danger." The third anniversary of the revolution was celebrated on the fourteenth of July, with apparent cordiality between the king and the assembly; but not without some mortification to the former. Some miscreants, armed with pikes, insulted the king as he passed to the assembly to renew his oath to be faithful to the constitution, by shouts of *Vivent les Jacobins ! a bas le veto !*

During these transactions the French armies had again advanced; but the Prussians having taken part against them, they were a second time compelled to make a retrograde motion. A manifesto was issued by the emperor, and king of Prussia, from Coblenz, on the twenty-fifth of July; and a proclamation of the duke of Brunswick, who commanded the allied armies, followed it on the twenty-seventh; which, as they made the unqualified submission of the French the avowed object of the allies, and denounced extreme vengeance against any opposition, completed the popular fury against the king, who was believed to have sanctioned this interference. On the third of August the fatal die was thrown. M. Petion, at the head of the sections of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly, and demanded the deposition of the king. A similar demand was made on the sixth by an innumerable multitude, and the assembly appointed the tenth for the discussion of this delicate subject; but the unbridled populace were not to be governed by deliberation. On the morning of the fatal tenth of August, they attacked the Thuilleries, which was resolutely defended by an inconsiderable number of the noblesse and the Swiss guards; but they were overpowered and slaughtered, mostly in cold blood, when all resistance had ceased. The king, queen, their son, daughter, and the princess Elizabeth, by the insidious advice of Rœderer, had withdrawn themselves from the Thuilleries previously to this massacre, and took shelter in the national assembly. "I am come hither to prevent a great crime," cried Louis: "among you, gentlemen, I believe myself in safety." Soon after the king's arrival a dreadful cannonade, intermingled with reports of musquetry, was heard. All free de-

liberation was now lost; and the assembly, awed by the enraged multitude, declared "the executive power suspended, and that a national convention should meet on the twentieth of September." Thus fell prostrate at the feet of a licentious mob the tottering column of French monarchy!

All the French generals, except La Fayette, submitted to the decision of the assembly; and he, after having sounded the disposition of his troops, which he found unfavourable to his wishes, fled, to avoid being delivered up by them. But a hard fate awaited him; he was intercepted and delivered up to the king of Prussia, by whom he was put into rigorous confinement for the share he had taken in the revolution.

Fayette, at the head of his small army, had contrived to keep the allied armies at bay; but his flight having caused a great confusion, the Austrian general Clairfait advanced, and captured the important garrison of Longwy, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of the French commandant. Verdun, another strong place, soon after surrendered. Notwithstanding these disasters, and the recal of the English ambassador from France immediately after the deposition of the king, the French government did not hesitate to declare war against the king of Sardinia. Despair and rage pervaded France; and the populace, inflamed by Danton, the minister of justice, Robespierre, the leader of the Jacobins, and Marat, a seditious journalist, were preparing for one of the most horrid exploits that ever disgraced the annals of any country. It was no less than the massacre of all the unfortunate persons with whom the prisons were thronged who were suspected of loyalty. This carnage took place during the second and third days of September. The beautiful and accomplished princess de Lamballe, the friend and confidant of the queen, was amongst the victims. Her head was severed from the body (which was exposed in the most infamous manner), and, being fixed on a pike, was carried to the Temple, where the king and queen were confined, and exhibited before them. One thousand and eighty-five other persons were murdered; and the overawed assembly took no other measure to restrain these enormities than that of sending commissioners to persuade the mob to desist from them. On the seventeenth, the Garde Meuble was robbed of all its jewels and other valuable contents, to an immense amount of which no account has ever transpired.

An infamous motion was made by Jean Debry in the national assembly, to raise and pension one thousand two hundred assassins, for the express purpose of murdering the commanders of the allied armies, and the kings who were at war with France; but the assembly were not so far lost to virtue as to adopt it. However, on the twentieth of September, they decreed the "eternal abolition of royalty in France." The French army was not more than one half the number of that of the allies; and yet general Dumouriez took such an advantageous position in the forest of Argonne, where he was daily reinforced, whilst the army of the duke of Brunswick was hourly declining by sickness and famine, that the latter was obliged to begin his retreat on the first of October, and by the eighteenth he had completely evacuated France. Dumouriez followed, and forced the Austrian and Prussian entrenchments at Jemappe on the fifth of November. Mons, Tournay, Ostend, Ghent, and Antwerp, surrendered after this victory; and on the fourteenth he made his triumphal entry into Brussels. In other quarters the career of the French arms was successful. General Montesquieu was in possession of Chamberri, the capital of Savoy; general Anselm had taken the fortress of Montalban, and overrun the county of Nice; and on the banks of the Rhine general Custine had reduced the cities of Worms, Spire, Mentz, and Frankfort.

Frantic at these successes, the national assembly passed a decree on the nineteenth of November, by which they declared that the French nation would grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wished to procure liberty; and they charged the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who had suffered, or were then suffering, in the cause of liberty. This interference with the internal policy of all other governments, and daring stimulus to revolutionary revolt, added to two other decrees—the one for erecting Savoy into an eighty-fourth department of France, contrary to the constitution by which France renounced all foreign conquests; the other, for opening the navigation of the river Scheldt, which was a direct attack upon the United Provinces—opened the eyes of Europe to her ambitious and malignant views.

England was not behindhand in taking steps to defend herself

from this unprincipled attack. Associations were formed for the protection of liberty and property against republican levellers; and these salutary measures were followed by resolutions expressive of loyalty and attachment to king and constitution, and abhorrence of the new innovating system. Thus the bane of the corresponding societies of the friends of liberty, was more than expelled by the antidote of the loyal and constitutional associations!

As a necessary step to the embodying the militia, the parliament, which had been prorogued to the third of January, was summoned to meet on the previous thirteenth of December; and, at the opening of the session, his majesty's speech, after having adverted to the disregard which France had paid to neutral nations, and the views of conquest and aggrandisement she had lately disclosed, concluded with stating, that "under these circumstances, his majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force." The address on the king's speech passed both houses with very little opposition; and such was the sense of danger entertained by the members, that there was a very considerable defection from the opposers of government of persons of the highest consideration and most splendid talents—such as the prince of Wales, the duke of Portland, and lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer, and Loughborough, in the upper house; and Burke, Windham, Anstruther, and sir Gilbert Elliot, in the lower house. When the report was brought up, Mr. Fox moved, as an amendment, that they besought his majesty to employ every means of honourable negotiation, for the purpose of preventing a war with France; but the motion was negatived without a division.

Determined to persevere, Mr. Fox, on the fifteenth of December, moved "that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France." This motion shared the fate of its predecessor.

Notwithstanding the recal of the English ambassador from France, the French minister, M. Chauvelin, did not leave London. On the seventeenth of December he presented a memorial to lord Grenville, in which he states that the executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owed to the French

nation not to leave it in the state of suspense into which it had been thrown by the late measures of the British government, had authorised him to demand with openness whether France ought to consider Britain as a neutral or hostile power ; and to declare at the same time the desire of France to remain in peace with her. With respect to the decree of the nineteenth of November, M. Chauvelin denies the interpretation which had been put upon it, that the French republic would favour insurrection, or excite disturbance in any friendly or neutral country. He particularly declares that France would not attack Holland (the ally of Britain) so long as that power preserved her neutrality ; and he affirms that the navigation of the Scheldt is a question of too little importance to be made the sole cause of a war, and could only be made a pretext for premeditated aggression, of which he conjured the British ministry to consider the terrible responsibility. Lord Grenville, in his reply, declared he could not treat with M. Chauvelin under the quality of minister plenipotentiary of France, which title he had given himself in his note ; because, since the unhappy events of the tenth of August, the king had suspended all official communication with France : nevertheless, he will give his opinion on the contents of it as a private correspondence ; and, with all that openness which the French executive council desire, his lordship replies, that if France be really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with Britain she must shew herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments—without disturbing their tranquillity—without violating their rights.

As a clue to the motive of M. Chauvelin's lingering thus in England after the termination of all official communication, it will be only necessary to revert to the mistaken opinion which prevailed in France respecting the general state of the public mind in England. On the seventh of November, a paper, styled "An Address from several patriotic Societies in England," was presented at the bar of the national assembly, replete with scurrility and invective against the government and constitution of Britain ; of the whole of which the following quotation will serve as a specimen : " Degraded by an oppressive system of inquisition, the insensible, but continual, encroachments of which quickly depriv-

ed this nation of its boasted liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves—five thousand English citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that opprobrium which has been thrown on it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power. We see with concern that the elector of Hanover united his troops to those of traitors and robbers; but the king of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. Should he forget this, we will not forget it.” The president of the assembly replied to this traitorous, and really insignificant, address in the most complacent and exulting terms: “The sentiments of five thousand Britons,” he observed, devoted openly to the cause of freedom, existed without doubt in the hearts of all the freemen in England.” To add to this, copies of the address were sent to all the armies and departments of the republic. Such conduct could not fail to impress upon the British nation that they had not misinterpreted the decree of the nineteenth of November; and a memorial which was transmitted by the executive council in answer to lord Grenville’s letter to M. Chauvelin stamped this impression indelibly. “The council,” expresses this memorial, “repents that the decree of the nineteenth of November has been misunderstood, and that it is far from being intended to favour sedition—being merely applicable to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can never exist in an expression of the general will.” As to the free navigation of the Scheldt, the memorial states, that it is a question of absolute indifference to England—little interesting even to Holland—but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Westphalia, by which they were deprived of that right; but when that nation should find itself in full possession of its liberty, and should consent to deprive itself of the navigation of the Scheldt, France would not oppose it. As to the charge of aggrandisement, France has renounced, and still renounces, all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war. If these explanations appeared insufficient, France threw down, or affected to take up, the gauntlet. To this curious performance lord Grenville replied, that he found

nothing satisfactory in the result of it. Instead of reparation and retraction, nothing more was offered than an illusory negotiation, and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations of Britain still continued.

As the executive council of France thus openly avowed the intent of the decree of the nineteenth of November to be to assist and fraternise with any nation whose general will should be to overturn the established constitution, this construction, coupled with the president's observation on the address from the patriotic societies in England that the same sentiments existed in all the freemen in England, could leave no doubt of their believing the overthrow of the constitution to be the general will of the people of England, and of their readiness to assist and fraternise with them in such an undertaking. It was, therefore, highly proper in the British government not to suffer M. Chauvelin to remain in England to encourage such a general wish by hopes of assistance and fraternity, or even to witness its progress; so that, on the twenty-fourth of January, he was ordered to retire [1793.] from the kingdom within eight days. On the first of February a decree passed the national assembly, declaring the republic of France at war with the king of Great Britain and the stadtholder of Holland.

CHAP. LX.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE order for Chauvelin's quitting England, however wise and necessary a step, was not issued until the unhappy Louis had been brought to the scaffold; and such conduct of the British ministry certainly did not betray a wish to break with France so long as her democratic rulers kept within any bounds of moderation. But this unjust and inhuman measure was accompanied with such taunts as evinced, beyond all doubt, that their vengeance was not confined to their own late king, but was levelled at all crowned heads, and even at all the inferior degrees of honourable distinction. They denounced war against the chateau,

and avowed their determination to let the lowly cottage only rest in peace. The die was, therefore, cast; war was uppermost; and, as a detestation of republican barbarity and ferocity towards their sovereign pervaded all ranks in England, excepting only those who wished to fraternise with the French regicides, the decision was extremely popular.

The national convention of France had split into two parties, denominated the Mountain and the Girondists. The Mountain was by far the most numerous, ignorant, and consequently violent, party: the Girondists were mostly men of extraordinary talents, but perverted judgment; and, although the overthrow of monarchy was their avowed aim, and they would run all lengths to effect their purpose, yet they were not of that sanguinary complexion as to wish to shed blood uselessly. Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, were the heads of the former—Brissot, Condorcet, Petion, Vergniaux, Isnard, &c. of the latter party. The Parisian rabble were governed by the Mountain; as the latter were at first led by the Girondists, who used them as the instruments of overthrowing the monarchy. Having attained this end, the two parties began to struggle for the ascendancy. Nothing less than the death of the king would satisfy the Mountain; and the populace, who had now imbibed a thirst for blood and a taste for sanguinary exhibitions, were easily pushed on by them to demand that he should be brought to a public trial. The Girondists were alarmed at a step which must necessarily bring the vengeance of Europe upon them; but they dared not openly avow their opposition to the popular phrensy. The grounds of accusation against the king were, that he had betrayed his country and conspired with the enemies of France. The charges consisted of two heads: the first accused him of crimes committed before his acceptance of the constitution; the second, of those posterior to it. To the first accusation the king replied, that the power vested in him authorised his conduct at the time, and could not now be adduced against him; the acts alleged against him by the second accusation he showed to be either agreeable to his constitutional powers, or he denied them. The evidence consisted of answers extorted from him by dint of interrogatories and of papers said to have been written under his sanction. Weak and frivolous as such evidence must be, the unfortunate king, who principally

conducted his own defence with great fortitude and ability, was found guilty. Before judgment was passed, some of the members of the convention, who wished to prevent the commission of regicide, proposed an appeal to the sense of the people, alleging that they, their constituents, had only delegated to the convention a legislative power, and not the power of trying causes. This scheme was, however, outvoted by a majority of four hundred and twenty-four against two hundred and eighty-three. It was then contended by the moderate party that the king should be confined or banished: the violent party were for his suffering death, and the latter carried it by a majority of only five out of more than seven hundred. This unjust sentence was pronounced on the twentieth of January at midnight. It was announced to the king at two o'clock on the twenty-first; and, as it was resolved to put it in execution on the following day, the royal victim had no longer time for preparation for this awful event. The king made only two requests—an interview with his family, and the attendance of a clergyman at the place of execution. These requests his hardened and atheistical murderers granted. Louis betrayed nothing like weakness or pusillanimity when he saw himself surrounded by his wretched and weeping family; on that as on every other occasion since the wonderful change of his fortune he shewed symptoms of a strong and firm mind, which if displayed at an early period would, perhaps, have averted his ignominious death, and have rendered him the admiration of the fickle French. The royal family expected a final interview on the day of execution, but Louis resolved not to put their feelings to such another severe trial. His behaviour in the last trying scene was worthy of a hero. On the scaffold he attempted to harangue the people, and with a steady voice he pronounced as follows: “Frenchmen, I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me, and I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed.” The inhuman monster who presided at this bloody *fête*, named Santerre, dreading lest this pathetic appeal should excite emotions of pity, even in a Parisian mob, ordered the drums to beat, in order to drown the king’s voice, and bade the executioner do his office instantly. Some of the most hardened miscreants

shouted out *Vive la république!* as the bleeding head was exhibited to them; but by far the greater part appeared struck dumb with horror and stung with remorse. His remains were thrown into a hole previously filled with quick lime, to destroy them soon.

Thus perished the unfortunate Louis: an awful monument of popular versatility, which murders what it once adored; and a singular instance of the correctness with which Voltaire drew the portrait of his countrymen, when he described them as being either monkeys or tygers.

During the farce of this shadow of a trial, the French executive council thought proper to demand the recognition of its authority by Britain; and whether or not it might have been acceded to if the king's life had been saved, is problematical; but his dreadful catastrophe put an end to all hesitation on the subject.

The expediency of a war with France on this occasion was denied by the party in opposition to the ministry, and future events appear to have justified their opinion; the question, however, still remains undecided, as the war, to which it gave birth, may be said to exist at this moment, although circumstances have entirely changed its principles. Mr. Burke, who, on this question, separated from his antient friends, the opposition, vindicated the war as necessary against the enemies of religion, morality, and property, threatening their destruction throughout the world. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, although he acknowledged the criminality of the French in their confiscations and massacres, yet he alleged that the crimes committed in an independent state were not cognisable, nor, of course, punishable, in and by another. It had, he said, been asked—"But with whom are we to treat?" He would answer, that he was of opinion that we ought to treat with the ruling powers of France, because they were the ruling powers. During the debates on this important question, party spirit gave vent to itself in the most malignant and illiberal shape; but the eloquence of Mr. Burke, coinciding with the popular opinion, seemed to sweep away all opposition both in and out of parliament. The rage for war became pretty nearly general, and Britain answered the declaration of France by a counter-declaration in the month of February.

France had no sooner resolved upon war than Dumouriez hastened to put in execution a plan he had digested, of penetrat-

ing into the very centre of the United Provinces. He expected to be joined by the democratic party, which, notwithstanding the restoration of the stadtholder, were daily increasing in numbers and confidence, from the success of the insurgents in the Netherlands, and the hopes they entertained of support from the French. Dumouriez maintained a close correspondence with the disaffected Dutch as well as the Netherlanders. The former advised an irruption into Zealand; but Dumouriez, as he informs us in his *Memoirs*, since published by himself, thought it more adviseable to advance with a body of troops posted at the Moerdyke, and, masking Breda and Gertruydenberg on the right, and Bergen-op-Zoom, Klundert, and Williamstadt, on the left, to effect a passage over an arm of the sea to Dordt, and thus penetrate at once into the very heart of Holland. He therefore assembled his army with the greatest expedition, in order to anticipate the arrival of succours from England, and entered the Dutch territory on the seventeenth of February. On the twenty-fourth, Breda surrendered; on the twenty-sixth, Klundert followed its example, as also Gertruydenburg on the fourth of March. Dumouriez then invested Williamstadt, whilst general Miranda blockaded Maestricht; and an army of twenty thousand men encamped at Herve, under the command of general Valence, covered these operations. They were soon interrupted, however, by the Austrian army under general Clairfait, which, crossing the Roer on the night of the first of March, compelled the French to retreat to Alderhaven with the loss of two thousand men. On the third, the prince of Saxe Cobourg drove the French from Aix-la-Chapelle back upon Liege, with the loss of four thousand killed, one thousand prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon. This latter defeat compelled Miranda to raise the siege of Maestricht, and, joining Valence, both armies made a retrograde motion to Tirlémont.

Dumouriez now left the conduct of the siege of Williamstadt to general de Flers, and hastened to retrieve affairs in the east. The Prussians advanced by Bois-le-duc, and a corps of twelve thousand Hessians and five thousand British, under the command of the duke of York, the king of England's second son, having thrown themselves into Williamstadt, general de Flers was obliged to raise the siege and throw himself into Breda, whilst the main body of the army retreated to Antwerp.

The Austrians met it at Neerwinden. Dumouriez attacked them, but was discomfited with great loss. The Austrians pursued him within the confines of France; and Dumouriez, knowing the reception which the jealous and suspicious convention were preparing for a vanquished general, resolved to make his peace with the allies by offering to march his army against Paris and effect a counter-revolution. He conferred on this subject with the Austrian colonel Mack, who was sent to him for the purpose, and with whom he agreed that the Imperial troops were to be considered as auxiliaries only, and were not to pass the frontiers of France unless Dumouriez should find himself compelled to require their aid.

The executive power of France suspected the intentions of Dumouriez, and sent three commissioners for the avowed purpose of consulting him respecting the affairs of Belgium, but in reality to sound him. Dumouriez did not attempt to conceal his design of effecting a counter-revolution, and, on the return of the commissioners, four others were dispatched to summon him to attend at the bar of the convention, and M. Bournonville was appointed his successor. Dumouriez seized the latter commissioners, and had them conveyed to Clairfait's head-quarters, to be kept as hostages for the royal family. He then harangued the army; but finding them dissatisfied with his seizure of the commissioners, he thought it advisable to consult his own safety, and accordingly he fled to the Austrian head-quarters with general Lamorlière, the duke de Chartres, son of the duke d'Orleans, and a few private soldiers. From thence he issued a proclamation, recapitulating his services to the public—recounting the mischiefs to be dreaded from a continuation of anarchy in France—exhorting the French to restore the constitution of 1791, and swearing not to lay down arms till that restoration should be accomplished. The prince of Saxe Cobourg at the same time issued a manifesto, importing that the allied powers were not principals, but merely auxiliaries, cooperating with Dumouriez to give to France her constitutional king and the constitution she had formed for herself, and pledging himself that he would not enter France for the sake of conquest, but for that purpose only.

If this wise and magnanimous resolution had been adhered to, the affairs of France would probably have been settled; but the

French having been driven from all their conquests, and other powers consenting to join the allies, the prince was compelled to issue a second manifesto absolutely rescinding the first. Dumouriez then declared he could not with honour serve against France, and retired with a passport to Germany.

Let us now take a momentary view of the deliberation of the British parliament, to which a royal message announced, on the eleventh of February, the declaration of war by France, and expressed his majesty's confident reliance on the firm and effectual support of a brave and loyal people in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a system which strikes at the security and peace of all independent nations, and is pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. It concluded by stating, that, in a cause of such general concern, his majesty had every reason to hope for the cordial cooperation of those powers who were united with him by the ties of alliance, or who felt an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe. The address on this message was moved by Mr. Pitt, and supported by Mr. Burke; Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan opposed it, but it was carried without a division. On the eighteenth of February Mr. Fox moved a string of resolutions tending to throw an obloquy on the war, and asserting that it was the duty of ministers to advise his majesty to refrain from any engagements with other powers which might prevent Britain from making a separate peace; but this motion was negatived by two hundred and seventy against forty-four. Mr. Sheridan, on the fourth of March, moved, that an enquiry be made into the increase of sedition in Great Britain alluded to in a part of his majesty's speech. This motion was also negatived by a numerous majority, as was the renewal of a motion for a parliamentary reform made by Mr. Grey; the latter was rejected chiefly on the ground of its being brought forward at an unseasonable time.

A subject of great commercial interest—the renewal of the East India company's charter, which was on the eve of expiration—also came on the tapis. It was hoped by the friends of free commerce that this hydra of monopoly would be exterminat-

ed ; but Mr. Dundas exhibited so laboured and varnished an account of the prosperous state of the company's finances, and of the benefit derived to Britain from the export of its manufactures, that its existence was prolonged for twenty years. The state of agriculture, in this kingdom and in Scotland, was also taken into consideration, on the motion of sir John Sinclair, a practical agriculturist ; and an address to the king was voted, praying him to take into consideration the advantages which might accrue from an institution for general information as to an amendment of the present system. The king was in favour of the measure, and the commons voted the sums necessary for its establishment. These were the chief public labours of this session, which closed on the twenty-first of June.

To return to the campaign on the continent. France was in a dangerous situation ; Prussia, Spain, Sardinia, and the Sicilies, had joined the allies : her principal army, by ill success and the defection of Dumouriez, had been disheartened and disorganised ; and an internal commotion had broken out in La Vendée and La Loire. Accumulated distresses begot fresh energy. General Dampierre, who had resisted the orders of Dumouriez for marching to Paris, was regarded by the convention as the most trusty person to succeed him. He re-organised the army, and formed the design of driving the allies from their post at Kieverain, where they blockaded Condé, and threatened Valenciennes and even Maubeuge. On the first of May he attacked the Austrian lines, but was repulsed with the loss of one thousand men. He next assaulted those of the Prussians, and was again obliged to retreat, leaving double that number on the field of battle. The Prussians were soon after joined by the English, under the duke of York ; and the French advancing to the wood of Vicoigne, the British were ordered to attack their left wing, consisting of nearly double their number, protected by strong batteries. The English, after one discharge of musketry, rushed on with fixed bayonets ; and the French, finding themselves unable to resist this sort of attack, had recourse to their artillery, and made great havoc among them. The English still maintained their ground, and, general Dampierre being at length mortally wounded, the French retreated within the lines, and never afterwards ventured on offensive operations. In order to open the road to Valenciennes,

which was covered by the French camp, a general assault was resolved on by the allies, and executed on the twenty-third of May; when the French were compelled to quit their camp and retreat towards Bouchain and Cambray, leaving Valenciennes to its fate. It surrendered, after an obstinate resistance, to the British and Austrians. Condé, about the same time, capitulated to the prince of Wirtemberg; as did Mentz, after a long siege, to the arms of Prussia.

This may be said to have been the *ne plus ultra* of the success of the allies during this campaign, which so intimidated the French, that some overtures were made to Britain for a separate pacification with her; but they were transmitted in so singular and unofficial a way, through the medium of an English notary public who delivered them to lord Grenville, that no notice whatever was taken of them. In addition to the danger which threatened France from without, she was internally racked by the dissensions of the Mountain and the Girondists. The former denounced the latter to the Parisian populace as having endeavoured to preserve the king, and being the protectors of Dumouriez. The Mountain, terribly atrocious, and as resolute as their opponents were otherwise, succeeded in establishing the revolutionary tribunal, consisting only of six judges, whose powers were inquisitorial and uncontrollable. The Girondists saw that this tribunal was a thunderbolt levelled at their own heads, which, whilst they were weakly wasting time in deliberating how to avoid it, fell and destroyed them. On the thirty-first of May the tocsin was sounded, the barriers shut (the signal for bloody commotion!) and the leaders of the Girondists were seized. Robespierre, Danton, and Marat, became the supreme rulers of France by means of exciting terror and apprehension, and a new constitution was hastily formed. Those of the Girondists who escaped fled to the provincial departments and succeeded in raising commotions, principally in Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon; the latter of which towns surrendered to lord Hood, the British naval commander in the Mediterranean, who took possession of it and also of the shipping in the harbour, in the name of Louis the Seventeenth.

The infuriate rulers of France now made the measure of national iniquity run over, by abolishing Christianity and abjuring

formally the Supreme Being. They seized whatever property they chose, under pretext of the necessities of the state; and they assassinated those whom they plundered, as being traitors to it. The bloody scroll of the Frenchman, Robespierre, reduced the proscription of the Roman Sylla almost to nothing.

Under all the carnage of that relentless tyrant Robespierre the French abjectly crouched, and yet they were so unanimous in opposing the control of foreign invaders, that they readily acquiesced in a scheme of rising *en masse*, and thus baffling all former calculations on the chances of war by multitude and incessant action. An immense force was speedily collected, and conveyed in the most expeditious manner to every point. Some were sent to Vendée; others to Marseilles, which made little resistance; and to Lyons, which made a noble defence, but was at length obliged to yield, and became the scene of massacres too horrid to detail. One body proceeded towards Toulon, where they encountered some resistance from the British, and the Spaniards who there acted in conjunction with them; but the immense mass of French, who were approaching that place in all directions, rendered a speedy evacuation necessary. The greatest part of the shipping which could not be brought away, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels—the flower of the navy of France—and all the immense collection of naval and military stores, were destroyed by a British detachment under the superintendence and command of sir Sidney Smith.

Whilst these operations were going on to the southward, the immense force which the levy in mass had produced enabled the French to change the face of things to the northward. After the reduction of Valenciennes, they had been driven out of the strong position which they held behind the Scheldt, denominated Cæsar's camp. Here, fortunately for the French, it was resolved that the British, Dutch, and Hanoverians, should separate from the Austrians and march coastwise to invest Dunkirk, which was a thorn in the side of Britain, from the numbers of privateers it fitted out to commit depredations on her commerce. On the eighteenth of August the British army, led by the duke of York, reached Menin, in the neighbourhood of which some sharp fighting took place; particularly at the post of Lincelles, which the

Dutch, headed by the hereditary prince of Orange, attacked in vain; but the British, under general sir John Lake, carried it at once with fixed bayonets.

The siege of Dunkirk ensued, and general Freytag, with a body of auxiliaries, covered the besiegers. A naval armament, expected from England to cooperate on the sea side, was unaccountably delayed; whilst the French, more alert in saving a place of so much importance than the British were in wresting it from them, came in such numbers, that the besieged were reinforced by twelve thousand men. On the sixth of September, general Freytag was attacked by an immense body of the levy in mass, which had also suddenly been collected by general Houchard and mixed with the veterans. After a vigorous resistance, Freytag was compelled, by dint of numbers attacking him at all points and in rapid succession, to retreat precipitately. The general himself and prince Adolphus, youngest son of the king of Great Britain, were at one time in the hands of the enemy, but they were soon rescued. This defeat rendered it necessary for the duke of York to raise the siege of Dunkirk, and leave behind him all his train of battering artillery. His retreat before such a multitude of enemies as hovered round him was skilfully conducted, and without any material loss; which was regarded as so improbable a thing by the jealous republicans, that Houchard was denounced and executed for not having captured the whole of the British army. General Custine underwent the same fate, for not having attempted to relieve Valenciennes.

Soon after the capture of Quesnoy, the duke of York rejoined the Austrians, and Landen was invested. The French army which covered that important fortress was attacked at Weissemburg, and driven back; leaving the towns of Lauterburg and Weissemburg, and the forts of Haguenau and Vauban, to fall into the hands of the allies. The convention now ordered a vast reinforcement of the levy in mass to march to the Rhine, and gave a third specimen of what their unsuccessful generals had to expect, by ordering general Iremberg, who commanded at Weissemburg, to be shot at the head of the army. The French army, then commanded by generals Hoche and Pichegru, attacked; and were opposed by the Austrians, under general Wurmser, with equal skill and intrepidity: but the Austrian commander was necessita-

ted to give way to numbers and fall back behind the Rhine, whilst the duke of Brunswick, with the Prussians, retired to cover Mentz. The siege of Landau was raised ; and Keyserlautern, Germesheim, and Spires, fell again into the hands of the French. The amazing efforts of the convention had, moreover, extinguished the flames of rebellion in La Vendée with such expedition, that a considerable armament, which the British government had dispatched under the command of the earl of Moira, did not arrive till the royalists were crushed and slaughtered with the most savage brutality after they had been disarmed.

Whilst the French were thus gaining ground, the bands of the confederates were loosening by jealousy, mistrust, and views of separate aggrandisement. Prussia could hope for no accession of territory from the dismemberment of France, no part of which lay contiguous to her own states ; and she had turned her eyes towards Poland, which presented many desirable objects to her view. Russia, seeing Austria engaged in a war with France, which gave her full employment, had forcibly destroyed the constitution of devoted Poland, and had proposed to Prussia to receive the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, with Great Poland, as her share of the booty ; or, in proper terms, as a *douceur* for winking at this robbery, whilst Russia was to have nearly half the remainder. Prussia was, therefore, more intent on securing the Polish spoils than on furthering the views of the confederates towards France.

The Robespierrean faction no sooner saw themselves freed from the pressure of foreign enemies than they began to turn their thoughts to new scenes of carnage, which they deemed necessary to cement their power with blood. On the first of August the unfortunate queen was removed to the Conciergerie amongst the vilest malefactors, and from thence, on the fifteenth of October, she was brought before the revolutionary tribunal to take her trial, or, more properly speaking, to hear her condemnation. The charges against her were : that she had deranged the finances by remitting considerable sums to her brother, the emperor Joseph, for the purpose of effecting a counter-revolution ;—that she had promoted the flight of the royal family in 1791 ;—that she had induced the king to withhold his sanction from the decrees concerning emigrants and refractory priests ;—that, in conjunc-

tion with the Girondists, she had driven France into a war with Austria, and had caused the massacre of the tenth of August. To crown the whole, there was an infamous accusation of incest with her own son, then only eight years old. The queen answered all these charges with a dignified serenity ; and, respecting the last, she made an affecting appeal to those who were mothers whether there could exist a possibility of such a crime. She was, however, found guilty of all the charges, and sentenced to suffer death on the following day. To degrade her to the utmost, the fallen queen was conveyed to the place of execution in a cart, like the commonest and worst of malefactors ; but she appeared superior to the malignity of her persecutors, and suffered with a decent fortitude and composure. Her remains were interred in the same churchyard in which those of her late husband had been deposited, in a grave filled with quick lime.

The next objects of vengeance were the Girondists, who were soon after arraigned on many charges, all concentrating in a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. Brissot and twenty others were found guilty, and executed on the day after the trial. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, who had republicanised himself and assumed the contemptible appellation of Philip Egalité, was included in this proscription, as was also the accomplished and learned madame Roland, who fell a victim to her husband's attachment to the Girondists.

Robespierre was adored by the Parisians, and, as if to prevent their opening their eyes to the deformity of their idol, he resolved to eradicate every remain of religion and morality from France. On the seventh of November, the bishop of Paris and the other members of that ecclesiastical body formally resigned their functions, and contemptuously renounced Christianity. The churches were shut up ; the allegorical divinities, liberty, equality, &c. were consecrated, and a naked prostitute was enthroned in the bishop's stall of the cathedral Notre Dame as the goddess of nature and reason. The old calendar was abolished, and a new pagan system substituted, in which Sunday was not observed, but every decade or tenth day was allotted as a day of rest.

Every enterprise of the British on their own element, the ocean, had been attended with success. The French West India island of Tobago was taken ; several settlements in St. Domin-

go, which, by the enfranchising the people of colour, had been convulsed and deluged with blood, surrendered to the British; as did the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Pondicherry and all the other French East Indian settlements on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar were also subdued.

The English and Irish legislatures were chiefly employed in their endeavours to prevent unlawful assemblies for the dissemination of revolutionary doctrines. In Ireland, a society, distinguished by the appellation of "The united Irish," was established, with the ostensible view of procuring catholic emancipation and a reform of parliament; but the legislature, suspecting them of more pernicious principles, passed a bill to restrain them, entitled the convention bill. In Scotland, messieurs Muir and Palmer were tried for sedition in distributing Paine's and other inflammatory works, and preaching and uttering seditious doctrines; and they were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for the space of fourteen years. This sentence caused much diversity of opinion in Scotland; many, and amongst them some able lawyers, doubted its legality, because the punishment annexed to the crime of sedition by the law of Scotland was outlawry, and not transportation; therefore they alleged that the judges could only banish them from Scotland, but not order their conveyance to any other place beyond the seas. Others thought the sentence would have a beneficial and wholesome tendency.

Faction is certainly not to be subdued by lenient measures. Another club started up at Edinburgh, styling themselves the "Scotch convention of delegates" for obtaining annual parliaments and universal suffrage. This insignificant society adopted the French phraseology of citizenizing each other, and of dividing themselves into sections and granting the honour of sittings; but one of their sittings was interrupted by the civil power, and Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, three of the leading members, were tried, and received a sentence similar to that of Muir and Palmer.

[1794.] The English parliament opened their session on the twenty-first of January. The king's speech declared the circumstances under which they had assembled to require the most serious attention. "We are," observed his majesty, "engaged in a contest, on the issue of which depend the mainte-

nance of our constitution, laws, and religion, and the security of all civil society. The circumstances by which the further progress of the allies has been hitherto impeded not only prove the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but, at the same time, confirm the expectation of ultimate success."—It is somewhat remarkable, that the very same expectation and language were held out during the American war. The debates on the address were animated, and the members were divided into three parties. The minister and his adherents professed that the object of the war was the security of Britain and general tranquillity : Mr. Burke and his party were for war until monarchy was restored in France, without which, as they asserted, there could be no safety for Britain : Mr. Fox and his friends thought the war impolitic in its commencement, and that a continuance of it would only drive France to such desperate efforts as the levy in mass, and others still more extraordinary. As ministers had professed that the restoration of monarchy was not their object, we were fighting, they said, without an object. The question was carried by a very great majority.

The legality of the sentence of the court of justiciary in Scotland on Muir and other members of the convention was brought forward by Mr. Adam, who proposed to introduce a bill for allowing an appeal to the lords of parliament from the justiciary and circuit courts of Scotland in legal matters, and another to assimilate the criminal code of England and Scotland ; but the question was lost.

The example made of the Scotch innovators did not deter those of the same cast in England. A second royal message was sent to the commons, importing that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London in correspondence with other societies, for the avowed purpose of assembling a pretended national convention, on principles subversive of the constitution ; that his majesty had ordered their papers to be seized and laid before them, that they might pursue such measures as might be necessary to prevent their pernicious tendency. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, and secretary of the London corresponding society ; Daniel Adams, secretary to the society for constitutional information ; and some of a more respectable rank, such as Mr. Joyce, chaplain to lord Stanhope, Mr. Kydd, a barrister, and the

celebrated John Horne Tooke, were apprehended : but these and others were afterwards pronounced innocent by a jury at the sessions-house of the Old Bailey.

The papers were referred to a secret committee, and, on the sixteenth of March, the first report being brought up and read to the house, Mr. Pitt inferred from it the certainty of the existence of a most dangerous conspiracy, and moved for leave to bring in a bill empowering his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government. Mr. Fox declared that the report had disclosed no other facts than those which, for two years preceding, might have been read in every newspaper. The law officers of the crown should have prosecuted the authors of the treasonable writings and acts reported to the house, and not so alarming a sacrifice as the suspension of the habeas corpus act have been demanded from them. The danger was, he believed, imaginary ; but, if any existed, the old laws established by the constitution were fully adequate to the occasion. The bill passed, notwithstanding it encountered a violent opposition in every stage.

The parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July, and immediately afterwards some alterations took place in the administration to make room for the whigs, who, in the present state of alarm, had seceded from the opposition. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared lord president of the council, and soon after raised to the viceroyalty of Ireland ; earl Spencer was made lord privy seal ; the duke of Portland, third secretary of state ; and Mr. Windham, secretary at war. The admiralty was also soon after confided to lord Spencer ; and lord Chatham, who had occupied that department, succeeded him as lord privy seal.

The opening of the campaign of 1794 was marked by a want of unanimity among the allies. The duke of Brunswick, in a letter to the king of Prussia, announced the resignation of his command, on account of that want of connection, and the distrust which had disconcerted the measures of the two last campaigns ; but it is more than probable that the king had previously determined to detach himself from the confederacy, as he soon after effectually did, by withdrawing his troops. This secession he attempted to justify by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, stating the incredible efforts he had made to oppose France, almost

unconquerable, and that the sacrifice he had made to the common cause was above the natural strength of Prussia, and such as he could no longer continue on his own means without ruining his dominions and exhausting the property of his subjects.

This broad hint of a subsidy was successful, and Britain agreed to pay nearly two millions sterling for an army of sixty-two thousand men, to be commanded by a Prussian officer. In March, the duke of York arrived on the continent to take the command of the English army; but it having been proposed that general Clairfait should command the auxiliaries and the duke serve under him, the latter rejected the proposal, and it was, at length, determined that the emperor, in person, should take the command of the army. In April, the emperor arrived at Brussels, and was inaugurated duke of Brabant with much "circumstance and pomp." From thence he proceeded to Valenciennes, where he reviewed the combined forces previously to the recommencement of hostilities, the preparations for which were immense on both sides. The French had no less than seven hundred and eighty thousand men, without having recourse to the class of the second requisition; and the combined forces, not reckoning those of Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, amounted to three hundred and fifty-six thousand.

The confederates advanced to invest Landreci in eight columns. The French army under general Pichegru was encamped near Cambray, from whence they were driven by general Otto. On the day after this affair, Pichegru renewed his attack, which was preconcerted to extend the whole length of the line from Treves to the sea. The French were for the most part repulsed, particularly in their attacks on the British army and the right wing of the confederates; but in that on the left wing they succeeded by superior force, and took possession of Courtray and Menin. Their efforts to save Landreci were however ineffectual, as it surrendered after an investment of ten days.

The system adopted by Pichegru was to keep his immense host in one mass, and, by incessant attacks on partial parts of the allies, to weary and cut them off in detail. The motions of the allies were peculiarly favourable to this system, as they divided themselves into three distinct armies soon after the capture of Landreci. The main body, commanded by the prince of Co-

bourg, under the eye of the emperor, was posted near the Sambre; the duke of York, with the British forces, was posted at Tournay; and general Clairfait, with the remainder, occupied West Flanders. Jourdain, who commanded the army of the Rhine, where he had compelled general Beaulieu to evacuate the duchy of Luxembourg and to fall back to Namur, passed the Sambre about the middle of June, and laid siege to Charleroi. Prince Cobourg marched to its relief and attacked Jourdain, who was strongly encamped at Fleurus. The Austrians were defeated, and driven to Hulle, thirty miles distant from the field of battle; and Charleroi and Brussels fell into the hands of the French.

Clairfait was no less unsuccessful in West Flanders. Ypres, the key of the province, was besieged by general Moreau and an army of fifty thousand men. Clairfait marched to its relief, and attacked the French with some success at first; but he was opposed by an innumerable host of fresh foes, and compelled to retire to Ghent, leaving West Flanders at the mercy of Pichegru. From these defeats of Cobourg and Clairfait, the position of the duke of York became excessively dangerous, as he was hemmed in on all sides by victorious multitudes. He determined to extricate himself from impending danger by retreating to Antwerp.

Lord Moira had been sent from Britain with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, but, on his arrival at Ostend, finding West Flanders lost and no alternative for him but to defend Ostend or join the duke of York, he resolved on and executed the latter with consummate dispatch and ability, forcing his way through the enemy without either tents or baggage. Ostend, being thus evacuated by the British, fell, together with Tournay and Ghent, into the hands of the French.

After the defeat at Fleurus, Mons, Oudenard, Nieuport, and Mechlin, surrendered to the French, and Antwerp was esteemed a place of no safety. The stadtholder solicited a levy of one man in ten throughout the provinces; but disaffection prevailed, and betokened a speedy revolution in the provinces rather than a wish to defend them. In July, general Kleber advanced towards Louvain, and attacked and defeated Clairfait in his famous entrenchment called *Montagne de Fer*. The intention of the allies to form a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was defeated

by these rapid and successful movements of the French. Namur, Antwerp, Liege, and the fortresses of Lisle and Sluys, surrendered to the French; and the allies, in the end, totally evacuated the Netherlands.

The British army, scarcely twenty-five thousand men, retreated to Breda, where it was at first resolved to make a stand; but they afterwards retired to Bois le Duc, whither Pichegru advanced rapidly with eighty thousand men. The republicans attacked the posts on the Dommel and the village of Boxtel, which were gallantly defended by the British, but could not be maintained against so vast a superiority of numbers. The duke therefore crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave.

Similar success attended the republicans on the Rhine, where the Prussian army was very inferior to what was promised by the subsidiary treaty. The Prussian general Mullendorf, to keep up the appearance of cooperation, attacked the French at Keyerslautern, and defeated them; but the Prussians were attacked in turn by general Desaix, and their important post on the Platonberg, the highest mountain of the territory of Deux Ponts, was carried. The French then attacked the whole chain of posts from Nieustadt to the Rhine, and compelled the Austrians and Prussians to retreat with the greatest precipitancy; the former across the Rhine, and the latter towards Mentz. Keyerslautern again fell into the hands of the French, as did the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves.

General Clairfait, after evacuating the Netherlands, marched to Juliers, leaving general Latour to cover Maestricht. Jourdain advanced against Latour, and attacked him on the eighteenth of September. The Austrians were totally defeated and dispersed, and the French marched forwards to attack Clairfait. That general defended himself with the utmost bravery; but, after losing nearly ten thousand men in four successive attacks, he was obliged to cross the Rhine, leaving Juliers, and, in short, the whole of the left bank, to the republicans.

Pichegru was pushing on towards Holland, and, in the beginning of October, he invested and captured Bois le Duc. On the twentieth a sharp action ensued between the British and French, and the former were obliged to cross the Waal to Nimeguen.

The host of France closely following them, the British were again obliged to retreat from Nimeguen.

The siege of Maestricht was at this time carrying on by the army commanded by general Kleber ; and, after a furious cannonade and bombardment, which destroyed more than two thousand buildings, the city capitulated.

Pichegru now gave his army some rest, but it was only preparatory to still greater fatigues, such as are seldom known even in a military profession. He waited only till the frost should set in to make a winter campaign. The frost was unusually severe, and the Maese and the Waal were no sooner closed over than he crossed the former of these rivers. The prince of Orange and duke of York had, in the interval of repose, endeavoured to rouse the Dutch from their torpidity ; but the greatest part of them were favourably disposed towards the French, and the rest thought opposition would be useless. The duke of York, thinking all further endeavours to save those who did not care for their own salvation would be unavailing, resigned the command to general Walmoden, and returned to England.

After his departure, an attempt was made to drive the French back to the other side of the Waal. The battalions of British infantry and six squadrons of light cavalry, commanded by major-general Dundas, and some Hessians, amounting in all to about six thousand five hundred foot and one thousand horse, advanced to the attack on the thirtieth of December, and drove the republicans across the river with fixed bayonets. But this success was of little avail. The French soon recrossed the river, to the number of seventy thousand men, and the English were compelled to make a hasty retreat towards Amersfort and Deventer. In their march they suffered the most incredible hardships, exposed to the intense severity of the winter, the drifting snow, the sleet and rain, without tents, without medicines, and frequently without provisions. To add to these sufferings, they were fated to experience a series of inhumanity from those whom they came to assist, and whose battles they had been fighting. The stadtholder and his family, with great difficulty and danger, escaped from the Hague in an open boat, and sought an asylum in England. The United Provinces surrendered to Pichegru, who, on the day after the stadtholder's escape, entered Amsterdam in triumph.

As the French possessed all the country between the British army and the coast, they were obliged to retreat by a circuitous rout towards the north of Germany, and, after making a gallant stand in several places against three times their numbers, and marching, during the partial thaws, up to their middles in torrents of drifting ice, mud, and water, they reached Bremen, from whence they embarked for England.

Thus ended the British expedition to the continent, by a campaign far more disastrous than any which had occurred during the American war; and yet, as in that, wherever England acted alone, and on her own proper element, she was almost uniformly victorious. The West India armament, under sir Charles Grey and sir John Jervis, attacked Martinique, which surrendered after a gallant resistance of several weeks. St. Lucie followed its example; as did Guadaloupe, after a short, but brave, defence. The latter island was, indeed, recaptured by the French, and an attempt made by sir Charles Grey to regain it was unsuccessful. In the Mediterranean, the island of Corsica was annexed to the British crown by an armament commanded by lord Hood, and by the unanimous vote of the representatives of the Corsican nation.

The French, who had avoided the English on the ocean, were, in the month of May, alarmed for the fate of a most valuable fleet of ships from America, which lord Howe, with a British fleet of twenty-six ships of the line, was cruising off Brest to intercept. Rear-admiral Montague was also cruising further out to sea with a detachment of six ships of the line for the same purpose. The French fleet, consisting of twenty-seven ships of the line, under the command of rear-admiral Villaret, and having Jean Bon St. André, the representative of the people, on board, was ordered out of Brest to convoy the American fleet into port. Lord Howe would have formed a junction with Montague so soon as he received intelligence of the French having put to sea and in what force, but hearing again that the hostile fleet was only a few leagues to westward, he determined to lose no time in attacking it. On the twenty-eighth of May, the French fleet was discovered at a distance on the weather-bow. It bore down on the British fleet without order; but, as if recollecting that they had a formidable enemy to cope with, they stopped at some distance to form in a regular line. Lord Hugh Seymour, in the *Leviathan*, attacked

the Revolutionnaire of one hundred and twenty guns, which had backed sail and fallen in the rear of the French fleet; until, having his top-mast disabled, captain Parker, in the Audacious, renewed the attack, and the Revolutionnaire struck, but escaped during the night by being towed into Rochefort.

The two fleets kept sight of each other during the night, and the next day a severe action commenced, and terminated without any advantage to either side. A thick fog kept them from action during the two following days; but lord Howe having by his manœuvres gained the weathergage, brought the enemy to close action on the first of June. The French fleet, after the departure of the Revolutionnaire, consisted of twenty-six ships; and the British, by the separation of the Audacious, which had been crippled in the engagement with the Revolutionnaire, amounted to twenty-five sail. The action was maintained with desperate resolution, and the first advantage was on the side of the English, by sinking the Vengeur, a French seventy-four-gun ship; the crew of which, when their lower tier was under water, continued to fire the upper one, and went down with shouts of "Vive la république!"

The French admiral, soon after, finding his station too hot for him, crowded canvass and made off, followed by such ships as could carry sail. The British ships were so disabled, that they could not prevent some of the French ships from getting away under only a sprit-sail, or rag of canvass rigged on the stump of a foremast. Le Juste, of eighty guns; Le Sans Pareille, of eighty; L'Amerique, of seventy-four; L'Achille, of seventy-four; L'Impetueux, of seventy-four; and the Northumberland, of seventy-four; were, however, taken and brought safe to Portsmouth. The loss of men on board the French fleet must have been prodigious, since only in those ships which were captured six hundred and ninety had been killed; five hundred and eighty remained on board wounded, and three hundred and twenty are computed to have sunk with the Vengeur. The British loss was returned at two hundred and seventy-two killed, and seven hundred and eighty-seven wounded.

It was some consolation to the French, under this severe defeat, that the American convoy, valued at five millions sterling in provisions and naval stores, arrived in port some few days after the engagement.

CHAP. LXI.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE Mountain had no sooner ridden themselves of the Girondists, than a new faction, headed by Hebert, and denominated the Cordeliers, from their holding their sittings in the convent of the Cordeliers, sprang up. These latter renounced all religion, and preached up equality, a community of property, and an agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the Rights of Man in the hall of the Cordeliers was covered with a black crape, and Hebert affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was enough to rouse the never-sleeping jealousy of Robespierre, and to bring the chiefs of the Cordeliers to the scaffold. On the twenty-fifth, Hebert and nineteen others were brought before the revolutionary tribunal on a charge of conspiring against the constitution, and condemned and executed.

This bloody farce was played off with so much popular applause, that another set of pretended traitors were soon afterwards brought forward, who, to the astonishment of all, had not only never had any connection with the Cordeliers, but had been much abused by them. These were Fabre d'Eglantine, Chabot, Bazire, Julien de Thoulouse, and other popular characters of the convention; and the accusation against them was for counter-revolutionary projects. They afforded another grateful exhibition to the Parisian populace; and Robespierre, who did not think himself yet secure, was far from intending to stop here.

Danton, who had voted for the death of the deputies, without imagining he was so soon to follow them to the scaffold, had long been the subject of hatred to Robespierre, who regarded him in the light of a rival, as, probably, he would have been.

On the thirty-first of March he was arrested with Lacroix, Philippeaux, Camille Desmoulins, &c. who, with many others, fell by the guillotine on the second of April. Danton was a man of singular courage and abilities, and it cannot be wondered at that he was detested by Robespierre, who was possessed of neither, and was jealous of all who were. As a detail of the further mas-

sacres which daily took place would be disgusting, only one more victim shall be noticed. The illustrious and virtuous princess Elizabeth, sister of the late king, was brought before the revolutionary tribunal and condemned. She was executed the last of twenty-six persons, who were all conveyed to the scaffold on the same day.

On the thirtieth of May, Barrère brought forward his infamous motion, which passed into a decree, for allowing no quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops; but this detestable measure the French officers and soldiers unanimously and disdainfully refused to put into execution.

The world was now to witness the fall of the tyrant and monster Robespierre, under whose every step the ground was hollow ! He was aware of all his foes, except the wily Barrère, and he was resolved to exterminate them. With singular craft, Barrère, only four days before Robespierre was denounced to the convention, made a speech calculated to lull him into the most perfect security. "This government," said he, "is odious on account of its energy. Let me conjure the convention not to sleep on its victories, but to strike terror among the conspirators."

On the twenty-seventh, Billaud Varennes accused Robespierre of harbouring the design of making himself dictator, for which purpose he had resolved to mutilate the convention, and to murder the representatives of the people. Robespierre no sooner heard his denunciation than he flew towards the tribune, but his voice was drowned by exclamations of "Down with the tyrant !" Tallien rose to congratulate the convention on having unmasked the real traitors : he apostrophised the bust of Brutus, and, drawing a dagger, swore he would plunge it into the heart of Robespierre if the convention wanted courage to burst its chains. Barrère now joined in the clamour against Robespierre, and the convention passed a decree of arrest against "himself and his creatures." Being removed to the Hotel de Ville, Robespierre fired a pistol into his mouth ; but fortunately the shot did not rob the scaffold of its just due. He suffered amidst the hisses and execrations of that populace who had lifted him up to be their ruler. He was neither possessed of courage nor abilities. His only art was that of suiting his manners and disposition to that of the lawless and infuriated rabble. Once elevated, he reigned with

the sceptre of terror ; but his career was as contemptible at its close as it had been destructive to the human race. Such a lesson is not only useful to tyrants, but to those revolutionists who, in their thirst for change, seldom care what detestable monsters attain the most exalted stations by basely flattering their passions !

The most remarkable domestic incidents in Great Britain were the trials for conspiracies of high treason. In Edinburgh, one Watt, who had offered himself to government as a spy on the corresponding societies, but, not receiving the price at which he valued his treachery, had formed a serious design of seizing the castle, the banks, and excise offices, was himself informed against, and apprehended. He imparted his scheme to a mechanic, named Downie, whom he prevailed upon to engage in the attempt ; but making their designs known to some others, information was given to government. Watt pleaded that he made this proposal only with a view to become the informer himself ; but, notwithstanding this defence, he was found guilty and executed. Downie, appearing to have been implicated by ignorance rather than malignancy, was acquitted.

An accusation was at this time brought against some persons of a very mean stamp, by one of no higher consideration than the accused, of a plot to assassinate the king, by means of a brass tube, through which a poisoned dart was to have been blown at his majesty ; but the evidence on investigation was so absurd and contradictory, that the accused were set at liberty.

Hardy, Tooke, and eleven others, were soon after arraigned before a special commission at the Old Bailey. The indictment contained nine overt acts of high treason, made so by statute of Edward the Third, in conspiring to levy war against the king, and to excite rebellion against his government. The evidence, partly written and partly *vivâ voce*, consisted only of the papers published in the newspapers by the sanction of the whole society—of which Hardy was only secretary—and of the evidence of witnesses as to conversation. The most respectable of these latter proved nothing more than what the publications themselves avowed ; and the others, who were hired spies and informers, when tied down to specific facts, could advance no further. The meetings were certainly of a seditious tendency, but they were

not specifically made treason by any statute. Hardy was first put upon his trial. The defence was conducted by Mr. Erskine, the member of parliament, and Mr. Gibbs (the present solicitor-general), with the most exalted eloquence and enlightened judgment ; and, after the trial had lasted the unprecedented length of seven days, the prisoner was acquitted. Mr. Tooke was then tried and acquitted, as was another of the supposed traitors, Mr. Thelwall. The attorney-general then declined the prosecution of the rest.

During this summer, Mr. Jay arrived in London, as minister-plenipotentiary of the United States ; and a treaty of amity and commerce took place between the two countries, which effectually closed all the breaches occasioned by the late unhappy war between the two countries.

Towards the end of the year, lord Macartney, who had been sent out as ambassador from Great Britain with a most splendid present to the emperor of China, returned to England without having effected the object of his mission, which was to obtain an extension of the privileges of the English merchants, and permission to land their merchandises at some port nearer than Canton. But the latter being contrary to the established policy of the Chinese, who never willingly admit strangers to pass their frontiers, was not granted.

Parliament came together on the thirtieth of December ; and the most material part of the king's speech expressed his firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. The principal point of objection raised by opposition to the address was, that a continuance of the war would not only animate the French to fresh efforts, but would retard their returning to social order, to which they had made considerable advances since they had freed themselves from the yoke of terror. The address was carried by a very considerable majority.

[1795.] The first business of Parliament was to secure internal tranquillity by a renewal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act ; their attention was, in the next place, occupied by a royal message, stating the necessity of a subsidy to the emperor, to enable him to make another campaign ; and four millions six hundred thousand pounds were voted for that purpose.

During this session, the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick, the intended bride of the prince of Wales, arrived in England, and the nuptials were celebrated with becoming *eclat*. The house of commons, in consequence of a royal message, took into consideration the providing for an establishment suited to the rank and dignity of the prince and princess, and also for liquidating the debts of the former, amounting to between six and seven hundred thousand pounds. It was proposed by Mr. Pitt, that one hundred and twenty-five thousand, in addition to the thirteen thousand pounds accruing to the prince from the duchy of Cornwall, should be settled on him; that seventy-eight thousand yearly should be deducted, and appropriated, by commissioners to be appointed to superintend the discharge of the prince's incumbrances, to that object. After some discussion, this plan was adopted; and a jointure of fifty thousand pounds was settled upon the princess in case she survived her royal spouse.

After a duration of seven years, Mr. Hastings's trial was now brought to a conclusion, and he was acquitted by a majority, but not by an unanimous vote, of the lords. From the whole of this trial, it may be collected that the measure for England is not the measure for India. Mr. Hastings's policy saved India, but many parts of it would have been criminal in Britain. It appears that he was judged according to the measure of the country which had been the stage of its representation, and by that standard he was acquitted.

The session was put an end to on the twenty-seventh of June, by a speech which breathed distant hopes of pacification. "It is impossible," said his majesty, "to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we are contending without indulging our hope that the present circumstances of France may, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as may be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers."

Affairs in Ireland were become, at this period, extremely interesting. By the terms of junction between the ministry and the Portland party, the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was to remain with the latter; and earl Fitzwilliam accepted it with an intention, which he understood to have been admitted by administra-

tion of completing catholic emancipation. The party most inimical to his intention, although otherwise ardent supporters of British measures, were denominated the Beresford party, from their leader, Mr. Beresford. These were dismissed, to accelerate the lord lieutenant's design; but the cabinet of London regarded this dismissal as going beyond the limits of the powers confided to him, and remonstrated on the subject. Lord Fitzwilliam, however, persisting in his measures, was recalled, and lord Camden appointed to succeed him. The former quitted Ireland with every demonstration of public regret; and the latter, on entering it, was received with unqualified marks of discontent. Soon after the arrival of the new viceroy, Mr. Grattan brought forward a bill for catholic emancipation. The most remarkable speeches were those of Arthur O'Connor (who has since been tried for high treason), in support of the bill, and that of Dr. Duigenan against it. The bill was rejected by a majority of seventy-one, to the inexpressible disappointment of the catholics.

The French had begun to reap the benefits of their energy and success during the preceding year. The great duke of Tuscany, the emperor's brother, was the first to break the confederacy, and acknowledge the republic. The regent of Sweden, in the name of the young king, followed the example. The king of Prussia, now wholly intent on his participation of the spoils of Poland, concluded a treaty of peace with France at Basle on the fifth of April, and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the elector of Hanover shortly afterwards pursued the same steps. On the twenty-second of July, Spain, pushed to the last extremity by France, acceded to a treaty of peace with her.

The United Provinces were formed into a republic on the model of, and entirely submissive to, France. The other acquisitions of France were the Austrian Netherlands; the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire; the electorates of Treves, Cologne, and Mentz; the duchies of Deux Ponts, Juliers, and Cleves; and the Palatinate, in the north: and, on the south, the duchy of Savoy; with the principalities of Nice and Moraco, in Italy: the whole comprising a population of thirteen millions of souls!

Disaffection still prevailed in La Vendée, instigated by a famous royalist chief, named Charette; and the plan of the French for this campaign was to crush the insurgents, to act defensively

against the naval strength of Britain, and to make Germany the scene of military operations. For the latter purpose, they had only to reduce the fortress of Luxembourg, and pass the Rhine.

The British cabinet, placing too much reliance on an exaggerated report of the strength of the French royalists, resolved to cooperate with them in La Vendée; and an armament was dispatched in June to the Bay of Quiberon, where a number of French emigrants, who had volunteered on this service, were landed. These, with a considerable supply of arms and ammunition, joining the Vendéans, at first gained some trivial successes over the republicans, and increased to about twelve thousand men; but general Hoche soon overpowered them, and only a small portion made their escape to the ships. The emigrants who fell into the hands of the republicans were put to death as traitors; and thus ended this melancholy expedition.

The French opened their campaign towards the Rhine with the siege of Luxembourg; which, notwithstanding it contained a garrison of ten thousand men, yet seeing no hopes of holding out till relief could arrive, capitulated on honourable terms, to save useless bloodshed. The whole of this campaign was very inactive and indecisive, consequently unimportant. Several engagements took place between the Austrians, commanded by Clairfait and Wurmser, and the republicans, under Pichegru and Jourdain, from the middle of August to the end of November, when the campaign terminated by an armistice for three months. The whole military operations may, therefore, be comprised in few words. On the Rhine, the French acquired Luxembourg; in Italy, they maintained their ground, but did not advance; and in La Vendée they had quelled the insurgents.

The naval operations were also unimportant; but the skilful retreat of admiral Cornwallis with five ships of the line, with which he was cruising off Belleisle, from an enemy's squadron of thirteen ships of the line, deserves particular notice. The British maintained a running fight during a whole day; and, by throwing out signals as if to another British fleet in sight, the French hauled off without having made a single prize. Notwithstanding this was only a feint of Cornwallis, yet the very same French squadron shortly afterwards actually fell in with another British squadron off Port L'Orient, commanded by lord Bridport,

which captured three of them ; the rest only escaping into L'Orient by keeping close in shore.

In the Mediterranean, an engagement took place between a French and English squadron, the former commanded by Richery, and the latter by Hotham, which ended in the capture of two French ships, of eighty and seventy-four guns. But the French captured the Berwick of seventy-four guns, going out singly to join the fleet.

England, considering the United Provinces as become a dependency of France, issued letters of marque and reprisal against them : all their ships in the British ports were seized ; and the Cape of Good Hope, and a Dutch fleet lying there, surrendered to an armament commanded by admiral Elphinston.

In the West Indies, the French, despairing of success by open force, had recourse to their method of sending emissaries to the islands of St. Lucie, St. Vincents, Grenada, and Dominique, to stir up the French settlers to take up arms against the British. The negroes were also tempted to an insurrection by the hopes of emancipation, and the recovery of that rank in society from which they had been unjustly degraded. Arms were distributed among them, and in the month of March a general insurrection broke out in all these islands.

The insurgents in St. Lucie were the old French inhabitants and the people of colour, who were joined by a large body of negro slaves. They soon gained possession of the whole island except the fort of Morne Fortune and the Carenage. On the twentieth of April, general Stewart proceeded to attack them at their strong hold at Souffriere ; but, in his way thither, he fell into an ambuscade, and did not extricate himself without considerable loss. The body which opposed him were then dispersed ; and, on the twenty-second, he attacked the post at Souffriere, but he was repulsed with the loss of two hundred men and several officers. After this miscarriage he was obliged to keep within the fort ; and, in July, the island was evacuated by the British.

The insurrection in Grenada was supported by a small detachment of regular troops sent from Guadaloupe, and the British suffered severely from these invaders and insurgents during some time ; but reinforcements at length arriving to their assistance, from some of the other British islands, the enemy were compelled to seek for refuge on the heights, and tranquillity was restored.

The insurgents in Dominique were, in like manner, supported by another detachment from Guadaloupe; and these, together with the negroes, committed vast devastations. There happened to be at the time only one company of British regulars on the island; but the inhabitants, seeing themselves thus left to the resources of their own intrepidity, attacked the enemy with so much spirit that they were obliged to lay down their arms; and all the disaffected, to the amount of more than six hundred, were sent out of the island, that they might not again be able to disturb its peace.

In St. Vincents, the Caribbs in the interior and mountainous parts of the island were the principal insurgents. They maintained themselves with great steadiness and bravery against the British, and repulsed them in one or two serious actions; but they were reduced so low, that after the reduction of the island of St. Lucie by the British, which happened in the following year, they were brought under subjection.

Thus the insidious means, resorted to by the French for wresting the whole of the West Indian islands from the hands of the British, were unsuccessful in every part but St. Lucie, and even there their triumph was but very short-lived.

An internal commotion, which did not originate with the French, also broke out in Jamaica, of which, from the facts as they came out in the debate in the British house of commons, and the statements of persons on the spot, the following was the cause. The Maroons were a free people, who, on the cession of the island by the Spaniards to the English, refused to submit to the latter, and their territory and privileges were ensured to them by a treaty, which stipulated, however, that for every offence against a white person the offenders were to be delivered up to the common course of justice in the island. In the month of July, two Maroons, having committed a felony, were apprehended, tried, and sentenced, according to law, to be whipped; which sentence was duly inflicted upon them. On the return of the offenders to the Maroon town, the whole body assembled, and determined to send a written challenge to the magistrates of Montego Bay; adding, that they intended to attack the town on the twentieth. The militia were assembled on the nineteenth, in readiness to repel them; but the Maroons desired a conference, at which the difference was apparently settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

The Maroons, however, intended only treachery ; and having learned that the principal part of the regular force on the island had sailed against St. Domingo, they began to tamper with the negro slaves ; which coming to the ears of the British governor, he dispatched a swift-sailing vessel after the expedition, and a part of it returned to Montego Bay.

On the twelfth of August, on the approach of the British troops towards the Maroons, they left their town ; but this was merely a feint to draw the British into an ambuscade, which proved fatal to colonel Sandford and several of his party. After this affair, the Maroons established themselves in a post almost inaccessible, called the Cockpit, whence they detached small parties, who conducted this petty warfare with the most savage barbarity. Colonel Fitch, who succeeded colonel Sandford, fell also into an ambuscade and perished.

The general assembly was convened in September, and it was discovered on their archives that formerly a species of bloodhounds had been employed by the Spaniards to discover the lurking Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects of their ambuscades. By a resolution of the assembly, it was therefore determined to send to Cuba to procure a hundred of these dogs, and a proper number of Spanish chasseurs ; but before they arrived general Walpole had completely hemmed in the Maroons, and the passes to the other parts of the country had been secured. From the want of water, and the terror with which the report of having sent for these dogs had inspired the Maroons, they were induced to surrender themselves with their wives and families, and were removed, in the month of June following, to the province of Lower Canada, where lands were allotted to them, and they may, if they act in a proper manner, become a flourishing settlement.

In distracted France, the fall of the bloody tyrant Robespierre was succeeded by another violent struggle between those who had been of his party, but detested his sanguinary measures, and the Girondists, who had returned, and presently obtained a majority in the convention. Merlin of Douay, one of the latter, denounced Barrère, Billaud Varennes, and Collot d'Herbois. This accusation displeased the populace, who instantly armed themselves and surrounded the convention, whilst they were in the act of considering the report of the committee, to whom it had

been referred. On the motion of Dumont, it was decreed that the pain of death should be abolished, but that the three accused persons should be transported to Guiana. General Pichegru, then at Paris, was appointed to the command of its armed force, and, by his exertions, several of the Mountain or Jacobin faction were seized, and tranquillity restored. A committee of eleven was nominated for organising a constitutional code for the consideration of the convention.

Whilst this important business was going forwards, the infant Capet, only son of the late unfortunate king expired in the prison of the Temple, and the princess, his sister, was exchanged with the court of Vienna for the deputies delivered up by Dumouriez.

When the committee of eleven had finished its labours, the result was presented to the convention. The outlines of the new constitution were chiefly these. The legislative power was to be vested in two councils. To the former, to be styled the legislative council, and to consist of five hundred members, belonged the proposing laws; and to the latter, to be named the council of elders, and to consist of two hundred and fifty members, the confirming or rejecting those proposed. These members were to be chosen by the electoral assemblies. The executive power was to be delegated to a directory of five persons. These were to be renewed by an election of one member at a time in rotation; and the mode of election was, that the legislative council should form a list of ten persons, out of whom the council of elders were to choose the one who was to come in. The convention, willing to secure their own power, previously to surrendering it, decreed that the electoral bodies should choose two-thirds of the deputies to be returned out of the convention, and, in case of a defect of the number, the convention should supply the vacancy themselves. The constitution, as well as the conventional decrees, were transmitted to the primary assemblies, and the latter were considered as violations of the privileges of the people, and attempts to perpetuate the power of the convention. After a violent war of words, the Parisian and conventional troops came to blows on the fourth of October. The latter, commanded by Barras, were victorious, chiefly through the exertions of a young Corsican, named *Napoleone Buonaparte*, who then made his first appearance on that stage, on which he afterwards became the most prominent actor.

Jacobinism soon after appeared to be again rearing its hydra head against the new constitution, and, in order to protract the revolutionary system, a committee of five was appointed to consult on measures to be adopted to save the country. The moderates of both parties, however, joining against the terrorists, on the twenty-seventh of October, the day appointed for the purpose, the president declared that "the national convention was dissolved."

Thus terminated a body who, by energy, constant in object, rapid in execution, and decisive in effect, had put an end to the monarchy of France, after it had existed during more than fourteen centuries, and had baffled the opposition of the greatest and most formidable confederacy of the potentates of Europe which had ever been formed. Their reign was, however, branded with immorality, licentiousness, and savage cruelty.

The five members who were chosen to fill the executive directory were men of more courage and vigour than talents and moderation; these were Reveilliere Lepaux, a lawyer, one of the Girondists who had been proscribed in 1793; Reubel, also a lawyer, who had negotiated the treaty with the United Provinces; Letourneur de la Manche, an officer of the engineers; Barras, formerly one of the noblesse, who had quelled the late insurrection in Paris, and had been a great opposer of Robespierre; and Carnot, the minister of war. This last had been appointed in the room of the abbé Sieyes, who was accounted one of the most profound and philosophic geniuses that the revolution had brought forward; he was first nominated, but, perceiving radical defects in the new constitution, he cautiously declined the appointment. The directory were lodged in the Luxembourg, which, from thence, was named the directorial palace.

The internal commotions in Britain were so far from being quelled, that the results of the trials of the members of the corresponding societies seemed to have augmented their frequency, publicity, and audacity. A scarcity, which prevailed throughout the kingdom, was attributed to the pressure of the war; and numbers who in the beginning approved it were now heartily tired of it, and seriously wished for peace. The declamatory lecturers of debating societies, in the language of Paine, represented wars as the jobs of ministers, monopolists, and contractors, who wal-

lowed in luxuries extracted from the necessities of the public. Meetings were held at Chalk-farm and Copenhagen-house, in the vicinity of the metropolis, where thousands of people, collected together, were harangued by inflammatory discourses.

These symptoms of danger determined the king to call the parliament together on the twenty-ninth of October; an earlier period than usual. As the state coach proceeded towards the house of lords, it was surrounded by the populace, exclaiming—"Peace! No war! Bread! No Pitt! No king!" As it passed the Horse-guards, several stones were thrown at it; and in Palace-yard a bullet (supposed to be discharged from an air-gun) passed through the glass with great velocity, leaving only a small circular aperture. The king's magnanimity would, however, not suffer any additional guard to be sent for to escort him back; and on his return the mob recommenced their attacks. The king, as usual, left St. James's in his private carriage to join the queen at Buckingham-house. The populace surrounded it, and were attempting to force open the doors, when a party of life-guards, arriving at this critical moment, dispersed them, and rescued the sovereign from imminent danger. The state coach, as it was returning empty to the Mews, was attacked and nearly demolished.

A proclamation was immediately issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds on the conviction of any person concerned in this detestable assault. A person of the name of Kidd Wake was apprehended, as having been one of these rioters. On his examination before the magistrates, the account which he gave of himself was, that he was in the service of a Mr. Noble, a printer; that he was a married man; and by hissing and groaning at his majesty he only meant to let the king see that he was dissatisfied with the war. On his re-examination, a Mr. Walford, who was one of the constables of the day, deposed that he observed the prisoner to be very active in hissing, hooting, and calling out "No war!" And as the procession passed through St. Margaret-street, he saw something small go with great velocity against one of the coach windows, which made a small hole in the glass, and at this time the prisoner disappeared; but when the king arrived at the house of peers, he again observed the prisoner in the front of the crowd. Some other officers at that time remarking the prisoner's activity proposed to take him into custody, but on

consideration it was declined as being inexpedient. When his majesty came out of the house he lost sight of the prisoner till the procession had passed through the Horse-guards; he then observed the prisoner, and about thirty more, close to the carriage, grinning at the king, groaning, and exclaiming, "No war! Down with George!" but whether the prisoner said Down with George, he could not positively say. As the procession was passing from the Horse-guards towards Carleton-house gates, six or seven stones were flung at the carriage, and about that time he observed the prisoner to stoop two or three times; but whether he flung any of the stones he would not positively say. The witness remonstrated with the prisoner on the impropriety of his conduct, who paid no attention to the remonstrance, till, at length, passing along the wall, the witness, with the assistance of one of the horse guards, secured him. The prisoner, upon the proofs which were brought against him, was committed for trial, on which he was found guilty of hooting, groaning, and hissing, at the king. For this offence he was sentenced to be confined for several years in the penitentiary house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory.

The proclamation having produced no good effects in bringing these daring offenders to justice, it was left for the wisdom of parliament to devise measures to punish and prevent a repetition of such infamous violation of the law and disloyalty.

The house of lords, on the motion of lord Grenville, had been summoned to meet on the sixth of November, when his lordship proposed a bill for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts. One object of this bill was to extend the crime of high treason, so as to meet the commission of it in almost every shape; as by deed, or by words spoken, written, or published, or in any other open manner; or any act tending to the imprisonment, deposition, or death of the king, or his heirs and successors; by a conspiracy to levy war in order to overawe the parliament and to effect a change of counsels, or by instigating any foreigner or stranger by force to invade any of the king's dominions. The second object was to extend the crime and aggravate the punishment of sedition; therefore, to excite dislike and hatred to the person of the king, or to the persons of his heirs and successors, or to the government and constitution of this realm, as by law

established, by deed, by advised speech, or by words written or printed, was for the first offence to be subject to the penalties of a high misdemeanor, and for the second to the usual punishments prescribed by law, or to transportation for seven years, at the discretion of the crown. Lord Lauderdale opposed the bill, as containing an amazing heap of wild and new-fangled treasons, of which the most dangerous was that of "advised speech!" The treason law of Edward the third had, he said, by an accurate definition of the crime, fenced the liberties and lives of the people against the caprice or arbitrary designs of a king or a minister, and, as it had guarded former kings in times of barbarity and turbulence, it was certainly adequate to protect the present one in the age of civilisation and general loyalty. Lord Grenville consented to withdraw the clause against "advised speech;" and the bill, in its amended state, passed the lords.

During this discussion in the upper house, a bill was brought into the lower one by Mr. Pitt for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies. Mr. Fox declared, that if the principle of this bill was admitted, he would take no part in its discussion. Public meetings to talk on public topics, he said, were the essence of the constitution and the immemorial privileges of Englishmen; but this bill prevented them from doing so, unless notice be given to a magistrate, empowered to arrest any person whom, in his wisdom, he might deem seditious, and who had authority to dissolve the meeting by the *fiat* of his own will. He trusted the people would be alarmed at the state preparing for them, and that they would assemble, whilst they might, to concert the means of averting a stroke so fatal. Those who failed to do so he pronounced traitors to their country. He declared, if the bill was persisted in, he would move a call of the house. The bill was ordered to be brought in, and Mr. Fox, according to his declaration, moved for a call of the house, which was fixed for the twenty-fourth of November. Various petitions, and one, in particular, from the corresponding society, whose meetings had occasioned these severe measures, were in the interim presented against the bills. The treason bill from the lords, however, passed the commons on the sixteenth of November. When the commons went into a committee on Mr. Pitt's sedition bill, on the twenty-seventh, Mr. Fox, who had said that

he would not discuss the bill in detail, left the house, and was followed by the opposition. The bill had received a material amendment in the committee, by being limited to three years; and with this amendment it passed both houses.

[1796.] On the nineteenth of May parliament was prorogued, and in a few days after it was dissolved.

The executive directory of France were well aware that, in popular and revolutionary governments, success alone can ensure stability. The commencement of their career was at an auspicious season for themselves, because the French armies had been much less fortunate in the campaign of the preceding year than in that of 1794. In order to secure their own power, they began to make vigorous preparations to ensure success in the campaign of the present year, which had for its chief objects the invasion of Germany and Italy.

The Austrian armies were now commanded by the archduke Charles, brother to the emperor, who inherited all those eminent qualities of a hero which his illustrious ancestor, the great duke of Lorraine, had possessed. After the expiration of the armistice, the republicans opened the campaign by an attack on the posts of the Austrians on the Sieg and the Lahn, streams which disembogue themselves into the Rhine, with a view of opening the road to Mentz, of which they once more meditated the siege. They were, however, repulsed by the Austrians, and compelled to resume their former position. Moreau, who commanded the army of the Rhine and the Moselle, now changed his plan, and, drawing off his troops secretly and suddenly, he passed the Rhine, and took the fortress of Kehl by assault. The archduke, having received intelligence of this sudden irruption from general Wurmser, who commanded in that quarter with a force not adequate to cope with Moreau, hastened to his assistance. Previously to his arrival, Wurmser had been very hardly pushed; and the archduke having formed a junction with him near the village of Ettingen, where they determined to make a stand against the French, a well-fought battle took place on the ninth of July, which ended in the defeat and retreat of the Austrians. By this victory Moreau was master of Suabia, and his road lay open to Bavaria.

Jourdain, who commanded the army of the Sambre and the

Meuse, after reducing Francfort, Aschaffenburg, and Wentzburg, overran the whole of Franconia ; and the republican armies presented a vast front, extending from the frontiers of Bohemia and Saxony on the left to the Tyrolian mountains on the right. The duke of Wurtemberg, and the elector of Baden, whose countries were now in the possession of the French, were obliged to withdraw from the Austrian confederacy, and to accept a peace on such terms as their conquerors thought proper to impose upon them ; one of which was, the cession of the whole of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

The inhabitants of the conquered German provinces, who had been prepossessed in favour of the principles on which the French revolution had been founded, by the emissaries who never failed to precede the republican armies and more than half smoothed the road for them, expected that the French troops came as their deliverers, and not as their conquerors. They were soon, however, undeceived, by the immense requisitions in money, horses, oxen, corn, oats, hay, shoes, and every article of subsistence or clothing, which were extorted from them by these fraternising marauders and invaders, who, in the delirium of victory, indulged in the most unbridled military excesses. The attachment of the Germans was, consequently, converted into the most rancorous hatred ; and they only waited for an opportunity in which they might safely venture to show it. The French system of *Divide et Impera* was never manifested in a stronger light. Their revolutionary principles, which were their usual advanced guard, had relaxed the sinews of opposition on the frontiers ; and the emperor was threatened in the very heart of his hereditary dominions. French barbarity and rapacity had however changed the sentiments of all those who felt interested for the republic when likely to be overborne by an insolent confederacy, and made them now wish to see her armies compelled to abandon all their conquests.

The French continued their progress with very little difficulty ; and the army of the Rhine and Moselle, having encountered only a faint resistance in their passage of the river Lech, entered Bavaria, and took possession of Munich. The archduke strongly entrenched himself on the right of the river Inn, which flows parallel to, and no great distance from, the Lech, and confined himself entirely to defensive operations ; whilst he hastened a large

reinforcement to general Wartensleben, who was opposed to Jourdain, then within a few days march of Ratisbon. This junction was no sooner formed than the Austrian general attacked the van of Jourdain's army, commanded by Bernadotte, with so much vigour, that it was driven in great confusion on the main body. The Austrians pursuing their success, Jourdain was compelled to retreat, in the face of a victorious enemy, through a country the rage of whose inhabitants his army had excited to the highest pitch, by their depredations and insults; and whose vengeance was exhibited on every occasion which presented itself, by cutting off the foragers and stragglers from the main army. A junction with Moreau was impracticable; and as the French troops, laden with spoil, were more anxious to escape with it than to defend the ravaged country, their retreat, or rather flight, was so rapid, that they made no stand till they arrived at the banks of the Lower Rhine.

By this retrograde motion of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, that of the Rhine and Moselle was exposed to the whole German strength. Its left was uncovered, whilst a part of the Austrian forces were getting in its rear, and fresh forces were descending from the Tyrolese to encompass it. The archduke kept his position in the front. Moreau, to draw him out of it, crossed the Iser, as if he intended to march on to Vienna; but, failing of success, he evacuated Bavaria, and encamped in a strong position between the city of Ulm and the Lake of Constance. Pressed on all sides, he was obliged to risk a partial engagement with the right wing of the Austrian army, commanded by general Latour, at Stenhausen, and totally defeated it. This advantage did not extricate him from his difficulties; all communication with the Rhine was cut off by the archduke's seizing the passes in the Black Forest, through which the French had to retreat. Moreau, fighting his way thither, through numberless impediments, and repulsing all his assailants, arrived at the entrance of the Black Forest, where he had to pass through a defile called the Valley of Hell, overhung by the mountains, and so narrow that scarcely fifty men could march abreast. At the further end of the defile a large body of Austrians, under generals Nauendorf and Petrasch, awaited to attack him in front; Latour who had collected his dispersed army and received reinforcements,

pressed the French rear ; and the mountains on each side were lined with Austrians, to harass the French as they passed. Moreau, having disposed his rear so as to cover the entrance into the defile and to repel Latour, began his march. Latour was repulsed ; and by dividing his army to the right and left, as it passed through the defile, Moreau checked the enemy on both sides. Nauendorf and Petrasch offered no resistance ; and Moreau, by as well-conducted a retreat as ever was made, brought his army, by the route of Fribourg, safely to the banks of the Rhine, through a hostile country of more than three hundred miles in extent. He passed the Rhine at Brisac and Huninguen, leaving a strong garrison in Kehl ; which, after a brave defence, surrendered to the archduke. Thus were the gigantic plans of the French in Germany overthrown, it may be said, by their own rapacity and insolence, which raised up against them the same energetic force of a levy in mass to which they owed all their successes, and which the emperor had never been able to obtain from the love of his subjects. The French campaign in Italy was, however, astonishingly brilliant. The revolutionary government of France, having destroyed all pre-existing establishments and prejudices, had certainly called into action men whose extraordinary talents would have lain buried under the antient regime. Amongst all these, Napoleone Buonaparte, who has been already noticed as having been very instrumental in quelling the Parisian insurrection of the fourth of October, has since towered to the very summit of terrestrial power. With a very middling understanding, he possessed those talents which are adapted to war, and to the elevation of the possessor amidst the hurricane of a revolution. He has shewn himself unboundedly ambitious, resolute, fertile in expedients, prompt in decision and execution, and regardless of any methods, however detestable, which promised the attainment of his purposes. His impetuosity and irascibility have, however, often defeated them. Lavish of blood, he has evinced that he would sacrifice an army rather than lose an advantage ;—rapacious, he would destroy the whole human race rather than want plunder ;—devoid of principle, religion, and morality, he has been, by turns, a monarchist, constitutionalist, terrorist, Christian, mussulman, and atheist. Such talents could not escape the penetration of the executive directory ; and, pass-

ing by his youth and want of experience, they conferred on him the command of the army of Italy, and the event justified their penetration.

Buonaparte had to contend with the troops of the emperor, the king of Sardinia, and the pope, amounting altogether to about one hundred and fifty thousand men. The whole force allotted to Buonaparte, before the entire reduction of La Vendée, did not exceed fifty thousand men. Yet with these inferior forces he attempted and effected an enterprise, which had, during the three preceding years, baffled the other French generals; namely, the penetrating through Piedmont into Italy, across the immense barrier of mountains, which, of themselves, seemed to present an insurmountable obstacle to the progress of an enemy. The plan of the campaign was formed by Carnot; and Buonaparte trusted to the enthusiasm and rapid movements of the French to put it into execution, notwithstanding the phlegmatic valour of the Austrians, swollen with their successes in Germany. The Austrian general Beaulieu, relying on the superiority of his forces, determined on offensive operations, and attacked a post of the French at Voltri, sixteen leagues distant from Genoa, on the ninth of April, and drove it back to the lines. The Austrians, as Buonaparte had foreseen, advanced rapidly to follow up this advantage; and general Massena was dispatched, under cover of the night, with a detachment to gain their rear. Beaulieu began the attack at Montenotte, about day-break of the eleventh. The action was obstinate, and the event dubious, until Massena appeared in the rear of the left of the Austrians, who were thrown into confusion by this unexpected manœuvre, and left the field with the loss of one thousand five hundred slain, and two thousand prisoners. They retreated to a strong eminence, named Millesimo, and Buonaparte pushed on for the river Bormida. General Angereau forced the passes to Millesimo, from whence the Austrians were compelled to make a hasty retreat; but general Provera, throwing himself with one thousand five hundred men into an old ruinous castle, defended it with so much intrepidity, that the main body had leisure to form, and occupy a new position. The Austrians, still superior in numbers, again attacked the French; who received them with great gallantry, and made a firm stand, until generals Massena and La Harpe, who had cross-

ed the Bormida, surrounded the left wing of the Austrians, and decided the day. The loss of the latter amounted to two thousand slain, eight thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, besides fifteen standards, and a vast quantity of stores and field equipage. This defeat was followed by the surrender of general Provera and his brave little band.

On the following day, Beaulieu surprised the French, indulging themselves in repose, and not expecting so sudden an attack from a defeated enemy. The first onset disconcerted the French; but Buonaparte rallied them, and formed a large body in front; whilst, having a third time recourse to his old stratagem, he dispatched a division to take the Austrians in the rear. The celerity with which these movements were made disconcerted the Austrians, who were repulsed with the loss of five hundred killed and one thousand five hundred prisoners. The loss on the side of the French was considerable.

The Austrians retreated towards the river Po, and the Piedmontese and Sardinians towards Turin. Buonaparte directed his efforts against the latter; and, on the twenty-second of April, he came up with and attacked them in their strong entrenchment at Mondovi. The Piedmontese and Sardinians made a vigorous resistance, but were, at length, compelled to give way before the impetuosity of the French. This battle decided the fate of the king of Sardinia; who, seeing the French within two days march of his capital, proposed a suspension of arms, which was agreed to on such terms as the French commander dictated. A treaty of peace followed, by which his Sardinian majesty ceded Savoy and Nice to the republic in perpetuity: the cities of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortona, were to be delivered up to the French provisionally; and the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, on the French frontiers, were to be rased, leaving a free passage into Italy. By these concessions his Sardinian majesty retained the name and shadow of a king, although, in fact, he was a mere dependant on France.

Buonaparte, having thus freed himself from the Sardinians, turned to pursue the Austrians, who had passed the Valenza, and entrenched themselves on the further side of it. Buonaparte, taking his route along the southern bank of that river, reached Placentia on the seventh of May, and crossed the river on the

same day. As the Austrians were now approaching on the northern bank, Buonaparte encountered their vanguard at Fombio, and obliged it to fall back. Another body of Austrians, coming up to support their van, was repulsed by general La Harpe; and general Berthier, arriving in the mean time, drove the Austrians beyond Casal, of which he took possession. As the French were now on the territories of the dukes of Parma and Placentia, they were necessitated to sue for peace; which they obtained, on condition of paying ten millions of livres, and giving up a quantity of paintings to adorn the National Museum forming at Paris.

The Austrians, thus repeatedly defeated, had retreated to the post of Lodi, on the river Adda, near Milan, the capital of Lombardy. By the rapid advance of the French, the Austrians had been prevented from breaking down the bridge over the Adda, as they had intended; but it was defended by so numerous an artillery, that an attempt to force it was regarded as impracticable. The whole Austrian line were drawn up to dispute the passage. The French generals entertained the very same opinion of the danger of attempting to force the bridge; but Buonaparte, conceiving that a failure would not damp the enthusiasm of his troops so much as the suffering them to lose the opinion which they had imbibed from their successes, of their being irresistible, determined on the assault at all hazards. A column of carbineers and another of grenadiers, selected for this attempt, advanced half way across the bridge, when a discharge of the Austrian artillery mowed down about seven hundred of them. The remainder made a halt, and appeared wavering: now was the critical moment, and Buonaparte seized it! He advanced at their head, and, by his presence, rekindled their enthusiasm. They rushed on with resistless impetuosity, and with shouts of "Vive la république!" seizing the batteries, and repulsing the Austrians as they advanced to the charge. This desperate enterprise could be only justified by its success; since with a check Buonaparte's laurels would probably have faded, and himself perhaps have been accused by the directory of having sacrificed his army by an opposition to all the rules of tactics. As it was, the Austrian army with their general Beaulieu was driven towards Mantua, and pursued by a detachment of the French, who blockaded that city; whilst the rest of the republican army captured Milan, and took possession of the whole of Austrian Lombardy.

As the imperialists could no longer protect Italy, Buonaparte was at liberty to act as he pleased in it. A detachment of his army seized Leghorn, although belonging to a neutral power, under the unwarrantable pretence of dislodging the English, whose property they confiscated. The main body entered the papal territory, and took possession of the cities of Urbino, Bologna, and Ferrara, which made no resistance. The king of Naples and the pope were now obliged to desire an armistice, which was granted to the former, on condition only of his observing a strict neutrality; but the latter was obliged to cede the towns occupied by the French, and also the city and fortress of Ancona on the Adriatic; to pay twenty-one millions of francs; and to deliver various monuments of the arts, such as pictures, busts, statues, and vases, for the use of the French national museum. Thus the French thought the example of the Romans, who plundered the Greeks of all their master-pieces of art, worthy of imitation. Perhaps, like the wandering Tartars, who imagine they inherit all the good qualities of such as they kill, those plunderers hoped to rival the ancients, by the possession of the venerable reliques of which they despoiled their descendants.

Having thus settled affairs with Naples and Rome, Buonaparte pursued the Austrians, who had taken refuge in the Venetian territory. The comte de Provence, the eldest brother of the late king of France, styled by the royalists Louis the Eighteenth, had resided there for some time, but had been desired by the Venetians to quit their territories, for fear of giving umbrage to France. Buonaparte, therefore, on entering the Venetian republic, published an address to the government, in which he assured them, that, in following the enemies of France, he would observe the strictest discipline, and treat the inhabitants with all the amity and consideration that were due to the ancient friendship subsisting between the two countries. He then advanced towards Peschiera, where Beaulieu was posted, in hopes of being able to stand till succours should arrive from Germany. The French approached the bridge of Borghetto, over which they proposed to pass the river Mincio and surround the Austrians. The Austrians defended the bridge for some time; but being driven from it, Beaulieu retreated hastily towards the river Adige, breaking down all the bridges behind him, to secure his retreat into the Tyrol.

Buonaparte pursued, and took possession of Verona; after which he formed the blockade of Mantua. Marshal Wurmser, on whom the emperor had bestowed the command, was hastening to join Beaulieu with a numerous reinforcement, consisting of the flower of the Austrian troops; and, when this junction was completed, Buonaparte, who had divided his troops to secure his conquests, saw himself in danger of being surrounded. He was therefore obliged to retire from Mantua, and, having suddenly quitted Verona and regained Brescia, he began to concentrate his scattered forces at the village of Castiglione, between the lake of Garda and Mantua, near which Wurmser was also posted. Here generals Massena and Joubert attacked and obliged him to cross the Adige with great loss, leaving the country round Mantua to the French, who resumed its blockade. The loss of this battle was attributed to the defection of several Polish brigades, which entered into the service of France. Wurmser retreated to the passes of the Tyrol, from whence he was driven by general Brune, and established himself at Calliano, near the city of Trent. In this strong position he was once more attacked by Massena, and compelled to retire to the river Brenta, with the loss of six thousand men and twenty pieces of cannon. The French pursued, and again defeated him at Bassano, on that river; but, by rapid marches, he succeeded in throwing himself into Mantua.

Meanwhile Genoa was compelled by the menaces of France to exclude the English from her ports, and treaties of peace were ratified between France on the one side, and Naples and Parma on the other. The terms, however, attempted to be exacted from the pope were so extravagant as to be rejected. The whole country south of the Po, except Genoa, was weary of papal tyranny and infected with a revolutionary spirit. The duke of Modena, who, in spite of his treaty with France, had left his capital, was declared to have virtually abdicated his sovereignty; and the states of Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara, were, with the approbation of the French general, formed into what was called the Cispadane republic, on the model of that of France.

The emperor, anxious for the fate of Mantua, ordered field-marshal Alvinzi to hasten to its relief. Alvinzi marched his army in two divisions; that which he himself commanded crossed the Brenta, where it was encountered by the van of the French,

led by Buonaparte in person, and compelled to repass it ; but the other division, having routed the French under general Vaubois, who was sent to oppose them, Buonaparte was in turn obliged to make a retreat, to defend the passes of the Adige. Alvinzi's division advanced to that river ; and Buonaparte, foreseeing that if the other should join it his views on Mantua would be defeated, determined to attack Alvinzi before it took place. Crossing the Adige, he advanced to the village of Arcole, which was strongly fortified and guarded, but through which he must force a passage to execute his plan. The contest was long and bloody, and to the disadvantage of the French, until, by the old stratagem of taking the enemy in the rear, the Austrians were obliged to give way. Buonaparte then advanced to attack the main body, and, after a most desperate struggle, which lasted two days, the French were at length successful, through the very same stratagem. The other Austrian division had advanced near to Mantua, but was obliged, by the junction of Buonaparte with Vaubois, to retreat with loss into the Tyrolese mountains, and Mantua was left to its fate.

The French were so taken up with their military operations, that they made scarcely any efforts by sea, and consequently afforded the English few opportunities of adding to their laurels. The Dutch settlement of Demarara, however, surrendered to general Abercrombie, who also reconquered St. Lucie, after a vigorous resistance. Some insurrections, which had been created by the arts of the French in Grenada and St. Vincent, were also quelled, but not without bloodshed. Newfoundland was captured, and a vast property destroyed, by a French squadron under admiral Richery ; but a Dutch squadron of seven sail of the line, commanded by admiral Lucas, sent out to recapture the Cape of Good Hope, was obliged to surrender to admiral Elphinstone, who had been sent from England to intercept it. The successes of the French in Italy having changed the disposition of the fickle and uncontrollable Corsicans into a spirit of insurrection against the English, the latter abandoned them to their former masters, judging the possession not worth the trouble and expense of maintaining it. In December, a French squadron of eighteen ships of the line and thirteen frigates, commanded by vice-admiral Bouvet, and having twenty-five thousand land forces

on board under general Hoche (which armament had been for some time preparing at Brest to make a descent on Ireland and form a junction with the malcontents, as they falsely supposed most of the Irish to be), sailed from port ; but at their outset several of the ships were lost and damaged in the *Passage du Raz*. The rest, proceeding on their voyage, were soon separated by a violent gale ; and the admiral arrived at Bantry-bay with only a small number of ships, in a very shattered state. After waiting several days for Hoche, who alone was intrusted with the orders of the directory in what manner to proceed, the admiral returned to Brest with the loss of one ship of the line and two frigates, which foundered at sea. Another ship of the line was driven ashore, and a frigate was captured by the English. The French were therefore baffled by the elements ; but, from the reception which the Irish were preparing for them, there can be little doubt but that the elements were, upon the whole, their best friends.

In this year was born a daughter of the prince and princess of Wales, destined, in all probability, to wield the British sceptre.

The most singular political phenomenon of this year was a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain ; to take place as to all other powers than England (against whom Spain alleged direct grievances), at the end of the present war. This was a prelude to hostilities, which Spain declared against Britain on the fifth of October following. The manifesto was frivolous, and only discovered that Spain had, in common with all maritime powers, a jealousy of British naval superiority.

At the latter end of the year, the British cabinet transmitted, through the Danish ambassador at London and that at Paris, a declaration of a wish on its part for a peace with France on just and honourable terms, and of a desire for a passport for an English envoy to Paris. To this declaration it was replied, that the executive government would not receive or answer any overture from the enemies of the republic transmitted through an intermediate channel, but that if England would send persons furnished with full papers and official powers, they might, upon the frontier, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris. The passports were accordingly demanded, and lord Malmesbury was sent out as negotiator.

Lord Malmesbury opened his mission by proposing compensa-

tion as the basis of definitive arrangements, and to negotiate on that footing, by offering compensation to France, by restitutions of British conquests proportionate to those which France would be called upon to make to the allies of Britain, in order to preserve the political balance of Europe. The French government answered, that if Britain would treat for herself separately, the arrangements would be speedy ; but if she meant to include her allies, they would be protracted by the necessity of forming a congress of parties who had showed no disposition to accommodation. Yet if Britain would exhibit sufficient powers from her allies to treat for their interests, and a promise on their part to subscribe to what she should conclude for them, the directory would give an answer to the specific propositions to be made to them.

Lord Malmesbury, confounded by this answer, sent to his court for fresh instructions, and, after some diplomatic trials of skill, those instructions arrived, and lord Malmesbury stated the terms of mutual compensation which would be acceded to by Britain to be the *status quo ante bellum*. Hereupon the only bone of contention was the Austrian Netherlands, which the French negotiator said were constitutionally annexed to France, and could not be separated without flinging the nation into all that confusion which must follow a convocation of the primary assemblies. Lord Malmesbury however declared, that Britain would never suffer the Netherlands to remain part of France. The negotiation here seemed to be at an end, and lord Malmesbury was required to give in his *ultimatum* in twenty-four hours. His lordship replied, that this peremptory requisition put a stop to all farther negotiation ; that if they refused his propositions they ought to bring forward their own. This mode of procedure was rejected ; and it was signified to his lordship that, since he was obliged to consult his court previously to all replies and communications, it was evident he wanted power to conclude a treaty ; and that, if the British ministry were inclined for peace, the negotiation might be carried on by couriers : his lordship's residence in Paris being therefore unnecessary, he was ordered to depart in forty-eight hours. There is too strong a resemblance between the manner of his lordship's dismissal and that of M. Chauvelin not to give an idea that the French government intend-

ed it as a sort of *lex talionis*. A weak motive, however, for the protraction of a war!

The parliament met on the sixth of October, whilst this negotiation was yet pending; and the king's speech informed them that he had omitted no endeavours for setting on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure for the future the general tranquillity; but recommended a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the further efforts with which we might have to contend.

As the king's speech also intimated an intention of the enemy to invade Britain, the commons went into a committee, on the eighteenth of October, for taking into consideration the best means of national defence. It was proposed that a levy of fifteen thousand men should be raised for the sea service and for recruiting the regiments of the line, several of which had been much reduced in foreign service; that a supplementary levy of sixty thousand men, to be engrafted on the militia, should be also raised; and that a body of irregular cavalry should be furnished, in the following manner and ratio—every person who kept ten horses to provide one horse and one man to serve in a corps of cavalry; those who kept more, to provide in proportion; and those who kept less, to form themselves into classes, and decide who, at the common expense, should provide the horse and horseman. These propositions were all passed into laws; but the effect of them was, in a great measure, superseded by the numerous volunteer corps which soon afterwards embodied themselves throughout the kingdom.

On the thirtieth of December a royal message was brought to the commons, stating the failure of the late negotiation. On the motion for an address on this communication, Mr. Fox proposed an amendment to the following purport: That the house had learnt, with inexpressible concern, the failure of the late negotiation, in which his majesty's ministers appeared to have acted with insincerity, as might be inferred from their insisting, as a *sine quâ non*, on the surrender of the Netherlands by France; and that the house would proceed to investigate the causes of that misconduct on the part of his majesty's ministers which had involved the nation in her present misfortunes, and produced the

failure of the late negotiation. The amendment was negatived by a vast majority.

The failure of the negotiation had a visible effect [1797.] upon the funds, before declining on account of the rapid increase of the national debt. Apprehensions were even entertained of the solvency of the Bank of England, which, during the course of the war, had advanced in coin all the remittances that had been made to the emperor. These remittances had so drained the cash of the kingdom, that, in January of the year 1795, the directors had acquainted Mr. Pitt that he must arrange his finances for the year so as not to depend on any further assistance from the bank. In October of the same year they repeated this notice, stating the absolute necessity they conceived to exist for diminishing their present advances to government, the last having been granted, with great reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations. Nevertheless the directors were prevailed upon during the year 1796, by similar "pressing solicitations," to lend further accommodations to government. Mr. Pitt, still continuing his pressing solicitations in the beginning of the present year, intimated that, besides the accommodation to the British treasury, one million five hundred thousand pounds would be wanted for Ireland. To this intimation the governor returned this categorical answer: "that, under the present state of the bank's advances to government, such a measure would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably bring them under the necessity of shutting up their doors."

These apprehensions, increased by that of an impending invasion, caused a most alarming demand upon the bank for specie. A deputation from the bank, therefore, waited upon Mr. Pitt to know how far the bank might venture to go on paying cash, and when he would think it necessary to interfere, before the coin was so reduced as might be detrimental to the public service.

Government now thought an interference necessary; a board of council was held, and an order was published, on the twenty-sixth of February, prohibiting the directors from issuing any cash in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken on that and consequent subjects.

The matter was now brought constitutionally before the parliament:—an enquiry was made into the state of the bank's af-

fairs ; and the result was, that the demands upon it amounted to thirteen millions seven hundred and seventy thousand three hundred and ninety pounds ; that their remaining property amounted to seventeen millions five hundred and ninety-seven thousand two hundred and eighty pounds, so that they were more than solvent by three millions eight hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety pounds, exclusive of a debt due from government of eleven millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand eight hundred pounds three per cent. stock, which, estimated at fifty per cent. the low current price of that stock, left a clear balance of nine millions six hundred and sixty thousand two hundred and ninety pounds sterling in favour of the bank. This public, authoritative, and satisfactory investigation caused the phantoms of national bankruptcy to vanish from before the eyes of the monied interest ; and Mr. Pitt grounded on it a bill to enable the bank to issue notes instead of cash in payment of the demands upon them. A clause was introduced for rendering bank notes a legal tender, and, as the collectors of excise and revenue were obliged to accept them, no inconvenience was felt by the public from this measure. Bank paper has always kept its par, under the sanction of the legislature and the necessity of mutual confidence : and what else maintains the imaginary value of gold and silver, which are intrinsically not of the value of iron or tin to mankind ?

Soon afterwards another serious and better-grounded alarm agitated the nation. The new-fangled doctrines of equality had not been confined to the land, but began to move on the face of the waters. The seamen of his majesty's navy were discontented with the quantity and quality of their provisions, with the inequality of the distribution of prize money, and with the abridgment of their liberty when in harbour. They alleged many other grievances which we have the authority of parliament for saying did actually exist, since they removed some of them : but whilst every humane mind must regret that our brave naval protectors should have so long laboured under these grievances, yet it must execrate the manner in which they were excited to demand redress, or rather to redress themselves. As a body of men not abstracted from the general mass, they could have no right to redress but through constitutional methods, of which mutiny, the

means they adopted, is the greatest violation. The plan must have been a long time in organization, to make use of an appropriate revolutionary term; as it was systematic and regular throughout all our fleets, and it could not have been the work of a day to have instilled such pernicious notions into the heads of those brave and loyal men who, whatever knowledge they may have of the management of a ship or the exercise of a great gun, are very ignorant of the laws of their country.

Symptoms of this mutinous disposition first began to manifest themselves on board the Channel fleet. Intimations were given of it to lord Howe by some anonymous letters which he received from Portsmouth under the signature of "The seamen's friend," stating their grievances, and requesting his interest to obtain redress for them; but, unfortunately, no notice was taken of these letters. Finding this attempt abortive, a general correspondence took place between all the ships; the consequence of which was an agreement not to weigh anchor till the demands of the seamen should be complied with. On the fourteenth of April lord Bridport received orders to sail, and on the following day, when the signals were made for that purpose, the seamen of the admiral's own ship began the mutiny by giving three cheers and running up the shrouds, as had been preconcerted. This example was followed in all the other ships throughout the fleet. The subordinate officers appeared to concur with the men, and all the orders of their superiors were disregarded; but, excepting the single instance of refusing to weigh anchor, no other act of disobedience or disorder broke out for the present. Delegates were then sent from each ship to hold a conference with the commander-in-chief in his own cabin: the event not being satisfactory to the seamen, the officers were restrained from going ashore, and petitions were presented to the admirals then present, stating their claims to an advance of wages and some better regulations with respect to their allowance of provisions; concluding with a hope that an answer might be given before they were again ordered to heave anchor, except, however, as they expressed themselves in the style of British seamen, *the enemy were known to be at sea.*

On the seventeenth the seamen publicly took an oath of mutual support; and on the next day a committee of the admiralty, with

earl Spencer at their head, arrived at Portsmouth, and conferred with the delegates on board the Queen Charlotte. Their lordships were given to understand that no arrangement would be accepted unless sanctioned by the king and parliament, and accompanied by a general pardon.

On the twenty-third, lord Bridport returned on board his ship, informing the seamen he had brought a redress of all their grievances and a general pardon. After some deliberation, the men agreed to return to their duty : but, finding the ministry delayed bringing the affair before parliament, they again refused to obey another signal for getting under weigh ; and a meeting of the delegates was appointed on board the London. Vice-admiral Colpoys, whose flag was flying in that ship, ordered the marines to oppose their coming on board, and five of the delegates were killed in persisting to disobey these orders. The seamen of the London immediately turned the forecastle guns towards the stern of the ship, and threatened to blow all aft into the water unless they surrendered. Resistance being in vain, admiral Colpoys and captain Griffiths reluctantly submitted, and were confined to their cabins.

Affairs remained in this distressing state till the fourteenth of May, when lord Howe arrived at Portsmouth with full powers to enquire into and settle their grievances, and also bringing with him a copy of an act of parliament, which had been passed on the ninth, for granting an extra allowance and pardon to all who should immediately return to their duty. These concessions satisfied the seamen, who struck the flag of mutiny, and prepared to put to sea to seek the enemy.

But the seamen of the North-sea fleet and the ships at the Nore were higher in their demands than their brethren of the grand fleet. The mutineers had chosen delegates, of whom Richard Parker was appointed president. After having confined or sent ashore their chief officers, they transmitted to the admiralty a string of conditions, peremptorily demanding compliance as the only terms of their return to obedience. As many of these conditions were incompatible with the service, and even the existence of the navy, they were, of course, not admitted ; and, on the twenty-third of May, the mutineers struck the flag of admiral Buckner on board the Sandwich, and hoisted a red flag of

defiance in its stead. All the ships dropped down to the Great Nore to get at a distance from the ramparts of the garrison of Sheerness, to which place lord Spencer and a deputation of the admiralty proceeded, to offer such terms as had been granted to the fleet at Portsmouth; but the delegates, insolently demanding submission to their whole demands, were informed that no other concessions than those already made by the legislature would be granted them.

All communication with the land being now cut off, some of the most culpable of the mutineers began to see how desperate their situation was becoming, and proposed to carry the fleet into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so disgraceful a procedure. With a view, however, of extorting a compliance with their demands, they blocked up the Thames, and suffered no ship to pass without a passport signed by the president of the delegates. On the sixth of June, the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis*, men-of-war, and the *Ranger* sloop, which had deserted from admiral Duncan's fleet in Yarmouth roads, joined the mutineers at the Nore.

Vigorous measures were at length taken to reduce them to submission. Batteries were erected with furnaces for heating balls, and, what chiefly perplexed the mutineers, all the buoys were removed, so that none of the ships could leave the river without danger of running aground. These preparations being all ready, the mutineers began to be intimidated, and lord Northesk, who commanded the *Monmouth*, and who was generally beloved throughout the fleet, was released from confinement, and received orders from the delegates to proceed to London with their *ultimatum*, and their determination to put to sea with the fleet if the whole was not immediately complied with. His lordship was obliged to pledge his honour that he would return with an answer in fifty-four hours. The privy council rejected those demands; which was no sooner notified to the mutineers by captain Knight, of the *Inflexible*, than symptoms of dismay and disunion began to appear among them. The *Repulse*, *Leopard*, and *Ardent*, left them on the ninth of June, and several of the remaining ships pulled down the red flag and hoisted the union. On the eleventh, the *Neptune*, the *Lancaster*, and the *Agincourt*, with several gun-boats, manned with the press-gangs and volunteers, drop-

ped down to Long-Reach to act offensively against the mutineers; and on the thirteenth, the *Agamemnon*, *Standard*, *Nassau*, *Isis*, and *Vestal*, ran from them, and sailed under the protection of the forts at Sheerness. Despair now seized the rest, and their inclination to submit was resolved into a final determination by the arrival of lieutenant Mott on board with the proclamations, act of parliament, &c. of which the seamen complained of their being kept ignorant by the delegates till that time. The *Sandwich* immediately sailed under the guns of Sheerness, and admiral Buckner's boat, with a picquet guard of soldiers, went alongside to arrest Parker, who was delivered up to them with Davies, who had acted as captain under him. Wallace, of the *Standard*, another of the delegates, shot himself through the head as the boat approached, and was buried in the highway. Thus terminated this serious affair, which threatened for a while the existence of British naval superiority.

Parker's trial commenced on the twenty-second of June on board the *Neptune*, lying off Greenhithe. The charges against him were various acts of mutiny, disobedience of orders, and contempt of the authority of his officers. He was sentenced to death, and suffered on board the *Sandwich* with an intrepidity worthy of a better cause. Many others of the ringleaders were tried and executed, but all the rest received a pardon.

Notwithstanding this lenity, the *Pompée*, one of lord Bridport's fleet, returned to Portsmouth in June, in consequence of a mutiny which had broken out on board, and six of the ringleaders were executed.

To prevent similar disturbances, a bill passed to render the seducing soldiers or sailors from their duty, or instigating them to mutinous practices, or the committing any act of mutiny or forming any mutinous assemblies, felony without benefit of clergy.

The army at this period also complained of the scantiness of their pay, although it had been raised but two years before; they were, however, allowed sufficient to render it one shilling per day for each man.

Ireland still continuing in a perturbed state, earl Moira moved an address praying his majesty's interference to allay the discontents prevalent there. This motion was rejected as giving effect to measures which, constitutionally, could originate only in the

parliament of Ireland, the natural source of legislative arrangements in that country.

Since the failure of lord Malmesbury's negotiation, the ministry had become extremely unpopular, and several meetings were held for the purpose of petitioning the king to dismiss them. That of the city of Westminster was the most prominent: it charged ministers with having, in the prosecution of the four years of the present war, squandered upwards of one hundred and thirty millions of money, besides a funded debt of six millions and a half;—with having tarnished the national honour and glory;—oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burthens;—poisoned the intercourse of private life;—given a fatal blow to public credit;—divided the empire, and subverted the constitution.

The opposition seized this opportunity of bringing forward motions of a similar import and tendency; but they were negatived by a great majority. No other business worthy of historical note passed during this session, which terminated its labours on the twentieth of July.

CHAP. LXII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

THE French government, with the experience before them of the unhappy catastrophe of the invasion of Germany and the altogether as fortunate event of that of Italy, determined to renew their exertions against the latter; so that the war on the Rhine appeared to be expiring, whilst in Italy it blazed out with unquenchable violence.

The emperor, who, during the last disastrous campaign in Italy, had sent no less than four different armies to supply the place of those which had been destroyed, had, during the winter, caused such extensive levies to be made in his hereditary dominions, that general Alvinzi was enabled to take the field so early as January. Buonaparte, who had passed the interval in conciliating and revolutionising the Italian states, in which the event

proved he had been tolerably successful, was first apprised of this circumstance by the intelligence, which was brought to him at Bologna, that Alvinzi had advanced to the Adige, and, taking Corona by assault, had compelled the French to fall back upon Rivoli.

Having taken the command of the army in person, he marched to attack Alvinzi; and, on the fourteenth of January, a general engagement took place. At day-break, general Joubert, with a part of his division, attacked the Austrians on the brow of the hill of St. Marco. The other part occupied the centre; and the reinforcements brought by Buonaparte, of whose arrival the Austrian general was totally ignorant, formed the left. In the outset, the French were driven from some of their posts; whilst a body of Austrians, seizing the eminences between the Adige and the lake of Guarda, turned the flank of the French, and cut off their communication with Verona and Peschiera. Buonaparte's presence of mind saved him: he detached two battalions to face this last column, and ordered four pieces of light artillery to cannonade the right of their line. A reinforcement under general Rey advancing critically in the rear of the column which had turned the French, Buonaparte pressed on the attack, and the whole Austrian column, amounting to four thousand men, presently surrendered.

The Austrians were still masters of Corona; and Buonaparte ordered Joubert to attack them, if they retained that position. He pursued his instructions, and almost the whole of the Austrians were either drowned in attempting to cross the Adige or taken prisoners. The French took, in these different affairs (which they call the battle of Rivoli), thirteen thousand prisoners, and nine pieces of cannon.

General Provera, with a column of ten thousand men, having crossed the Adige, and obliged the French general Guyeux to fall back, Buonaparte detached generals Victor and Massena to stop his progress. As Mantua was the object with Provera, he marched so rapidly towards it, that the French could only come up with his rear-guard, who, to the amount of two thousand men, were all taken, with sixteen pieces of cannon.

Provera arrived at the suburb of St. George, one of the French blockading posts, which he attempted, but was repulsed. He

then turned to another post, La Favorita, which, by means of a sortie concerted with Wurmser, he hoped to be able to carry, and to enter Mantua; but Buonaparte having detached general Serrurier with a great force, Provera was surrounded and compelled to capitulate. Thus perished the fifth Austrian army in Italy!

All hopes of relief being now totally cut off from the garrison of Mantua, and their stock of horses, of which hunger had reduced them to the necessity of devouring upwards of five thousand, being exhausted, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

The immediate consequence of these successes was the invasion of the papal territory. The pope had, from the beginning of the war, adopted a wavering, timid system of politics, inclining, however, to hostility to France; and, as the French give out, relying on the exertions of the present campaign, he had even sent reinforcements to Alvinzi. Previously, therefore, to the surrender of Mantua, Victor was ordered to march to Rome, whither, so soon as the capitulation of Mantua was effected, Buonaparte followed him.

Victor encountered the papal army, strongly entrenched on the banks of the Senio, and gave it a signal overthrow. Buonaparte soon after arrived to take the command, and marched with very little resistance to Tolentino, only two days' journey from Rome, where he received a submissive epistle from the pope; in consequence of which a treaty was concluded, on condition that his holiness should renounce the coalition of crowned heads, disband his troops, and shut his ports against all the powers at war with France. He consented also to the annexation of Avignon and the county of Venaissin, and to the transfer of the legation of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, to France: moreover, to the payment of thirty millions of livres—twenty of them in specie, and the remainder in diamonds and other valuables; and to the gift of sixteen thousand horses, as the ransom of the territory of which the precarious possession was left to him.

The pope would not have obtained these *moderate* conditions if the emperor, profiting by Buonaparte's digression into the papal territory, had not used incredible exertions to collect and reinforce his shattered army; the command of it was now bestowed

on the archduke Charles, who was the idol of the German soldiery, and whose successes on the Rhine raised their declining hopes into plethoric confidence, even when opposed to Buonaparte. Since the defeat of the Austrians at Rivoli, the French had occupied the banks of the Piave and the Lavis; and the Austrian army now advanced on the opposite bank of the Piave with its centre behind the Cordevoli, and its right covered by the Adige. The divisions under generals Massena and Serrurier having passed the Piave, the Austrians retreated from the Cordevoli, and fell back to Bellurno, and from thence towards Cadore.

On the sixteenth of March the French army marched in three columns, all directing their route towards Valvasone. When they arrived on the bank of the Tagliamento they discovered the Austrians posted on the opposite side, seemingly with an intention of disputing the passage. The French threw themselves into the river, and, after a feeble opposition, routed the Austrians. General Guyeux attacked the village of Gradiska, the archduke's head-quarters, so instantaneously, that the archduke had but barely time to escape. The Austrians lost near five hundred men, and six pieces of cannon. Joubert had been instructed to penetrate through the Tyrol into Carinthia, by ascending the Adige to Brixen, and from thence to proceed to the head of the Draave. In his passage he was opposed by general Laudohn, over whom he obtained some advantage; and, at length, compelled him to retreat to Inspruck. The main body pushed into Austrian Frioul—the garrison of the town of Gradiska, to the amount of five thousand men, having surrendered themselves prisoners of war; whilst Massena advanced to Osopa and Gemonia, and pushed the Austrian advanced guards into the defiles.

On the twenty-first the French entered Goritz, where they found fifteen hundred Austrians in the hospitals, and all the magazines, which they had not had time to remove. On the twenty-third, general Guyeux gained a trifling advantage over the Austrians at Pufero, and another French division entered Trieste.

The divisions under Massena and Guyeux had now hemmed in a considerable body of Austrians at Tarvis, on the heights which overlook Germany; but the latter, having received reinforcements from Clagenfurt, the archduke's present head-quarters, made an attack on the former. The Austrians were, however, defeated with considerable loss.

General Gueux drove the column which he had defeated at Pufero to the Austrian Chinse, where they again made a stand, but were driven out of it; and, retreating precipitately, fell in with Massena's division, which, after a slight resistance, made the whole of them prisoners.

After the battles of Tarvis and La Chinse, Buonaparte, who never relaxed whilst there was the appearance of an enemy before him, pushed three divisions of his army through the defiles which lay from the Venetian states into Germany, and encamped on the banks of the Draave. On the twenty-ninth, Massena advanced upon Clagenfurt, and encountered the Austrians about a league from it. The Austrians again retreated, and the French entered Clagenfurt on the same evening. The Austrians were now driven from the Venetian territories, the higher and lower Carniola, Carinthia, and the Tyrol, with the loss of twenty thousand men, exclusive of those taken before the archduke assumed the command. Buonaparte, however, arrested his career of victory, to arrogate to himself a claim to moderation by making pacific overtures to the archduke, and to endeavour to excite a disunion between Austria and Britain. As every thing relative to Buonaparte is now become an object of curiosity, a copy of the letter by which he made those overtures is subjoined.

“The general in chief of the army of Italy to his royal highness M. prince Charles.

“11th Germinal, 5th year of the republic (March 31).

“M. general in chief,

“Brave soldiers make war and desire peace. Has not the war lasted for six years? Have we not killed men and committed evils enough against suffering humanity? Such are the exclamations used on all sides. Europe, who had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains; and yet blood is about to flow more than ever. The sixth campaign is announced under the most portentous auspices. Whatever may be the result, many thousands of gallant soldiers must still fall a sacrifice in the prosecution of hostilities. At some period we must come to an understanding, since time will bring all things to a conclusion, and extinguish the most inveterate resentments.

“The executive directory of the French republic communicated to his imperial majesty their inclination to terminate a conflict which desolates the two countries. Their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention of the British cabinet. Is there no hope then of accommodation ? Is it essential to the interests, or gratifying to the passions of a nation far removed from the theatre of war, that we should continue to murder each other ? Are not you, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and who are above all the despicable passions which generally influence ministers and governments, ambitious to merit the appellations of the *benefactor of the human race*, and the *saviour of the German empire* ? Do not imagine, my dear general, that I wish to insinuate, that you cannot possibly save your country by force of arms : but, on the supposition that the chances of war were even become favourable, Germany will not suffer less on that account. With respect to myself, gallant general, if the overture which I have the honour to make to you could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should think myself prouder of the civic crown, to which my interference would entitle me, than of the melancholy glory which would result from the most brilliant military exploits. I beg of you to believe me to be, general in chief, with sentiments of the most profound respect and esteem, &c. &c.

“BUONAPARTE.”

It can afford a humane mind no satisfaction to attribute to the writer of a letter who professes such an ardent wish to put a stop to the effusion of blood, even though he should be an enemy, a dread of his own personal safety, or such-like self-interested motives ; yet, if we refer to the whole of Buonaparte’s conduct towards the different powers of Italy, it will be difficult to imagine that he whose footsteps were marked with blood and oppression, should thus stop short in the career of victory, and prefer the humble civic crown to the blood-stained laurel, without some such motives. A view of Buonaparte’s situation at the time when he made this seemingly humane and modest proposal will justify a suspicion that he, thought he could not advance much further without his endangering his whole army. We have the greater reason to entertain such an idea, because whilst he soothes Austria on the one hand, he irritates Great Britain by an unfounded

calumny on the other. If his breast had been alive only to the sensations which he professes as the ground of his proposal, he would, at least, have left Britain out of the question ; but he had nothing to dread from her at that moment.—The archduke replied, that he neither conceived it to belong to him to enter into any discussion on the principles on which the war was commenced, nor was he furnished by the emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace.

The Austrians, as a last effort, attempted to raise the Tyrolese in mass ; and the divisions of generals Laudohn and Kerpen, having received some additions of these undisciplined troops, advanced upon the division of Joubert, which had been much weakened by repeated combats and by disease. At first the Austrians were successful, and the French were driven from Botzen and Brixen ; at the latter of which places the columns of Laudohn and Kerpen effected a junction.

Buonaparte again put his troops in motion ; and on the second of April, Massena, with the advanced guard, attacked the Austrians in the defiles between Freisach and Nieuemark, and, after a bloody battle, forced them to leave the field ; and on the following morning the French took possession of Nieuemark. Their advanced guard then pushed on to Hunsgain, where the Austrians suffered another severe defeat. Buonaparte now continued advancing ; and the Austrians retreating before him across the Muhr, he took possession of Judenburg, the capital of Styria, situated on that river.

As the French were now only one hundred and twenty miles from Vienna, apprehensions were entertained for that capital ; entrenchments were thrown up for its defence ; a general enrolment, without distinction, took place ; and the archives and treasure were removed into Hungary.

Whilst such was the situation of affairs on the Italian side, the Rhine again became the scene of action. The command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse had been entrusted to general Hoche ; and to general Moreau was confided that of the Rhine and Moselle. When the armistice had expired, Hoche passed the Rhine over the bridge of Nieuwied ; and a smart action ensued, in which the Austrian general Kray was defeated. The French then dislodged them from Ukareth and Altenkirchen ;

whilst a division under general Ney, proceeding to Dierdorf, defeated the Austrians posted there.

Moreau had also crossed the Rhine, and some skirmishes had taken place between the outposts; when further operations were put a stop to, as is about to be related. The advanced guard of the French army of Italy was a great way beyond Judenburg, when the archduke sent a letter to Buonaparte, requesting a suspension of arms for four hours. This request was at first declined by Buonaparte, as he imagined it was only intended to gain time whilst the archduke formed a junction with general Spork, who was advancing to his assistance with a reinforcement. Buonaparte's situation was, however, notwithstanding his victories, too critical to disregard every offer of pacification. The success of the Tyrolese peasantry has been noticed; Alvinzi was advancing by Fiuma and Trieste into the Frioul; and an army was gradually forming in rear of the French. If the peasantry of Carinthia and Carniola should follow the example of the Tyrolese, Buonaparte's communication with France, and even Italy, would be cut off; and he would have no other resource than that of subjugating the whole Austrian empire, to which his force was inadequate, or of yielding. In this situation, a correspondence took place between the two commanders of the hostile armies; and Buonaparte, having at length convinced himself that the Austrians really wished for peace, readily agreed to a proposal of the court of Vienna, transmitted through general Bellegarde, for a suspension of arms during ten days; within which time preliminaries of peace were signed at Leoben, in Styria. By these, the Austrians were to cede the Netherlands, with the duchy of Luxemburg, to France, to allow the free navigation of the Rhine, and to acknowledge the newly-erected Italian states. By a secret article, which has since transpired, the French stipulated to indemnify Austria out of the Venetian territories, and by a secularisation of some of the German ecclesiastical states.

Thus, of all this grand confederacy, Britain alone remained to cope with France; and of the former allies of Britain, Spain and the Batavian republic had now declared against her, and taken part with her enemy.

The affairs of Germany were no sooner settled than Buonaparte alleged some grievous accusations against the republic of Venice,

the chief of which was the following :—that the government, whilst the French were engaged in the defiles of Styria with the Austrians, had, in conjunction with the priests, formed an insurrection, in which, on the second festival of Easter, the French, not excepting the sick and wounded in the hospitals, were pierced with stilettoes and thrown into the Adige. Having published a formal declaration of war against Venice, he marched from his headquarters at Palma Nuova, and entered that city on the twelfth of May, without experiencing any serious opposition. Thus was subjugated a republic, which for one thousand three hundred years had maintained its independency inviolate. The antient government was abolished ; a provisional administration was appointed ; and a municipality of fifty members, chosen under the control of six commissioners nominated by Buonaparte, were to regulate the police of the city. The shipping in the harbour, with all the immense naval and military stores in the magazines and arsenals, were seized by the French.

A pretext was not wanting for the fall of Genoa, which immediately succeeded that of Venice : the nobles were decidedly against the French, but the people were attached to their cause, and sighed for a popular government. A provisional administration was at first appointed, but was soon after superseded by one formed on the model of the republic of France ; with whom Genoa and its dependencies, now assuming the style of the Ligurian Republic, concluded a treaty of amity, or rather of abject dependence. The Cispadane and Transpadane republics were united under the appellation of the Cisalpine Republic, and a similar model given to it. It would be a difficult thing for Buonaparte to reconcile this cowardly and wanton aggression of neutral and unprotected states with his pretended magnanimity and regard for civism.

The preliminaries between France and Austria ended in the definitive treaty of Campo Formio ; by which the emperor ceded the Austrian Netherlands to the French, and consented to their keeping possession of the Venetian islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and all their other isles in the Adriatic ; with their settlements in Albania, to the south-east of the gulph of Lodrino :—he acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine republic, ceded to it the sovereignty of Austrian Lombardy, and consented

to its possessing Bergamo and Brescia, late dependencies of Venice, and also of the duchies of Mantua and Modena, the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, lately belonging to the pope. France ceded to the emperor Istria, Dalmatia, and all the Venetian islands in the Adriatic to the north-west of the gulph of Lodrino, and the city of Venice with its remaining dependencies.

The efforts of France against Britain during this year were, first, to overpower her navy; secondly, to exhaust her finances; and thirdly, to excite rebellion. The most pompous threats of invasion were held out, and this "mountain brought forth a mouse." A French squadron of two frigates and as many sloops landed about fifteen hundred men, with arms, ammunition, and their most formidable weapons—seditious manifestoes—in the bay of Cardigan. These doughty invaders immediately surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and the two frigates were captured on their return to France by two British frigates, under the command of sir Harry Neale. It is most probable that this absurd expedition was either destined to convince France of the practicability of invading Britain in spite of her navy, or as an experiment to try the temper of the British nation.

The French intended to bring about a junction between their own and the Spanish and Dutch fleets in Brest, which thus united would form a navy of more than seventy sail of the line. To prevent this junction, admiral Duncan, with a squadron of sixteen sail of the line besides frigates, was ordered to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet in the Texel; and sir John Jervis, with fifteen sail of the line and four frigates, was instructed to cruise in such a station as was most likely to intercept that of the Spaniards.

The latter fleet sailed from Carthagena on the fourth of February, and passed the Gut of Gibraltar on the next day. Their signal guns were distinctly heard on board admiral Jervis's fleet on the night of the thirteenth; and captain Foote of the *Niger*, who had judiciously kept in sight of the Spanish fleet during several days, brought the intelligence that they were only three or four leagues distant. Jervis, to use the gallant admiral's own expression, anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight

leagues distant, he descried the whole of the enemy, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line. By carrying a press of sail, the British came down upon the enemy before they had time to form in order of battle ; and, notwithstanding their immense superiority, the admiral ordered the fleet to bear directly through them, which was gallantly performed. They then tacked, and, by this bold and skilful manœuvre, separated about one third of the Spanish ships from the main body, which, by a partial cannonade, were prevented from a rejunction and obliged to fall to leeward. The ships which, by the greatest exertions, then had the good fortune to come up with the main body of the enemy on the larboard tack, engaged and captured the Spanish ships *Salvador del Mundo*, of one hundred and twelve guns ; *San Josef*, of one hundred and twelve ; *San Nicolas*, of eighty ; and *San Ysidro*, of seventy-four. The action lasted till five in the evening, when the rest of the Spaniards bore away for Cadiz in the utmost disorder. It is a remarkable circumstance that, although the loss of the Spaniards could not be less than twelve hundred men in killed and wounded, as more than half of that number were diminished in the crews of the captured ships only, yet that of the British did not exceed three hundred. Admiral Jervis pursued the Spaniards to Cadiz, which he blockaded with a part of his fleet, after having dispatched commodore Nelson on an expedition against Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. This expedition was disastrous ; as, after having taken the town, the British forces were not sufficient to reduce the fort. They were re-embarked, however ; but many lives were lost on this occasion, and commodore Nelson's right hand was carried off by a cannon ball.

An expedition, under the command of admiral Harvey and general sir Ralph Abercrombie, sailed in the spring from Port Royal in Martinique against the Spanish island of Trinidad. As it approached the gulf of Paria, four Spanish ships of the line and one frigate were discovered lying at anchor. These ships were set on fire by the Spaniards, and only one ship of the line was saved by the English. The colony surrendered to the English, and the whole garrison were made prisoners of war.

The armament then sailed against Porto Rico, and the troops were landed ; but they were inadequate to the reduction of the

whole island, and were obliged to re-embark without having effected their purpose.

The Dutch fleet in the Texel had been long ready for sea, but were so closely watched by admiral Duncan, that they could not venter out without hazarding an action. During the gales of the autumnal equinox, Duncan was blown off his station and obliged to return to Yarmouth roads. A peremptory order was then sent to admiral De Winter by the Dutch government to go to sea. The destination of this fleet was never avowed; but it has since transpired that it was originally intended for Ireland, and that a body of troops under general Daendaels, which had been embarked for that service, were debarked on the orders for the admiral to risk an engagement with the British fleet being issued. It is therefore more than probable that their latter destination was to join the French fleet in Brest waters, and to have taken in troops there. The Dutch fleet consisted of fifteen ships of above fifty guns, two of forty-four, and some smaller frigates: their force was therefore somewhat inferior to that of the British. Admiral Duncan received instantaneous notice from his cruisers of their having left the Texel, and on the tenth of October he sailed from Yarmouth roads, and reached the Dutch coast late in the evening of the same day. On the morning of the eleventh he got sight of the enemy, and, throwing out the signal for a general chase, came up with them, and made another signal for breaking the enemy's line and engaging them to leeward, ship to ship. This latter signal was promptly obeyed, and the British got between the Dutch and the coast, to which they were fast approaching. Vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, followed by his whole division, bore down on the enemy's rear in a most gallant style, and commenced the action. Duncan's division soon got through the enemy's line, and engaged their van. After an action of two hours and a half, the masts of the Dutch admiral's own ship fell overboard: she still kept up a resolute defence, but was at length compelled to strike; and the Dutch admiral was brought on board the *Venerable*, admiral Duncan's ship. The Dutch vice-admiral's ship was also dismasted, and struck to vice-admiral Onslow; many others struck soon after, and two or three only got into the Texel under cover of the night. Ten ships of the line—one of which, the *Delft* of fifty-six guns, was so shattered, that she

sunk within sight of the British coast—and two frigates, were captured. The action was very bloody; no less than seven hundred British seamen losing their lives, and twice that number of Dutch. When the battle ended, the English fleet was within five miles of the shore and in only five fathoms water, so that the necessary precaution to bring off the ships before the approach of night prevented them from capturing the few vessels which escaped. Every manœuvre could be distinctly seen from the shore, where thousands of Dutch spectators witnessed the destruction of their navy. This victory was the cause of great rejoicings in England, and it was justly regarded as the most important one of the war next to that of lord Howe; for although admiral Jervis's was allowed by professional men to have been a most brilliant display of skill and gallantry, yet it was not so decisive. The successful admirals were created peers, and their titles added to the honour conferred upon them, as they were taken from the scenes of their respective victories. Jervis was created earl St. Vincent, and Duncan viscount Duncan of Camperdown.

France was very far from enjoying internal repose, for the royalists began to raise their heads, and were so formidable as to excite the jealousy of the republicans. On the thirty-first of January a message was transmitted by the directory to the council of five hundred announcing a royalist conspiracy, which was to be effected by Dunan, Brotier, and many of the terrorists and jacobins, with the assistance of England. Dunan and Brotier were sentenced to death, but their punishment was mitigated to transportation for ten years; and the other conspirators were banished for different terms.

The executive and legislative powers had been constantly at variance, and the latter absorbed all the functions of the former. Generals Pichegru and Jourdain were elected among the legislative members: the former was chosen president of the council of five hundred, and Barbé Marbois received the same distinction in the council of elders. Both of these were decidedly opposed to the directory. Barthelemi, although known to entertain a similar dislike to them, was chosen to be one of their own number in the room of Le Tourneur, who went out in rotation; and Carnot was secretly of the same faction. Every measure of the directory was thwarted, and treated with studied disrespect. The

authority which it had held over the public treasury was transferred to the committee of finance ; and the city of Lyons having, in consequence of various acts of insurrection, been declared by the directory in a state of siege, the council passed a resolution that such power should only be exercised in virtue of a decree of the legislative body. A decree also passed, founded on a plan of Jourdain and Willot, for the reorganisation of the national guard, the chief end of which was to deprive the directory of the right of appointing the officers ; and some soldiers having unadvisedly passed within eleven leagues of Paris, contrary to the constitutional act, which prohibits all troops from coming within twelve leagues of that city, the council seized that opportunity of increasing their military guard.

The directory having given intimation of these innovations on their authority to the commanders of the armies, Buonaparte, Moreau, and Hoche, declared their resolution to support the directory. Encouraged by these assurances, the directory determined to crush all opposition not only from the legislative body, but those of their own who inclined towards them ; and general Augereau, who had been sent by Buonaparte to Paris on some other pretended errand, was entrusted with their project, and the execution of it. Barras, Reubel, and La Reveilliere, three of the directors, after having concerted measures with Augereau, authorised him to repair to the national council and arrest several of the deputies, whom they charged with conspiring to re-establish monarchy. Among these was the celebrated Pichegru, and other distinguished characters. The other two directors, Barthelemi and Carnot, who favoured the councils and refused to concur in these measures, were implicated in this accusation ; the former was arrested, but the latter effected his escape. The places in which the councils held their sittings were shut up, and Augereau affixed his seal to the doors.

The directory instantly published a proclamation tending to allay the public ferment and consternation, by assuring them, that the steps they had taken were necessary to the salvation of the republic, and that if they had abstained from it only one day longer it would have been delivered up to its enemies.

The council, now quite disheartened, passed a decree, which, among other concessions to the directory, sentenced about sixty

of their own body, including the directors Barthelemi and Carnot, and the generals Pichegru, Miranda, Ramel, and Willot, to deportation to such place as the directory should appoint; they also ordered all emigrants whose names had not been erased from the list of proscription to quit the republic in fifteen days, and the societies professing principles hostile to the constitution of the third year to be shut up. François de Neufchateau and Merlin were appointed to fill the places of Barthelemi and Carnot; and the directory being by these forcible means thoroughly established, the government of France could now be considered in no other light than as an arbitrary oligarchy.

In June, a direct proposition was made by the British to the French government to enter without delay upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of each party, in order to terminate the war. The French government acceded to the proposal, and Lisle was fixed upon as the place of conference. Lord Malmesbury was again appointed the British negotiator, although, as the French minister for foreign affairs invidiously observed on the notice of this appointment, another choice would have appeared to the directory to augur more favourably for the speedy conclusion of peace. Three persons were sent to Lisle as plenipotentiaries on the part of the French, to whom lord Malmesbury delivered the project of Britain; which was, in effect, that Spain should cede to her the island of Trinidad, and the Batavian republic should give up the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin in the East Indies, and its possessions in Ceylon; in return for which Britain would make a restitution of all the other places she had taken from France and her allies during the war. This project the French deputation transmitted to the directory, and proposed in the mean while, to discuss some insulated points, not hinted at in the project, but, as they said, inseparably connected with the general subject of peace. The first of these points was, that Britain should acknowledge the French republic; to which lord Malmesbury replied, that it had been already formally acknowledged in his credentials. The second point, which was, that the king of Great Britain should desist from using the title of king of France, which, although merely nominal and immaterial, the republic could not suffer to be retained by any prince since monarchy was abolished in France, his lord-

ship thought scarcely worthy of serious consideration. The third point involved a subject extremely important; it was, that the English should restore the ships taken at Toulon, or an equivalent for them, as well as for those that were destroyed. The grounds on which the French made this demand were, that lord Hood took possession of the ships in the name of the French nation, and on condition of restoring them to it when its government should be re-established. By treating with the republic, the French plenipotentiaries insisted that Britain had acknowledged them to be an effective government; and they therefore claimed the fulfilment of lord Hood's engagements. Lord Malmesbury declined giving any answer to this point till after the French had delivered in their contre-project. The last point was, a demand of the renunciation by his Britannic majesty of any mortgage he might have on Belgium for money advanced to the emperor; and this lord Malmesbury also waved answering for the present.

These points were all, except that of the restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, merely those of honour, and would probably have met with no opposition from the British court; but on the fifteenth of July the French added another extraordinary preliminary, which was, that as there existed in the public and secret treaties by which the French republic was bound to its allies—Spain and the Batavian republic—articles by which the three powers respectively guarantied the territories possessed by each of them before the war, the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it had contracted by these treaties, established as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupied, not only belonging to the French republic, but also of those of Spain and the Batavian republic.

As this peremptory demand of cession on the part of Britain, without any compensation on the part of France or her allies, was not likely to be acquiesced in, the rupture of this negotiation cannot be otherwise than attributed to France. Lord Malmesbury replied, that his instructions did not authorise him to admit this demand as a preliminary principle, but that he would send to his court to know what answer he was to give: and the reply

of the British ministry was a rejection of this *sine quâ non* of the French government. The French deputation transmitted this refusal to the directory, and the negotiation was protracted for several weeks, which, as they stated to lord Malmesbury, were employed by the government of France in disposing her allies to accede to terms more consonant to the wishes of Britain; but, as will be hereafter seen, they were at that very time actually engaged in fomenting an insurrection in Ireland, to bring about their favourite scheme of detaching her from Britain.

At length the revolution of Fructidor, of which an account has been given, took place at Paris, and the members of the French legation were recalled. The new legation, at the very first conference, renewed the demand of a general restitution. Lord Malmesbury expressed his surprise at the renewal of this demand, which their predecessors appeared to have entirely dropped, and of which he attempted to shew them the extreme unreasonableness, but in vain. The conference broke up in an unsettled state; and an official note was immediately after transmitted by the French legation to lord Malmesbury, containing a formal demand of the obnoxious principle of general restitution; to which his lordship replied, "that he neither could nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compensations." On the next day (September the sixteenth) his lordship received another note from the legation, acquainting him, that a decree of the French government had ordered, that in case he should not have the necessary powers for agreeing to the restitutions which the laws and treaties of the French republic rendered indispensable, he should return in twenty-four hours to his court to ask for sufficient powers. His lordship, considering the negotiation as broken up, immediately demanded his passports, and left Lisle the next morning.

After having trampled the continent under foot, France was indignant at not being able to dictate the terms of a peace to England. Pride, resentment, and ambition, now goaded her on to invigorate her immense military force and subjugate her formidable rival. To inflame and inspire the public mind with confidence of success, her public speakers assimilated Britain to Carthage, and France to Rome. Their assumed motto was *Delenda est Carthago*, but it ill suited with their arms. The British

despised these gasconades, but they very prudently made the greatest exertions to continue and bring the war to an honourable conclusion.

The parliament came together on the second of November; and the king's speech, adverting to the negotiations, trusted, that the papers laid before the two houses would prove to them and the world that every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that the long delay, and final rupture, of the negotiations were solely to be ascribed to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and the inordinate ambition of those with whom we had to contend, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity against these kingdoms. It concluded with asserting his majesty's ardent desire for the conclusion of peace on safe and honourable terms. The address met with only a feeble opposition, as almost the whole of the anti-ministerial party seceded from the house; alleging, in justification of their so doing, that they were wearied with attending merely to be outvoted and reproached by the ministerial hirelings as enemies of their country. But reason and a sense of their duty should have told them, that, however unsuccessful might have been their efforts, it was an obligation which they owed to their constituents to continue those exertions, and pusillanimity to fly, and leave them unrepresented.

When the papers relative to the negotiation at Lisle were taken into consideration by the commons, and an address of thanks and approbation moved, sir John Sinclair observed that they did not support the charges against France contained in the king's speech, and proposed an amendment, expressive of a resolution to support the war, but, at the same time, to expunge the words denoting "inveterate animosity," and to insert a declaration, that whenever France was disposed to treat on reasonable terms we would not refuse to negotiate with her. The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, expressed his regret that, on such an occasion, the house should not be unanimous. After having taken a view of the negotiation, the rupture of which he attributed to France, by demanding every thing and conceding nothing, he said it was essential that we should know the real aim of the enemy. It was not our commerce—our wealth—our colonies in the East and West—our maritime greatness—or the extent of

our empire ; it was our liberty—the basis of our independence, the citadel of our happiness—our constitution ! This glowing speech effectually stifled opposition, and the motion was withdrawn. The address contained this expression—“ We know that great exertions are necessary : we are prepared to make them ;” and the nation, in general, concurred in this magnanimous resolution. They thought the concessions offered by England were very great, and the claims of France were altogether unjust and unreasonable ; therefore, the general opinion was for an increased ardour in the prosecution of the war, now become a measure of self-defence, against their inveterate foes. Disgusted at the secession of the opposition, the public once more inclined to repose a confidence in the ministry.

It was regarded as necessary to continue the restrictions on the bank of England from making payments in specie, and a bill was passed for that purpose.

As the enormous increase of the national debt had created considerable alarms, and raised the interest on loans to government, the minister resolved to levy the expenses of the war for the year by taxation ; by which means he would defeat the chief hope of the enemy, which was, that the increase of the permanent debt would destroy the national credit. On the twenty-second of November Mr. Pitt brought forward his new financial scheme, by which the expense of the year, according to his statement, would amount to twenty-five millions and a half. Of this sum, six millions and a half would be supplied from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Seven millions he proposed to raise within the year by a new impost, which should be regulated by the existing assessed taxes, in a triplicate proportion to their actual amount ; not to exceed, however, the tenth part of each person's income. Four millions were to be borrowed without creating any additional debt ; as the produce of the sinking fund, appropriated to the liquidation of the national debt, was equal to that amount. For the other eight millions, he proposed that the triple assessment should be continued till the principal and interest should be completely discharged, so that, after seven millions should be raised for the service of the year, the same taxes, in little more than another year, would pay of the eight millions thus borrowed, with the intermediate in-

terest. Mr. Fox and his party again made their appearance in the house to oppose this scheme, which, they said, was upon a par with the requisitions of Robespierre, and, in its prospective view, more iniquitous, as it was a change of system, imposing a tremendous present burthen, without any prospect of future advantage. The funded system ought not to be abandoned, they said, the only difficulty attending it was the providing for the interest; if that could not be effected, how could the ministry expect to raise so large a sum as the principal in one year? Ministers replied, that the funded system was not abandoned, as only a comparatively small part of the supplies of the present year were to be raised by the new mode, and that such modifications might be made, as would prevent the apprehended inconveniences. An additional clause was proposed by Mr. Addington, allowing voluntary contributions, and adopted. The bill then passed both [1798.] houses on the twelfth of January. The voluntary contributions commenced; and all ranks, from the king down to menial servants—the navy—the army—and the fair sex—all hastened to manifest their zeal for their country: and these private donations amounted to a million and half; a sum not so important in its amount, as for the zeal it manifested for the country and constitution, and the resolution to resist all attempts against either.

Another scheme of the minister was the redemption of the land-tax, which brought in annually two millions sterling; it was proposed to be sold at twenty years' purchase, and the payment was to be in a transfer of three per cent. stock. The reasons for preferring this mode of payment were, that it would absorb a great quantity of stock, and transfer a great part of the national debt from a government to a landed security. As the three per cents were then so low as fifty, the probability of an advance in the price was another advantage looked to. The stock thus commuted for the land-tax would amount to eighty millions, affording an interest of two millions four hundred thousand pounds, and a clear gain to the revenue of four hundred thousand pounds a-year. The landed proprietor was to have the right of pre-emption of the land-tax; and to give him time to raise the purchase money, it was not to be offered to sale to a third person till after a given time; and even then the proprietor was to have the right

of redeeming it, on replacing the amount of stock originally paid by the purchaser. Manifold objections were made against this scheme ; but the strongest plea was that of its unconstitutionality, as, by consenting to vote the land-tax perpetual, instead of granting it annually, parliament would give up one of the greatest checks it had of voting, or withholding, the public money. The bill, however, passed into a law.

Money, the sinews of war, being raised, the parliament began to think of the methods of applying it to the best purpose, in the defence of the realm against invasion. Mr Dundas having completed his plan of defence, submitted it to the commons in the shape of two bills ; one for enabling his majesty to call out a certain portion of the supplementary militia, and the other to enable him to take measures for the more effectual security of these realms, and to indemnify persons who might suffer injury on their property by the operation of such measures. The object of the first part of the second bill was to enable the lords-lieutenants of counties to embody those who might voluntarily come forward to protect their country ; the latter part speaks for itself. These bills, being a measure of security against actual invasion, were passed, and were received with unanimous approbation both in and out of parliament. Their effects were instantaneous, and extending throughout the realm : loyal associations became universal ; patriotism put arms into the hands of Britons, and the volunteers were so numerous, and so indefatigable in attaining military discipline, that, standing on their own shores, they might look to those of France and exclaim,—“ So far ye may safely come, but no further.” As the alarm of invasion was increased by the immense forces which, about this time, were collecting on the opposite coast, the alien bill, for removing all suspicious foreigners out of the realm, and the bill for the suspension of the habeas corpus act, were revived. In addition to these salutary measures, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed a bill for the more effectually manning the navy. The object was to suspend all protections ; and Mr. Tierney opposed the bill, on his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be obtained in the usual way. Mr. Pitt replied in a sarcastic manner, and attributed Mr. Tierney’s opposition to a desire of obstructing the defence of the country. Mr. Tierney called him to order ; and the speaker

observed, that whatever tended to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in the marked language of intention, was irregular ; of such intention the house would judge from Mr. Pitt's explanation. He refused to give any, and was challenged by Mr. Tierney ; they met, and fired two cases of pistols without injury to either, and the affair was put an end to by the seconds.

Before the close of this session, the flame, which had been long fanning in Ireland, broke out into a tremendous blaze. On the nineteenth of June, a royal message was brought down to the commons, acquainting them that various regiments of the militia of this kingdom had made a voluntary tender of their services to be employed for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland. An address of thanks being moved, preparatory to the ushering in a bill to enable his majesty to accept the offer of these regiments, a warm debate ensued. Mr. Banks said, that if the principle of sending the militia to Ireland, or to any place out of the realm, were once admitted, there was no species of warfare in which they might not be employed ; and he moved, as an amendment, that the house considered the proposition as of the utmost consequence, and such as required further deliberation. Another member observed, that there was no official communication before the house of any rebellion existing in Ireland. The militia were bound by their oath to serve in Great Britain, which was threatened with invasion, and where was a substitute to be found for this body ? The amendment was negatived, and the original address passed.

England, thus deprived of its constitutional defence, began to evince a martial spirit equal to any exigency ; all ranks flocked to join the volunteer corps, and from this sudden picture of an armed nation burning to signalise themselves in defence of their constitution and country, France, who found she had been deceived by the few republicans in England, shrunk back with dismay. The session closed on the twenty-ninth of June with an animating speech from the throne.—“ A spirit of voluntary and ardent exertion,” says his majesty, “ diffused through every part of the kingdom, has strengthened and confirmed our internal security ; the same sentiments have continued to animate my

troops of every description ; and my fleets have met the menaces of invasion by blocking up all our enemies in their principal ports.”

CHAP. LXIII.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

IT will be necessary to recur back, in order to give an insight into the affairs of Ireland, now in a state of open rebellion. The Irish nation had never ceased to lose sight of their having once been a distinct and independent kingdom, and never missed any opportunity which they imagined to be favourable to them, of throwing off the yoke. After the suppression of the several rebellions to which this principle had given birth, the confiscated estates were granted to English settlers, who were always regarded by the native Irish as intruders, spies, and enemies. These new comers being far less numerous than the natives, were obliged to depend on England for support ; and, in return, they supported all her measures. The natives, deprived by them of all their political influence, and severely fettered by religious restraints, were seized with a jealousy and antipathy never to be entirely eradicated. After a series of years, these new settlers being, as it were, naturalised in Ireland, and alienated from England, began to side with the natives, and to consider themselves as having one common interest in their country ; and finding the embarrassments of England at the conclusion of the American war, the natives and English colonists, protestants as well as catholics, seized that opportunity of making it expedient for Britain to recognise the independence of the Irish legislature.

The British government, having seen the ill effects of coercive measures in the case of America, began to act with more liberality towards Ireland, and the penal statutes against the catholics were repealed ; but, having carried their common point with the protestants against Britain, the catholics still sighed for a total emancipation from their restriction from offices of state, and seats in the legislative assemblies. The protestants now grew

jealous of the catholics; who, being so much more numerous, might, in case they were admitted to a participation of all their privileges, make use of their superiority of numbers to assert their claims to those estates of which they did not hesitate to pronounce the protestants usurpers; and the lower classes of the catholics were inflamed against them by their priests, who stigmatised them not only as usurpers, but heretics. This jealousy on one side, and rancorous and superstitious hatred on the other, were at their height when the French revolution astonished Europe, and attracted all its attention. The catholics regarded the French in the light of the friends of the persecuted and oppressed, as they considered themselves to be, and anxiously looked forwards to support from them. The French—who, on their side, are never remiss at seizing any opportunity of wounding and dismembering their rival, Britain—dispatched one Jackson, an Irishman, and of the clerical profession, but then residing in France, as an emissary to England and Ireland, to improve and give them notice of any movement in favour of their designs. Jackson first went to Ireland, where he formed a connection with Wolfe Tone, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, and other discontented leaders; and concerted, in conjunction with them, a plan of insurrection, to be connected with a French invasion. Jackson, after having settled this business, came to London, and formed a connection with one Stone, whose brother was then resident in France. Stone, a weak, vain man, had, it appeared, no other view than to serve his country; but he took such awkward steps, as involved him in suspicion of traitorous intentions against it. Finding all hopes of invasion against England vanished, Jackson returned to Ireland, still maintaining a correspondence with Stone; until government, aware of Jackson's business, and furnished with ample proofs of his guilt, caused him to be apprehended. He was tried and convicted; but when brought up to receive sentence, he fell down dead;—it is to be hoped, not through suicide, as has been suspected. Stone was also tried, but no guilt appearing against him, he was acquitted, and joined his brother in France. Tone, the reputed founder of the society of united Irishmen, Rowan, and other celebrated members of that society, absconded.

Early in 1795 lord Fitzwilliam had been sent over to Ireland,

in order, as the Irish expected, to remove the radical cause of their discontent; but he was soon recalled, and their gloom became deeper than ever. The united Irishmen began then first to organise; a sort of military pikes were fabricated to supply the want of fire-arms, and a proposal was made to them by France, to assist them with a considerable body of forces, and enable them to form a republic, independent of Britain. A negotiation was opened through the medium of Tone, and the other refugees; and Arthur O'Connor and lord Edward Fitzgerald were appointed by the united society, to settle the terms of a treaty with France. The two latter persons went to Paris, and arranged matters with general Hoche, whose unsuccessful expedition has already been noticed. This disappointment was occasioned by the want of preparation on the part of the society, and the determined spirit of loyalty displayed by the friends of government. The defeat of the Dutch and Spanish fleets also considerably damped the hopes of the French and united Irish.

Doctor Macnevin was now sent by the Irish association to France; and as his mission was at the very time when the negotiation at Lisle was yet going on, and for the express purpose of persuading the French to accede to no terms of peace, which should not include the entire emancipation of Ireland from Britain, the protraction of that negotiation by the French is easily accounted for. After it was broken off, they gave the most lavish promises of the necessary assistance and support to the Irish insurgents.

In the beginning of the present year the association began to prepare for active and open measures of revolt. The executive council, as they styled themselves, issued military commissions; the most shocking depredations were committed on the protestants: these were resisted, with success, by the king's troops and the Orange volunteer corps; and Ireland was stained with blood.

The benevolent heart of lord Moira prompted him to make an attempt at conciliation; and, on the nineteenth of February, he moved, in the Irish house of peers, an address to the lord-lieutenant, beseeching him to pursue such conciliatory measures as might allay the apprehensions, and extinguish the discontents, unhappily prevalent in that country; but the motion was finally negatived.

About the same time Arthur O'Connor arrived in London, with a view of going over to France in company with Binns, one of the corresponding society, O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and Allen and Leary, all disciples of the same revolutionary school. Binns and O'Coigley had been very busy in establishing united societies of English and Scotch, similar to that of the united Irish, and they had succeeded in the town of Manchester, and in different parts of Scotland. Government, however, had an eye upon O'Connor and his associates, who were arrested at Margate, on the eve of sailing to France. On O'Coigley was found a paper, intitled, "An address from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France;" clearly developing their wretched and treasonable designs. O'Coigley was tried, and convicted on the evidence of this paper; put only presumptions appearing against the rest, they undeservedly experienced the lenity of that code of laws which they were combining to overturn, and were acquitted; but O'Connor and Binns were detained on other charges of high treason.

The important crisis which was to decide the fate of Britain was now arrived: one Reynolds, who had associated with the conspirators, struck with remorse, disclosed the whole of their designs to the magistrates of Dublin; and, in consequence of his information, Mr. Oliver Bond, Dr. Macnevin, and counsellor Emmett, three of the executive directory of Ireland, with fourteen of the delegates from Leinster, and their secretary, were seized in Bond's house, where they held their meetings. Lord Edward Fitzgerald escaped for that time; but the place of his concealment being soon afterwards discovered, the officers rushed in to apprehend him: he fired upon them, who shot at him in return, and mortally wounded him.

The rest of the conspirators, maddened with despair, determined on a general rising on the twenty-fourth of May; but government were apprised of all their intentions by one captain Armstrong, of the militia, who had been instructed to join them for the purpose. Their plan was to storm the camp at Loughlin's town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, in one night; but, on the twenty-first, the newly-chosen executive directory, who had been appointed to supply the place of those who had been apprehended, and many others of their leaders, were

seized ; the city and county of Dublin declared in a state of insurrection, and the castle secured against attack.

By these precautions, the metropolis was preserved from devastation and outrage ; but, at the appointed time, the insurgents in different parts of the country rose and attacked Naas, where they were repulsed by the fourth dragoon guards and some militia, commanded by lord Gosford. Three of the insurgents were instantly hanged, by way of example. A body of them was also defeated on the north side of the Liffy, near the hills of Killcullen, by general Dundas ; and, on the twenty-fifth another body of about four hundred having ventured into the village of Rathfarnham, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, was routed by a small party of dragoons, and two of their leaders were tried by a court-martial, condemned, and executed on the spot.

On the next day a more considerable body of the rebels was defeated at Tallagh-hill, thirteen miles from Dublin ; and they were also repulsed in two several attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare. Their chief force began to assemble in the county of Wexford, between the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy ; the latter of which places they carried by storm. Wexford soon after surrendered at discretion ; and became, immediately, a scene of the most shocking and inhuman outrages. Three of the united Irishmen, who were confined in the prison at that place for high treason, were set at liberty ; and one of them, Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, was appointed their commander-in-chief. The houses of the protestants were pillaged, and themselves were placed in the same state of confinement from whence the united Irishmen had been liberated.

After having thus satiated their revenge, they marched, with their new general at their head, to attack the town of New Ross, in the vicinity of which general Johnson was posted with a detachment of king's troops. In order to disorder and break down these, whom, notwithstanding their vast superiority of numbers, the rebels dared not face openly, they drove before them with their pikes, all the horses and oxen they could collect in their march. This curious advanced guard being closely followed by the whole weight of the rebel force, the king's troops were swept away before it into the town. Here again the battle recommenced on more equal terms, as the rebel multitude had not so

much room as in the open country ; and, after a vast slaughter, they were obliged to fly out of the town ; and the military were too much fatigued by a contest of eight hours, without intermission, to pursue them. In revenge for this defeat and disappointment, the rebels returned to Enniscorthy, burning with fiend-like malice, and vented their rage upon the defenceless loyalists of Wexford and Enniscorthy ; numbers of whom they butchered in cold blood, and with unparalleled barbarity.

The rebels soon after made another unsuccessful attack upon Arklow ; and, being apprised that general Lake was advancing towards them, they, to the number of twenty thousand, took a very strong position at Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy ; in which situation they were, by degrees, hemmed in by the king's troops and loyalists on every side. On the twenty-first of June, a general attack was made on them, which was begun by general Johnson's assaulting the town of Enniscorthy, whilst generals Dundas, Needham, and Duff, ascended the hill in three different divisions. The rebels made a stout resistance for about an hour, when they fled, and were pursued by the military ; who, having received orders to give no quarter, made a prodigious slaughter of them. Wexford was evacuated by the rebels the next day, on the approach of general Moore, who arrived just in time to prevent their laying it in ashes, and slaughtering their remaining prisoners ; eighty-six of whom had been pierced with pikes and thrown over the bridge on the preceding day, whilst a band of music played for the diversion of these barbarians.

Harvey, their general, having expressed his disapprobation of these massacres, was immediately divested of his command, but permitted to leave the rebels. He sought to conceal himself in a rocky island near the mouth of Wexford harbour ; where he was discovered, brought to a court-martial, condemned, and executed, with several others, on the bridge of Wexford, which had just before been the scene of their barbarity. A large body of the rebels who escaped from Vinegar-hill, with one father Murphy at their head, were met at Kilcounell by the troops under sir Charles Asgill, and more than a thousand of them killed on the spot. Their leader, however, escaped.

The insurgents never marched without some bigoted priest to infuriate and ensure them of success, by giving them charms to

prevent the balls of their adversaries from hurting them. Of these wretches who thus made tools of their credulous and superstitious followers, was this father Murphy, who was so fond of blood, that he would not have disgraced the reign of Mary. In one of his sermons, or harangues, to the rabble, after the defeat at New Ross, he declared, "that those who had been killed in battle had fallen through their want of faith; that this general rising of the catholics was visibly the work of God, who had determined that the heretics, after having reigned so many years, should be now extirpated, and the true catholic religion established." This zealot also, previously to the retreat of the insurgents from New Ross, issued orders to set fire to a barn at Scollobogue, where a considerable number of their prisoners, including women and children, were confined, in order to prevent their escape; and all perished in the flames amidst the shouts and exultations of the surrounding savages. Murphy was however soon after taken, and expiated his crimes on the gallows. The rebellion in the south was now quelled, but, in the north, the counties of Down and Antrim were in open insurrection. The insurgents were for a while in possession of the town of Antrim, but being driven out and receiving a severe defeat at Ballynahinch, the tranquillity of Ulster was restored.

As the lord lieutenant of Ireland very properly conceived that the present perturbed state of the country required a person who could act in a military as well as civil capacity, he was, at his own request, recalled, and the marquis Cornwallis appointed to succeed him. The new lord lieutenant, whilst he displayed moderation and mercy to the infatuated rabble, did not fail to make example of those who had misled them; several of the principal of whom were tried and executed: and this mixt system of judicious lenity and severity in a short time produced the happiest effects. A general amnesty, with few exceptions, was issued, and most of the scattered rebel corps embraced it, and laid down their arms; the rest were only banditti, who, from the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford, committed their nocturnal depredations, but it scarcely required a military force to dislodge them.

In June, when the rebellion was totally quelled, a small French squadron, part of a much larger force destined for the same service, appeared on the coast of Connaught to endeavour to revive

it, and disembarked some troops in the bay of Killala. These were instantly joined by numbers of the catholics; but they were checked, on finding that the protestants were invariably attached to government. The invaders, notwithstanding this discouragement, marched from Killala to Castlebar, in number about eleven hundred, besides the rabble which had joined them. On the twenty-seventh, the French general Humbert, who commanded the expedition, reached Castlebar, where general Lake commanded a force sufficient to stop his further progress; but the French attacking him before he could ascertain their numbers, the British, thinking them greater than they were, retreated with the loss of several men. Castlebar immediately surrendered, and the French received a large reinforcement of insurgents.

Lord Cornwallis now took the field in person with a powerful force; and marching directly, but cautiously, to prevent surprise, against the invaders, who had advanced to Tuam, they were obliged to fall back. The French commander, seeing all hopes of ultimate success vanish, gave the insurgents an opportunity to seek their own safety by dispersing throughout the country, which most of them embraced. On the eighth of September, the vanguard of the English came in sight of the rear of the French at Ballynamuck, and, after a short action, the French surrendered at discretion; but very little mercy was shown to the remaining insurgents, who began to fly in all directions.

In the following month, another French squadron, consisting of the *Hoche* of eighty guns, and eight frigates, was descried off the coast of Ulster by a cruising squadron under the command of admiral sir John Borlase Warren. The *Hoche* and six of the frigates were captured; and thus ended the project of the invasion of Ireland. Among the prisoners taken in the *Hoche* was Wolfe Tone, who prevented the punishment due to the laws of his injured country by suicide.

But every country was not thus happily destined to escape the harpy fangs of France. The power of the pope, with whom they had again managed a quarrel, was overthrown, and a provisional government substituted, which was wholly subject to that of France. The next object of their rapacity was the Swiss cantons, the existing government of which had been undermined by revolutionary principles, and was now ready to be blown into the air.

Under some alleged prettexts of insults or injuries, the French government made the most insolent and unjust demands on the Swiss republic. The Helvetic diet showed an intention of resistance, by ordering a levy of twenty-six thousand men ; but it went on so slowly, that the French, under general Menard, appeared on the Genevan frontier before any progress had been made. A general insurrection broke out in the Swiss cantons, and Menard marched on, proclaiming peace, liberty, and fraternity.

It would be foreign to this work to follow the French in all their steps, which were marked with blood, tyranny, and rapacity ; suffice it therefore to say, that a new constitution was formed on the model of that of France, to which the once free Helvetic states now became slavish appendages.

During this year, an armament was fitted out from England under general Coote and commodore Popham, with a view to destroy the canal of Bruges and break up the internal navigation between the Batavian republic, Flanders, and France. The troops were landed, and the object completed ; but, unfortunately, a high surf prevented their re-embarkation. The British forces, to the number of twelve hundred, were surrounded by immense numbers ; and, after a gallant but ineffectual resistance, in which general Coote was himself severely wounded, they were compelled to surrender.

At the close of the year, the English attacked the island of Minorca ; and, after a feeble resistance, the garrison, to the amount of four thousand, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

The invasion of England and Ireland being now abandoned by the French government as impracticable, they began to listen to a plan of Buonaparte's, which was, to seize on the Turkish province of Egypt, and through it to subvert the British empire in India. To blind the eyes of England, the farce of invasion was still kept up, and troops were constantly advancing to the shores of Normandy and Brittany, whilst the army destined for real service was collecting at Toulon.

In May, Buonaparte sailed from Toulon with thirteen sail of the line, seven frigates, and upwards of two hundred transports, under the command of admiral Brueys. He carried with him a strange mixture of literati, artists, natural philosophers, priests, players, and even prostitutes. On the ninth of June this expedi-

tion appeared before Malta, which the grand-master surrendered most disgracefully, as well as treacherously ; since the principal condition was, that he himself should receive an annual pension for life of three hundred thousand livres.

After leaving a garrison of four thousand men in Malta, and receiving reinforcements in sixty transports from Civita Vecchia, the armament, now consisting of forty thousand troops, kept its course north-east, and on the first of July reached the bay of Alexandria. An English squadron, which had been detached from lord St. Vincent's fleet, under the command of admiral Nelson, to watch the French armament at Toulon, finding it gone, sailed in pursuit, and arrived at Malta only two days after the French had left it ; and, conjecturing their course was to Alexandria, it stood after them. Not finding the French there, Nelson sailed again in quest of them, and had scarcely disappeared from before Alexandria when the French fleet arrived in the bay. The French took Alexandria by assault, and made a great slaughter of the Arabs and Mameloucs who defended it, in order to strike the rest with an awe of the French arms. To win the hearts of the mussulmen, and incline them to submission, Buonaparte published an address to them, in which he says—" You will be told that I come to destroy your religion. Do not believe it. I come to restore your rights, to punish usurpers ; and I reverence more than the Mameloucs themselves God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran." From Alexandria this profligate apostate and impostor marched to Rosetta, which he garrisoned ; and then proceeding up the Nile towards Grand Cairo, he encountered, at Gizeh, one of the chiefs of the Mameloucs, named Murad Bey, whose undisciplined army he repulsed with prodigious slaughter. After this encounter, which was styled the battle of the pyramids, Buonaparte entered Grand Cairo in triumph.

But the French were now to meet with another sort of an enemy than the flying Arabs. Nelson, sailing along the coast of Morea, had been informed that the French fleet were certainly gone to Egypt. He immediately returned thither, and the enemy were discovered at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, forming a line of battle, with the headmost ships close to a shoal to the north-west, and the rest in a curve line, flanked by gun boats ; and a battery of mortars which they had erected on an island, in the van.

Nelson, who imagined that the French had anchored so close to the shore for the purpose of keeping up a communication with the land forces, directed part of his fleet to run between their ships and the shore, and attack them on that side, whilst he, with the rest, bore down in front, and thus inclosed them between two fires. Having communicated this general outline of attack to the different captains, he left them to their own judgment in its execution, and to act wherever and whenever they could do so most effectually. Each ship was so emulous to gain her station, that not one lost it by the smallest distance; and, firing their broadsides as they could get them to bear on the enemy, the headmost pushed on to make way for those who were behind. The action continued, with the most undaunted obstinacy, till midnight; when the French admiral's own ship, *L'Orient*, of one hundred and twenty guns, blew up with a tremendous explosion, and with a blaze that for some moments seemed to dispel the shades of night. A terrific pause ensued; but the battle soon recommenced, and lasted, with short intervals of interruption, till day-break, when the French fleet appeared mere wrecks on the water, and the colours of most of them struck to their intrepid conquerors. Two line of battle ships and two frigates only made their escape; and the annals of naval history do not record a more desperate conflict, or a more complete victory. Nelson, after leaving a squadron to blockade the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta, sailed for Europe with his prizes.

The grand seignior publicly testified his sense of the service performed by admiral Nelson, by making him a most superb present of diamonds and a robe of sables, besides giving a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed among the wounded seamen. Paul, who had succeeded his mother Catharine, the late empress of Russia, also began to show an inimical disposition to France, and a wish to restore the Bourbons. England, not slow to penetrate his inclinations, endeavoured to raise another confederacy, more powerful than the former. A treaty was at length concluded between Britain and Russia at the very close of this year, whereby the former engaged to pay two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and one hundred and twelve thousand five hundred pounds per month, for the expenses of raising the army during a campaign of eight months, and for maintaining it:

the latter engaged to bring into the field an army of forty-five thousand men in cavalry and infantry, besides a proportionate artillery; and neither party was to make a peace or armistice without including the other.

This treaty was notified by a royal message to the British parliament, then sitting; and the subsidy was voted, not without some severe animadversions from the opposition on the manner in which the ministry had been before duped by Prussia, and some hints that this job might be no better performed. The subsidy was, however, granted. The opposition predicted that this new crusade against France would be as inefficient as the former, and proposed an address to the king, deprecating any new alliance which might preclude a separate peace; but the motion was negatived.

The next important affair which employed the consideration of the British parliament was another royal message brought to both houses of parliament on the twenty-second of January, [1799.] stating that France persisted in her attempts to separate Ireland from England, and recommending to them to consider the most effectual means of frustrating that design, by disposing the legislatures of both countries to settle, in any manner they should think most proper, such a complete and final adjustment as might best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British empire. Upon this message Mr. Pitt founded his plan for an union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be from thenceforward styled the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on terms nearly conformable to that between England and Scotland. Both houses of the British parliament concurred in approving the plan, and in an address to the king, requesting him to communicate their views and resolutions to the Irish parliament; which was accordingly complied with, and the subject taken into deliberation by their legislatures.

By the treaty of Campo Formio, the Rhine was fixed upon as the boundary between France and Germany; and the latter was to receive such indemnities as would make her amends for the territory she had thus ceded to France. To settle these indemnities, a congress of plenipotentiaries of the Germanic body and French republic was to meet at Rastadt; and they assembled, accordingly, in 1797.

Their tedious proceedings during more than a year, in which little was accomplished, are not worthy of detail ; it will only be necessary to state, that the French having made some new demands, such as, 1st, The navigation of the Rhine to be common to both nations ; 2dly, To leave the islands in the Rhine in possession of the republic ; 3dly, To retain the fort of Kehl, and the territory contiguous on the German side of the Rhine ; likewise the suburb of Cassel, opposite to the city of Mentz ; 4thly, To demolish the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, commanding the entrance into Germany on the side of Westphalia, the Upper Rhine, and Hesse ; the emperor, seconded by the king of Prussia on this occasion, remonstrated against these extortions, as injurious to the empire, and no less fatal to her honour than her safety. The French made some abatements ; but the emperor, not fearing the threatening aspect of Buonaparte, and instigated by the new confederacy, insisted upon the relinquishment of the whole of their demands : and it is probable the French would have complied if the march of the Russians had not alarmed the directory. The French plenipotentiaries refused to proceed in the negotiation till they had received a satisfactory answer whether the emperor meant to permit the entrance of these troops into the states of the empire ; as such a procedure would be regarded by France as a direct violation of the neutrality of the empire. The French plenipotentiaries likewise delivered a written declaration to the Austrian minister, in substance, that if in fifteen days from the date the emperor should not have compelled the Russian troops to evacuate the Austrian territory, hostilities should be forthwith commenced between him and the French republic. The emperor, not intimidated by this menace, suffered the fifteen days to elapse without complying with this demand ; and general Jourdain began his march into Suabia, whilst Massena advanced through Switzerland towards the Tyrol, intending to form a junction with each other on the eastern side of the lake of Constance. The French armies were no sooner in full motion than the directory declared war against Austria. The archduke Charles marched from his encampment on the river Lech towards Jourdain, and offered him battle. This was what Jourdain wanted ; the event, if favourable to him, would enable him to effect a junction with Massena. On the twenty-first of April, an affair took place be-

tween the out-posts, in which the Austrians had the advantage; and on the twenty-seventh Jourdain marched his main body in three divisions, to attack the archduke. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy, and the victory seemed to be rather inclining to the side of the French, when the archduke, dismounting, personally led the infantry to a charge, and so inspired them with his presence and example, that they soon regained the ground they had lost. The French, however, continued firm; but the archduke, profiting by the manœuvre of Buonaparte of attacking the enemy in the rear whilst warmly engaged in front, sent round some battalions of grenadiers, who, charging the French in flank, soon put them into confusion, and a general rout ensued. Jourdain wished to have tempted fortune again on the following day; but the troops were so reduced and dispirited, that, for fear of worse consequences, he thought it would be advisable to draw them from before an enemy flushed with victory, and he made a hasty retreat across the Rhine. Jourdain shared the fate of all the other unsuccessful republican generals; he was dismissed from the command, and Massena was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole French forces from the Alps to Mentz.

Jourdain's retreat had totally unhinged the plan of the campaign which the French had laid down. They had two armies on foot in Italy, amounting to nearly one hundred and thirty thousand men, including Poles, Swiss, Neapolitans, and Genoese: the one was styled the army of Italy, and the other that of Naples; but the general rancour which their rapacity had excited against them compelled them to maintain so many garrisons in different places, to keep the inhabitants in subjection, that their effective force could scarcely be computed to amount to more than fifty thousand men. It had been preconcerted that the army of Italy should cooperate with that of Switzerland in attacking the Austrian territories, from the Adriatic through Styria and Carinthia, and if Jourdain had been successful the three divisions were to have pushed on to Vienna, in one grand line; but his retreat disconcerted a part of these measures.

The Austrian army, under general Kray, had advanced into Italy; and encountering that of the French, commanded by general Scherer, obliged it to retreat precipitately towards Mantua. The Austrians pursued them with unremitting ardour and suc-

cess, and, being joined by the Italians, they compelled the French to evacuate the left bank of the Adige, and all the territories which they had wrested from the Venetians. Affairs were in this situation when the Russian general Suwarrow joined the Austrians with twenty-five thousand men, and assumed the chief command.

Suwarrow, leaving Kray to invest Peschiera and Mantua, pursued the French, retreating into the Milanese; and, coming up with them at Adda, gave them a complete overthrow on the twenty-seventh of April, the same day on which Jourdain was defeated by the archduke. Scherer evacuated the Milanese; and, as Peschiera had surrendered to Kray, the whole of the north-east part of Italy, except Mantua, was recovered from the French.

Moreau was now appointed to the command of the French army; and general Macdonald, who commanded the army of Naples, received orders from the directory to evacuate that city and endeavour to join him. Macdonald arrived at Florence at the head of twenty-five thousand men, but, as he was one hundred and fifty miles distant from Moreau, his task was arduous. There were two roads for him: one by Corniche, which was impassable by the artillery and baggage; and the other lay between the Apennines and the Po, through Modena, Parma, and Placentia. He chose the latter; but secured the former, to keep open a communication with Moreau by that route, in case he failed in the other. The most extraordinary exertions of military skill were displayed by Moreau and Macdonald, to form a junction, and by Suwarrow, to prevent it. In June, the French generals had reached the river Trebia; and so had Suwarrow, who took a position between them. On the seventeenth, a series of conflicts took place between Suwarrow and Macdonald; and the latter was, after a hard contest, obliged to retrace back his steps to Tuscany. Turning his force against Moreau, Suwarrow also compelled him to retreat.

Macdonald now determined to try the road by Corniche; and he embarked his artillery and baggage, with the spoils of Italy, and sent them round by sea, notwithstanding the imminent danger of their falling into the hands of the British cruisers. Having performed this, he began his march by the road of Corniche, and, at the end of July, effected a junction with Moreau near Genoa.

In the mean time, Mantua and Alessandria had surrendered to the Austrians ; Naples, attacked by the Russians, and a body of English, whom lord Nelson had landed, was compelled to capitulate. Lord Nelson then dispatched captain Trowbridge to Rome, where the inhabitants joyfully threw off the French yoke ; and of all Italy, a small portion in the north-west now only remained to the republicans.

Moreau was recalled to take the command of the army of the Rhine, and general Joubert was nominated to succeed him. The imperialists were then besieging Tortona in Piedmont, and Joubert resolved to risk an engagement to relieve it. On the fifteenth of August, the French were drawn up on the hills behind the town of Novi, which, though not high, are very steep, and difficult of access. Suwarrow determined to attack them, and advanced for that purpose at day-break the next morning. The contest was sharp ; the right and centre of the imperialists were three times repulsed : it lasted till noon, when sixteen battalions of the Russo-Austrians having turned the right flank of the French, they were routed, and general Joubert, in attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. This victory decided the fate of the campaign. Tortona surrendered, and Genoa alone remained to the French of all their late acquisitions in Italy.

The imperialists were also successful on the Rhine, where the archduke, having driven Massena from the Grisons, and after that from the strong position of St. Gothard, had penetrated into Switzerland ; he then waited for reinforcements, and, as Massena was too weak for offensive operations, both parties rested on their arms till the latter end of August.

Some difference of opinion, the cause of which will be noticed hereafter, now appeared to have broken out between the two imperial courts, and the further operations of the campaign were materially affected by it. Moreau had been recalled from Italy in order to try to save Switzerland, by making a diversion on the west side of Germany. He accordingly crossed the Rhine, and entered Suabia, which, according to French custom, he laid under heavy contribution. The archduke Charles, with the chief part of his army, was recalled to oppose him ; and the defence of Switzerland was left to general Korsakow, who had by this time entered it with a Russian force, in conjunction with general Hotze,

who was appointed to command the remaining Austrian troops. Massena had several conflicts with Korsakow, in which French skill and impetuosity were generally superior to Russian valour; and he at length surrounded Korsakow at Zurich. A general engagement ensued, in which the Russian infantry performed prodigies of valour; but they were at length completely routed, and obliged to pass the Rhine.

Suwarrow, who expected the cooperation of the archduke and of Korsakow, about this time entered Switzerland; and finding the archduke gone and the Russians driven out, he was obliged to act upon the defensive, and follow Korsakow, who, rallying his troops, advanced to join him. Several desperate encounters took place, in which Suwarrow managed so as never to be defeated; but, seeing no hopes of succours from the Austrians, he finally crossed the Rhine. The archduke Charles, after he was informed of the ill success of Suwarrow, left Suabia to support him; but it was then too late, and the imperialists lost, in the end, all they had gained in Switzerland at the beginning of the campaign.

A manifesto issued by the emperor Paul at this time sufficiently explained the nature of the difference between the two imperial courts which had caused that want of cooperation, so fatal to the campaign in Switzerland. The court of Vienna would have thought its ends answered if it could have preserved its conquests, but that of Petersburg wished those conquests to be made the means of establishing the Bourbons in the monarchy of France. The court of London concurred with the latter. The emperor Paul, therefore, by his manifesto, declared his intention of restoring the antient government of France, and of replacing all the conquests of the republic on the same footing as before the war. It promised, that if the German powers would co-operate with him he would exert his whole force by sea and land; but if they withheld their assistance, he would recal his forces.

During this year, Great Britain had not been tardy in making her attacks upon the common enemy, in every point which she deemed vulnerable. A plan had been formed for rescuing the United Provinces from France; and an armament, consisting of about thirty thousand British and Russians, to be commanded by the duke of York, had been collected for that purpose. On the thirteenth of August, a part of the armament sailed from the

Downs, under the command of sir Ralph Abercrombie, and conducted by admiral Mitchell. The landing, which was covered by admiral Mitchell and superintended by general Abercrombie, was effected on the twenty-seventh, after a vigorous opposition from the enemy posted at the Helder; and soon afterwards the whole of the Dutch fleet in the Texel surrendered to Britain. The duke of York having arrived with the rest of the armament, a general attack was resolved on, and on the nineteenth of September the Anglo-Russian army advanced in four columns: but the Russians on the right, having precipitated themselves on the enemy with more valour than skill, were repulsed; and, notwithstanding that two of the divisions had carried their points, yet this repulse having rendered the advantage useless, the whole army returned to its former position. The attack was renewed on the second of October, and lasted from six in the morning to the same hour in the evening. The first impression was made by the right wing, and so from that by the centre and the left, until the enemy were defeated, with the loss of about four thousand men, besides three hundred prisoners, and several pieces of cannon. On the next day the Anglo-Russians moved forwards to the posts of Egmont-op-Hoof, Egmont-op-Zee, the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar and Bergen.

The enemy had retired to the isthmus between Beverwick and the Zuyder-Zee, from whence the duke of York resolved to attempt to dislodge them before they could strengthen the works, or receive reinforcements. Both the armies drew up in full force, and the action became general from Limnen to the sea. At night the enemy gave way, and the Anglo-Russians pushed on to Haerlem; but, receiving intelligence from the prisoners that the Gallo-Batavians had been reinforced and had strongly entrenched Beverwick in their rear, the duke of York thought proper to fall back upon Shagenbrug.

The obstacles to the expedition now appeared to be insurmountable. The roads had been cut up; all the places capable of defence had been fortified; and, instead of cooperation from the Dutch, they, either through fear of the republicans or attachment to them, manifested a contrary disposition.

Weighing all those circumstances, the duke of York dispatched his secretary to London with a statement of affairs, and to receive instructions how to proceed. The secretary returned with

orders for the evacuation of Holland, for which purpose transports were ordered over to receive the troops on board. A suspension of arms was agreed on between the respective commanders, by which all the prisoners on both sides were to be given up; and, as a compensation for permitting the British troops to reembark without molestation, eight thousand seamen, prisoners of war in Britain, were to be delivered up to France.

In the West Indies, the British reduced the valuable Dutch colony of Surinam; and all the ships of war and magazines belonging to government were given up to them by the terms of the capitulation.

In the East Indies, the arms of the British were crowned with eminent success. Ever since the peace of 1792, so galling to Tippoo Sultaun, he had kept the jealousy of the British awake on his future intentions; but he veiled them so artfully, that they would never have been disclosed till a blow had been struck, if it had not been brought to light by French vanity. In June, 1798, a proclamation of the French governor of the isle of France prematurely avowed that an alliance had been formed between the French republic and the Mysore government, for the destruction of the British power in India. The governor-general, on receiving intelligence of this proclamation, attempted to assemble the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, with which he intended to have attacked the sultaun, and forced him to abandon his hostile views; but this attempt was baffled, by the dispersed state and bad condition of the Coromandel army. The governor-general, however, concluded a subsidiary treaty with the nizam; one of the conditions of which was, that the French troops in his service should be dismissed (which was performed accordingly); and the governor-general settled all disputes between the nizam and the paishwah, and conciliated the friendship of both.

During this state of preparation, intelligence was received in India of the invasion of Egypt, and of the defeat of the French fleet by Nelson. The governor-general thought this a proper season to apprise Tippoo of his being acquainted with his connection with the French, and to propose to him to receive major Doveton to adjust every subsisting difference. This was effected by letter; to which Tippoo replied by expressing his surprise at

the military preparations of the British, and describing the embassy to the isle of France as a mere mercantile affair, to which the French, "who are," he says, "full of vice and deceit," have given a different turn, with a view of disturbing the union of the two states. As to the proposal of receiving major Doveton, he observes, that he considered every thing finally adjusted at the conclusion of the peace, nor could he imagine that more effectual means could be adopted for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of the states, and the welfare and advantage of all parties.

It was evident, during this and other correspondence which followed, that Tippoo wished to gain time; and the governor-general, fearing the approach of the monsoon, ordered general Harris to enter Mysore with his army, and attempt the reduction of Seringapatam. On the eleventh of February in the present year general Harris began his march, and on the next day he was joined by the nizam's contingent of twelve thousand men. His army then consisted of thirty-one thousand infantry and six thousand nizam cavalry. The army on the coast of Malabar, under general Stuart, was nearly as efficient. Tippoo's army marched from Maddoor to meet them; and, on the thirteenth of March, a party of the enemy's horse appeared in view, but they were soon dispersed by a few discharges from the horse artillery. The enemy destroyed the road to Bangalore, thinking the English would have taken that route: but general Harris, when he came in sight of it, contrary to their expectation, took the road of Cankanelli; and, on the twenty-first, the army encamped at that place. It was now ascertained that Tippoo was only fifteen miles off, and, as the English approached Sultaunpettah on the twenty-third, a cloud of dust announced that he was in motion. His object was not to attack general Harris, but a part of the Bombay army, under general Stuart, which was also advancing by another route, and was only six thousand in number. Tippoo attacked them with double their force, but was repulsed with considerable loss, and made a precipitate retreat to Seringapatam, from whence he again advanced to meet general Harris. On the twenty-seventh of March an engagement took place on the road leading to Mallavelly, and Tippoo's forces were driven within their lines with the loss of one thousand killed and wound-

ed, whilst the victory did not cost the British more than seventy.

On the third of April the English came in view of Seringapatam. On the fifth, they took up their ground within three thousand five hundred yards of the west face of the fort of Seringapatam, and, on the same evening and the next morning, they attacked and carried the most considerable of the outposts. On the ninth, Tippoo sent a letter to general Harris, stating, that "he adhered firmly to the treaties, and demanded the reason of the advance of the English armies, and of the recurrence of hostilities." General Harris, in answer, referred him to the correspondence which had lately taken place on the subject between himself and the governor-general. On the fourteenth, generals Stuart and Floyd, who had effected a junction, arrived with the whole of the Bombay army, and took their ground in the rear of general Harris's encampment. On the sixteenth the Bombay army crossed the Caverry, which was then almost dry, and its bed a bare rock. On the twenty-second, the besieged made an attack on the Bombay army with six thousand infantry and Lally's French corps; but they were repulsed, with the loss of near seven hundred men.

Previously to this attack, general Harris had received overtures from the sultaun; and, in the evening of the twenty-second, he sent him a draft of the preliminaries of a treaty of peace, the principal articles of which were, that "he should cede half his territories to the allies in perpetuity;—pay two crores of rupees;—renounce the alliance of the French forever;—dismiss every native of France from his service;—receive ambassadors from each of the allies, and give four of his sons, and an equal number of his principal officers, as hostages." These propositions received no answer until the guns of the west face were totally silenced; and then, on the twenty-eighth, Tippoo proposed to send two gentlemen to confer personally with general Harris; but the general, looking on this as merely a scheme to gain time, referred to the proposition of the twenty-second, as the only terms on which he would treat.

The works being completed on the second of May, the English now began to batter in breach, and, on the evening of the fourth (the breach being then considered practicable), the troops destined to mount it, in number about four thousand, were stationed in

the trenches to be ready at daybreak. At one o'clock the assault, led on by general Baird, commenced, and in six minutes the forlorn hope had reached the top of the breach, where the British standard was instantly displayed. The rest of the English were up in a few minutes, and the besieged fled in every direction. A flag of truce was sent to the palace offering protection to the sultaun and his friends, but he was not to be found. The young princes surrendered to general Baird, and received every assurance of protection. After much intreaty and some threats, the Killedar, an officer of great trust in the palace, informed the English that Tippoo had been wounded during the assault in the gateway of the north face of the fort, where he still lay. He was there, indeed, covered with heaps of slain; his eyes yet open, and his body warm. Thus perished the most formidable enemy of the British in India, through his giving way to the insinuations and implacable hatred of the French against the British. His dominions were divided among the conquerors; and this was effected with so much policy, that the Mahrattas were admitted to a share, although they had taken no part in the war. A legal descendant of the person from whom Hyder Ally had usurped the throne was reinstated in the government under certain conditions, and Tippoo's sons were taken into the protection of the English.

Buonaparte being, through the defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, separated from France, resolved to gain a footing not only in the land, but also in the affection of the Egyptians. For these purposes, he flattered their religious bigotry by preaching up predestination, and giving free passage and protection to caravans going to and returning from Mecca. He satiated their ambition by making presents to Turks, Copts, Arabs, and Greeks. He professed himself the champion of their natural rights, by declaring he came to deliver them from the tyranny of the beys; and he tickled their vanity, by recounting what they had once been, and asserting that he wished to restore them to their pristine grandeur. But antient prejudices are not easily eradicated, and the mussulmen either found out or were taught by their doctors to believe that his innovations were contrary to the Koran. The Porte conceived his voyage to Egypt in its true light—that of an invasion. Dgezzar Oglou, pacha of St. John d'Acre, had

given refuge to Ibrahim Bey, and a thousand Mameloucs, who had been driven out of Egypt. The pacha of Damascus was also in motion, and Buonaparte expected to be surrounded. He therefore resolved to anticipate their attack, and began his march towards Acre across the desert, having sent round his heavy artillery by sea in three frigates. He proceeded to El Arish, whose antient name was Larissa, which capitulated. He then marched on to Jaffa (in scripture language Joppa,) which he took after a vigorous resistance, considering its state of defence and the want of discipline among its defenders, of whom, by way of example, he put the greater part to the sword. From hence Buonaparte summoned Dgezzar pacha; to which summons the following answer was returned. "I have not written to you, because I will hold no communication with you. You may march against Acre if you please; I shall be prepared for you, I will bury myself under the ruins of the place rather than suffer it to fall into your hands."

Buonaparte, on receipt of this explicit answer, marched forwards to Acre; and on the nineteenth of March he began an attack on a salient angle to the east of the town, and the trenches were opened at one hundred and fifty fathoms distance. Before he had made any progress, sir Sydney Smith, who commanded a naval force in the Archipelago, consisting of the *Tigre* of eighty guns, the *Theseus*, of seventy-four, and the *Alliance* of twenty, and who was informed of his designs, hastened to cooperate with the governor of Acre in its defence. During his voyage, he captured the frigates carrying Buonaparte's heavy artillery, which were immediately turned against him on the ramparts of Acre. No two men ever opposed to each other were a more equal match in a contest of this nature than Buonaparte and sir Sydney Smith. Both maturely considered the passions of the people they had to deal with, and both endeavoured to excite them in their favour. Sir Sydney Smith called upon all true believers to unite against infidels; on all who valued their country, families, and the government; which was most consonant with their habits and sentiments, to oppose systematic plunderers, invaders, and innovators. These representations had a wonderful effect, and the natives thronged to defend the walls of Acre.

Buonaparte pushed on the siege with vigour; and on the third

of April, having made a breach in the wall to the north-east, he assaulted it, but was repulsed with considerable loss. Various sorties were made by the besieged, always headed by the British; who thus inspired them with a contempt of their enemy, and an admiration of the intrepidity of their defenders. In May, a strong reinforcement of troops, under Hassan Bey, approached Acre from the sea-side; and Buonaparte resolved to attempt another assault before those troops could have time to reembark. The ramparts, which were manned with seamen drafted from the British ships, kept up a heavy and incessant fire on the besiegers; but they succeeded in making a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part of it having been beaten down, and the ruins forming a platform for them to mount. The contrivance of sir Sydney Smith did not fail him in this critical moment; he landed more of his crew at the mole, and, armed only with boarding pikes, he conducted them to the breach, which the Turks were at that moment beginning to quit in despair. This reinforcement of tried friends gave them new ardour, and inspired them to renew their efforts against the besiegers. They returned to the breach, which presented an awful scene; the ruins between the two parties serving as mutual breastworks: the muzzles of their guns and heads of their pikes were locked in each other. Dgezzar, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his garden, where, according to the Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and to distribute musket cartridges with his own hand. He advanced to the breach, pulling down the English, and exclaiming, that if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. This friendly contest as to who should defend the breach, caused such a rush towards it, that the besiegers were kept at bay till the first body of Hassan Bey's troops arrived. Sir Sydney Smith then proposed to Dgezzar to open the gates and permit a sortie. This advice was followed; but the Turks were repulsed with loss, and the French returned to the breach. Dgezzar now, in turn, proposed not to defend the breach any longer, but to suffer a certain number of the French to enter, and then to close with them before the rest could mount. This scheme succeeded; the French entered the breach, and descended into the pacha's garden, where, in a short interval, the fore-

most of them lay headless corpses—the sabre and dagger proving more than a match for the bayonet at close quarters. The French were finally repulsed; and Buonaparte, perceiving the inutility of further attempts, began his retreat back to Egypt on the twentieth of May, leaving all his battering artillery behind him; whilst his light artillery, which he sent off by sea, were all captured by sir Sydney Smith. Thus terminated the siege of Acre, after a duration of sixty-four days, to the immortal honour of a handful of British sailors, who were the chief means of repulsing the conquerors of Italy!

Buonaparte arrived at Cairo in June, having been dreadfully harassed by the flying native troops during the whole of his retreat. The Turks now resolved to adopt offensive measures, and a body of them accordingly landed at Aboukir; of which Buonaparte no sooner had notice than he marched against them. A battle ensued on the twenty-fifth of July; and the Turks were defeated, and compelled to reembark and leave Egypt. Whether Buonaparte saw all his hopes of attacking the British in India now frustrated, or whether he had been informed of the distractions which at that period prevailed between the ruling powers of France, he determined, for one or other of these reasons, to leave Egypt. He therefore departed in a frigate, after appointing Kleber commander-in-chief, by a letter which could not reach him till after he had sailed, and luckily got into a small sea-port in Provence, after having narrowly escaped being captured by some British cruisers, which chased the vessel in which he took his passage.

CHAP. LXIV.

GEORGE III. (Continued.)

BUONAPARTE, on his return to France, found it agonised by the struggles of the Jacobins and the Moderés: he himself was inimical to jacobinism, and so was the Abbé Sieyes, then one of the directors; they therefore began to concert together the plan of their overthrow, and of a new constitution. Rœderer and sev-

eral members of the legislative assemblies were admitted into their councils. The executive power, divided as it was among five, was found to have no control over a popular assembly, and the new plan was to have a more efficient executive ; to lessen the authority of the popular bodies ; to give the senate a more permanent power than the council of elders enjoyed, and the former obliged the legislative bodies to transact business only in committees of twenty-five each, by which their influence would be almost extinguished. So that the plastic government of France was again to change its democratical for an oligarchical form.

The mine being ready for an explosion, the committee of inspectors of the council of antients, on the ninth of November, presented a report, in which they stated, that there were alarming symptoms of the country's being in danger, and proposed to remove the sittings of the legislature to St. Cloud, and to entrust the safety of the national representation to general Buonaparte. The council of antients, who, by the constitution of 1795, had a right to remove the sittings from Paris, instantly adopted the proposition. Buonaparte then published an address to the army, inviting them to second him with their usual courage and firmness, promising them liberty, victory, and peace, and to restore the republic to the rank which it had held in Europe two years before, and which incapacity and treason had brought to the verge of destruction : he announced to the national guard at Paris, that a new order of things was on the point of being settled ; that the council of elders were going to save the state, and that whoever should oppose their designs should perish by the bayonets of the soldiers. On the following day, Buonaparte, with a vast military force, went to St. Cloud, where the legislative bodies were to hold their sittings. The directors resigned their offices ; and Buonaparte, entering the hall of the council of elders, told them he was neither a Cæsar nor a Cromwell, come to establish a military government, but a friend to freedom and his country : conspiracies were going forward—rebellion was rearing its head—the nation was in the most imminent danger—the present constitution had been a pretext for tyranny ; for the preservation of the country, it must be completely changed. Very few of the members ventured any opposition, but the council of five hundred presented a most tur-

bulent scene. The sitting was opened by a proposition, that all the members should take an oath of fidelity to the constitution. It was received with loud plaudits and exclamations of, "Down with the dictators!" A letter from Barras was then read, giving in his resignation; and whilst they were deliberating whether it ought to be accepted, Buonaparte, followed by twenty grenadiers, entered the hall, and walked up to the president, who was his brother, Lucien Buonaparte. Several members darted on him, and pushed him back. One of them, Arena, a Corsican, attempted to stab him; but the blow was warded off by one of the grenadiers. Buonaparte then drew back; ordered the grenadiers to retire; and left the hall himself. His conduct was then severely reprobated; his appointment of general of the legislative guard (which he had received but a few days before) was proposed to be annulled; and the council of elders was accused of having violated the constitution. The president interrupted this desultory debate by quitting his chair, and throwing off his scarf, the badge of office. This was the signal: a file of grenadiers entered and took away the president. A strong detachment of the military followed, and an officer was ordered to clear the hall in Buonaparte's name, which was immediately executed.

What a striking coincidence is here presented between the conduct of Buonaparte and that of Cromwell in dissolving the long parliament! In reading the history of the British usurper, we may say of that of France—

"Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur."

The council of elders now declared, that the "factional assassins" of the other house did not deserve the name of representatives of the people; and therefore voted themselves to be the national representation. But they invited those of the other house who had not opposed their measures to join them: the rest were excluded from any seat in the new legislative bodies about to be formed. The consuls chosen for the executive government were Sieyes and Ducos, two of the late directors, and Buonaparte, who was to be the chief consul and supreme executive magistrate. The principal objects of the new government were declared to be the re-establishment of tranquillity, virtue, prosperity, and happiness at home, and to restore peace with foreign nations.

Whilst the organisation of the government was going on, agreeably to the plan on which this new constitution had been formed, Buonaparte, the sole arbiter of France (and whose vanity now rejected the *u* from his name, to confound his origin with the Bonapartes of Tuscany), sought to cement his power by restoring to her the blessings of peace ; or, at least, to throw all the odium of the war on Britain. Either of those ways, he trusted, would secure his own popularity, and therefore he wrote the following letter :—

“ French republic.

Sovereignty of the people.

“ Liberty.

Equality.

“ Bonaparte, first consul of the republic, to his majesty the king of Great Britain and of Ireland.

“ Paris, the 5th Nivose,

“ 8th year of the republic.

“ CALLED by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

“ The war, which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world—must it be eternal ?—Are there no means of coming to an understanding ?

“ How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain greatness the benefit of commerce, internal prosperity, and the happiness of families ? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory ?

“ These sentiments cannot be foreign in the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation, and with the sole view of rendering it happy.

“ Your majesty will only see in this overture my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only, in those which are strong, the natural desire of deceiving each other.

“ France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period

of their being exhausted. But, I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilised nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

“ Your majesty’s, &c.

“ BONAPARTE.”

This letter was inclosed in a note from the minister for foreign affairs in France to his majesty’s secretary of state for foreign affairs.

However ardent might have been the real wishes of the first consul for a speedy negotiation and pacification, yet he was not so sanguine as to form any expectations of success from this overture. The time and situation of France were not such as to make it appear as the effect of much moderation. Her internal weakness, arising from a late revolutionary crisis, her exhausted finances, the commotions which the royalists had again fanned into a blaze in several parts; her armies, notwithstanding their late successes, compelled to retreat almost within her own frontiers; were not symptoms of a hasty pacification, unless she would consent to make great sacrifices.

The British parliament met again on the twenty-fourth of September; and in the opening of the king’s speech it was recommended to the house to consider of the propriety of his majesty’s availing himself to a further extent of the voluntary services of the militia, at a moment when our active force abroad might be of the most beneficial consequences. It moreover set forth: “ That since the last session our prospects had been improved beyond the most sanguine imagination: the deliverance of Italy might now be considered as secured, by a campaign equal in splendour and success to the most brilliant recorded in history. The kingdom of Naples had been rescued from the French yoke, and restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign.—The French expedition to Egypt had been productive of calamity and disgrace, whilst its ultimate views against our eastern possessions had been utterly confounded.—There was every reason to expect that our present efforts for the deliverance of the United Provinces would prove successful; we had rescued already the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic from the enemy, and might hope that the skill of our generals and the intrepidity of our troops

would soon, with the assistance of our allies, surmount every obstacle ; and that the fleet destined, under the usurped dominion of France, to invade these islands would, under its antient standard, restore the religion, liberty, and independence of provinces so long in alliance with this country.—To our good and faithful ally, the emperor of Russia, whose wisdom and magnanimity directed the force of his extensive empire to so many quarters of Europe, we were in a great measure indebted for the favourable change in the general posture of our affairs. In pursuance of the recommendation of the British parliament, his majesty had communicated their sentiments to both houses of parliament in Ireland respecting an union with that kingdom ; which would add so much to the security and happiness of his Irish subjects, and consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire.” The address passed the house of lords without a single dissenting voice, and the house of commons by a majority of ninety-three to four : but lord Romney in the former, and Mr. Joliffe in the latter, reserved to themselves the claim of objecting afterwards to the bill relative to the militia.

On the twenty-sixth of September, Mr. Dundas moved for permission to bring in a bill for the reduction of the militia forces of this kingdom, and to enable his majesty to accept the services of an additional number of volunteers. The oppositionists made the same objection to the measure as they had alleged during the preceding session, which went principally to the point of its unconstitutionality, and its altering a long established system. Mr. Tierney particularly observed, that the militia was originally intended for home defence ; the nature of their service was changed when they went out of the country for any purpose. He did not mean to insinuate that they had not done themselves great credit, and this kingdom service, in Ireland ; but they had totally altered the system on which they were established, and, by this sort of practice, might become a standing army in the hands of the crown. In a constitutional point of view, therefore, he must observe, that the militia was now rather an object of jealousy than of confidence ; and he could wish to have it voted annually, like all other military force.

After this bill had passed both houses of parliament by great majorities, the session concluded on the twelfth of October, and adjourned to the twenty-first of January following.

During the recess, the letter of the first consul to his majesty arrived; and, after mature deliberation, the following answer was returned in an official note from lord Grenville to the minister for foreign affairs in France :

“ The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects.

“ For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects he is still obliged to contend; nor can he hope that this necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those, whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France, since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it shall distinctly appear, that those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it has been since protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed.

“ The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, is that which has also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilised nations.

“ For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons (his majesty’s ancient friends and allies), have been successively sacrificed; Germany has been ravaged; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, has been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty has himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burthensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdoms.

“ Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone : they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world; and even to countries so remote both in situation and interest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps un-

known to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors.

“ While such a system continues to prevail, and while the blood and treasure of a numerous and powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shown, that no defence but that of an open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only paved the way for fresh aggressions ; and it is to a determined resistance alone that is now due whatever remains in Europe of stability for property, for personal liberty, for social order, or for the free exercise of religion.

“ For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place his reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all those who have successively directed the resources of France to the destruction of Europe ; and whom the present rulers have declared to have been all, from the beginning, and uniformly, incapable of maintaining the relations of amity and peace.

“ Greatly, however, will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, have been so long exposed has really ceased ; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance is at an end ; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have ultimately prevailed in France ; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which have endangered the very existence of civil society, have at length been finally relinquished : but the conviction of such a change, however agreeable to his majesty’s wishes, can result only from experience, and from evidence of facts.

“ The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which for so many centuries maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad ; such an event would at once have removed, and will at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its antient territory ; and it would give to all the other nations of Europe, in tranquillity and peace, that security which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

“ But, desirable as such an event must be, both to France and to the world, it is not to this mode, exclusively, that his majesty limits the possibility of secure and solid pacification. His majesty makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

“ His majesty looks only to the security of his own dominions, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he shall judge that such security can in any manner be attained, as resulting either from the internal situation of that country, from whose internal situation the danger has arisen, or from such other circumstances of whatever nature as may produce the same end, his majesty will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

“ Unhappily, no such security hitherto exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability. In this situation, it can for the present only remain for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war which his regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as may best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.”

Though this repulse must have been galling to the pride of the first consul, yet it is probable that it was nothing but what he expected, and even wished for. He had raised himself to the throne by the bayonet, and the support of the same instrument was still necessary to his newly-established power. He could not therefore but secretly wish for a continuance of the war, which would imply the necessity of keeping the numerous armies of France on foot. He had, moreover, fulfilled the engagement which he lay under to the French nation of endeavouring to give them peace; and the rejection of his offer gave him a claim to their support. The restoration of the Bourbon line, which was hinted at in lord Grenville's note as the most natural means of a lasting pacification, was strongly pointed out as an insult offered

to the French nation, and the determination of abiding by the experience and evidence of facts was construed into a war of subjugation.

The first consul, to push still further the common sentiment of indignation which pervaded the whole nation, caused the minister for foreign affairs to write another note to lord Grenville; in which, after attempting to repel the charge of aggression, and to retort it back upon the coalesced powers, and observing that a sincere desire for peace ought to lead the parties to the discovery of the means for terminating the war rather than apologies or recriminations respecting its commencement, he concluded by offering a suspension of arms, and proposing the town of Dunkirk, or any other, for the meeting of plenipotentiaries, in order to accelerate the re-establishment of peace and amity between the French republic and England.

Lord Grenville, in reply, returned the recrimination of aggression upon France, and referring to his former note, stated, that his majesty adhered to the declarations which it contained, and that it was only on the grounds there stated that his regard to the safety of his subjects would suffer him to renounce that system of vigorous defence to which, under the favour of Providence, his kingdom owed the security of those blessings which they enjoyed.

Thus terminated this interesting correspondence, begun in so singular and unofficial a manner; and the expectations and hopes of both parties were staked on their swords.

On the twenty-second of January, when the British parliament had re-assembled after the Christmas recess, the letter [1800.] of the first consul and the minister for foreign affairs in France, and lord Grenville's answers, were laid before them, accompanied by a royal message, purporting, that his majesty had ordered copies of communications recently received from the enemy, and the answers which had been returned to them, to be laid before the house; that his majesty entertained the fullest confidence that these answers would appear conformable to the most important interests of his dominions; and that, having no object nearer his heart than that of contributing to the tranquillity of Europe, and establishing the prosperity of his faithful people on a permanent basis, he relied on the support of his parliament

to accomplish these ends, and on the zeal and perseverance of his subjects in such measures as would best confirm the signal advantages obtained in the last campaign, and conduct the contest to an honourable conclusion.

On the twenty-eighth of January lord Grenville moved an address of thanks to his majesty on this communication, which was carried by a very great majority. Mr. Dundas moved a similar address to the king in the house of commons. He asserted, that the leading feature of the revolution was a disregard of all treaties and obligations, and a sovereign contempt for the rights and privileges of all other powers ; in proof of which he would merely recite the names of Spain, Naples, Sardinia, Tuscany, Genoa, Geneva, Modena, Venice, Austria, Russia, England, and Egypt. Were these principles laid aside ? No ! the jacobinical form of government was indeed at an end ; but all power was now consolidated in a military despot. Under these circumstances, overtures were made for peace ; but, in the first place, the sincerity of the offer was founded solely on the assertion of Bonaparte, and yet there was not a single treaty in which he had not violated his faith. If we concluded the negotiation we could not disband our forces, which we must be at the expense of maintaining without the power of exercising. Before we made peace, it behoved us to consider whether we ought to pledge ourselves to refrain from hostility towards France, leaving Europe at her mercy whilst our hands were tied up. The address was voted by a great majority.

The business of the intended union between Great Britain and Ireland was introduced on the eighteenth of February into the Irish parliament with a message from the lord-lieutenant, in which his excellency stated, that he had it in command from his majesty to lay before both houses of the legislature the resolutions of the British parliament, and to express his majesty's wish that they would take the same into their most serious consideration, &c. ; and, after an arduous opposition, the whole of the articles, with very few alterations, were agreed to. These resolutions of the Irish parliament were laid before the British house of lords on the second of April, and the whole of them, with several amendments proposed by lord Grenville, were acquiesced in by the lords, and were afterwards agreed to by the commons. A bill according to

these resolutions passed, and the union of Great Britain and Ireland was fixed to commence on the first of January, 1801—the first day of the nineteenth century.

In the intervals of this interesting discussion, Mr. Sheridan moved an inquiry into the cause of the failure of the late unfortunate expedition to Holland, and concluded a long speech, taking a view of the whole proceedings, by asserting, that we owed it to the spirit of the troops, to the honour of the living, and the memory of the dead, to bring to public view the authors of our disgrace. Mr. Dundas replied, that our object was threefold : first, to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of the French ; secondly, to add to the efficient force of this country and diminish that of the enemy, by gaining possession of the Dutch fleet, which the French intended to use in invading our dominions ; and thirdly, to divert their pursuits in general, and by hostile operations in Holland to defeat their plans in the course of the campaign. The first object he justified on the score of precedent. Queen Elizabeth and King William had lent assistance to the Dutch to enable them to maintain their independency, the overthrow of which would materially injure the commerce of Britain ; and the same policy had been uniformly maintained by the house of Brunswick. It was not more criminal at present to attempt to rescue them from the French republic. The second object he maintained on the ground of national expediency and of useful acquisition. We had defeated the enemy's design of invading us ; we had taken seven thousand Dutch seamen, all of whom were liable to be impressed into the French service, and forty thousand tons of shipping, which might have greatly annoyed our commerce. The third object he supported on the grounds of its beneficial effects ; he attributed to the diversion in Holland the recovery of Italy from the French, as also the success of the allies in Switzerland, by drawing away forty thousand men of Massena's army. In the two latter objects we had been successful, and the failure in the first he attributed to the fortune of war, which is often known to counteract the best-concerted and executed schemes. He must, therefore, strenuously object to all military criticism on military operations, and resist a motion which could not be productive of any actual benefit, and, at the same time, might clog and harass

the measures of government. The motion was rejected by two hundred and sixteen against forty-five.

Every loyal heart was filled with indignation at an attempt which was made against his majesty's life on the fifteenth of May. In the morning, as the king was reviewing the grenadier battalion of foot guards in Hyde-Park, a shot from the ranks wounded a Mr. Ongley, who stood among the spectators at about eight yards distance in a parallel line from the king. From the subsequent atrocious attempt, it was imagined by many that this was not the effect of accident, but of a premeditated design against his majesty's life; there however never appeared any grounds for this opinion. In the evening, the king and queen, with the princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, Mary, and Amelia, went to Drury-lane theatre. Just as the king entered the house, and whilst he was in the act of saluting the audience, a person, nearly about the middle of the second row of the pit from the orchestra, levelled a horse-pistol towards the royal box, and fired. A gentleman who stood by had not time to prevent the firing, but he raised the arm which held the pistol, so as to make it throw the contents into the roof of the box. The audience were for a few minutes dumb with horror and suspense. The queen was just entering the box, but the king waved his hand to her to remain where she was; and, placing his hand to his breast, bowed again to the spectators to assure them of his being unhurt. After the stupor had a little subsided, the assassin was seized, dragged into the orchestra, and carried to the music room. "God save the king" was twice sung, and the play commenced. At the end of the entertainment the same loyal song was repeated, and received with enthusiastic applause.

On the examination of this wretched man, it appeared that his name was James Hadfield; he had served his time to a working silversmith, but had enlisted into the fifteenth light dragoons, and went with his regiment to Holland, where he received several wounds in his head, which with the smallest quantity of liquor never failed to derange him. The prisoner, on his examination, gave some symptoms of insanity, although his answers were at times pertinent and rational. He was tried in the court of King's Bench, where his infirmity being unequivocally proved, he was acquitted, but ordered to be confined in Bethlehem hospital. Addresses to his majesty, congratulatory on his escape, flowed in

from every corner of the kingdom ; and the parliament, then on the eve of a prorogation, closed their labours by adding two clauses to the insanity bill ;—one to prevent insane persons from being bailed out without the concurrence of one of the magistrates who committed him, and the other to provide for the personal safety of the sovereign against the attempts of such persons.

The first consul had completely succeeded in his design of rendering the French nation indignant at the peremptory refusal of Britain to listen to his pacificatory overtures ; and he eagerly seized the opportunity of rendering the war popular, and throwing all the odium of it on the British. Even the party which disapproved of the manner in which the first consul had opened the communication with Great Britain totally forgot their disapprobation of that circumstance, in their common resentment at the refusal of their pacificatory overtures, except, as was industriously circulated, on terms which were too ignominious for France to listen to ; and Buonaparte reaped from his scheme all the benefit he expected or desired—that of uniting all parties in France in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The western departments of France, encouraged by the disasters of the republicans in the late campaign had again risen in open revolt. The first consul resolved to begin with them, and his preparatory steps were to issue a proclamation to the army of the west, tending to sow dissension among the insurgents. It stated that the great mass of the inhabitants of the revolted departments had had their grievances redressed and laid down their arms, and that none remained to be subdued but ruffians, emigrants, and the hirelings of foreign powers. It concluded by recommending to the army to make a short and good campaign. The command of the western army was given to general Brune, who instantly received the submission of all the insurgent chiefs on the left side of the Loire, including La Vendée. Some of the chiefs on the right side also submitted ; but many retreated to the western extremity of Brittany, where they joined Georges, one of the most enterprising of those revolted chiefs. Brune presently surrounded Georges, and defeated him with great loss. He then submitted, and consented to disband his troops. Frotté, who had assumed the title of commander-in-chief for Louis the Eighteenth, was the only remaining chief unsubdued. He also

attempted to make terms, but they were rejected ; and he was at length taken prisoner with the whole of his staff, and, together with them, tried by a military commission and shot. The French government were thus freed from a cruel intestine war, and at liberty to use the armies employed in this service against their external enemies. To oppose them more effectually, the legislative body passed a decree for the formation of an army of reserve of sixty thousand men, to be commanded by the chief consul in person, and to be assembled at Dijon, which, from its central position, was designated as a place of general rendezvous for the operations of the armies both in Germany and Italy.

At the end of the last campaign we have seen that the confederates were in possession of the whole of Italy, except Genoa, which there were strong motives for them to take, as also for the French to defend. Their whole force, therefore, at the opening of this campaign, converged to this point.

When Massena, who succeeded Championet, took the command of the army on the summits of the bleak Apennines, which defended the approach to Genoa, he found it more than half reduced by the sword, and the other half fallen into dissolution through the emptiness of the magazines and military chests—the result of the system of peculation and robbery introduced into every branch of the war department. He had to create a new army. For this purpose he received from the consuls extraordinary powers, military, political, administrative, and financial. The disorder amongst his troops was, however, so great, that before he could remedy it, his advanced troops were forced to fall back before the advanced guard of the Austrians, commanded by general Melas, and he had only the alternative of entering the field against a superior enemy, or of being shut up in Genoa unprovided for a siege.

The arrival of the British fleet off Genoa, on the fifth of April, was the prelude to hostilities. Many encounters took place, which were rather to the advantage of Massena ; but as it was evident that a series of similar success would totally destroy his army, he was compelled to seek refuge in Genoa with the remains of it, amounting to about ten thousand men. Massena defended the city bravely, and made several sorties which very much harassed the besiegers ; but, in the last of these, losing three of his best

commanders, he was obliged to desist, and the Austrians pressed up to the very walls. Thus inclosed, Massena had not only the enemies without to contend with; he had, besides, to struggle against the frequent insurrections of the citizens of Genoa, and that resistless foe, famine, within the walls.

General Melas, having left a sufficient force to take care of Genoa, advanced against general Suchet, whom he forced from his strong position of Col de Tende, drove him from Nice across the Var, and possessed himself of the whole department of the Maritime Alps.

The Austrian general Kray, who had been appointed to succeed prince Charles in the command of the army of the Rhine, had divided it into four corps, commanded by generals Kollowrath, Klinglin, Starray, and Klenau. The French generals St. Susanne and St. Cyr passed the Rhine at Fort Kehl and New Brisac, and several skirmishes took place in the Brisgaw; but this was only a feint to conceal the real plan of attack which Moreau had digested, and was entrusted by the directory to put into execution. Having occupied the Austrians in this false attack, and strongly reinforced the right of his army under general Lecourbe, Moreau directed him to pass the Rhine between Schaffhausen and Slein, and fall upon the rear of the unsuspecting Austrians. By this manœuvre, the passage was easily effected, and Fort Hohentweil and eight hundred prisoners fell into the hands of Lecourbe. He then pursued his orders, by marching to attack the rear of the Austrians at Stockach; whilst Moreau advanced to Engen, where Kray, now undeceived, had assembled his main force. Lecourbe defeated a body of the Austrians at Stockach, and Moreau, attacking them at Engen at the same time, drove them back upon Moskirch, after a desperate resistance. The Austrians on this day lost ten thousand men (of whom four thousand were prisoners,) and all their magazines and baggage.

Moreau pursued the Austrians, but their retreat was so precipitate that he could not come up with them before they had gained Moskirch. The engagement began on the plains before the woods of Grembach. The Austrians fought with great intrepidity, and repulsed the French three several times; but their reserve, under general Richepanse, coming up at the close of the action, the Austrians were again compelled to retreat, with the loss of eight thousand men.

Kray now took possession of the heights of the river Riss, but they were forced by the French; and the Austrians retreated a third time, leaving two thousand dead on the field, and three thousand prisoners. Kray now concentrated his forces in the country round Ulm, where he attacked two divisions of the French army with his whole force; but was repulsed with great loss, leaving two thousand prisoners more to the French. He afterwards took post at Ulm, which he endeavoured to render impregnable, and hoped to be able to maintain it till succours could arrive from Vienna. Moreau determined to attempt the passage of the Danube below Ulm. Kray, who had perceived his intention, sent a considerable force to the left bank to oppose the passage. The French encountered them at the celebrated position of Hochstet, and again defeated them, taking four thousand prisoners.

The Austrian general then assembled all his forces, and crossed the Danube at Newburg, where they attacked the French, but, after an obstinate engagement, were compelled to fall back on Ingoldstadt. The French were then left masters of all the electorate of Bavaria to the right of the Danube; Ulm was invested, and the head-quarters of the French established at Munich.

The first consul left Paris on the fifth of May, to take the command of the army at Dijon, then amounting to more than fifty thousand men. After having reviewed, he led them towards Genoa. At the foot of Mount St. Bernard he joined an army of reserve, which had been collected from all quarters. The conveying the artillery over this mountain, through a road which, for leagues, was only two or three feet broad, in some places so abrupt as to be almost perpendicular, and covered with snow, which threatened to fall upon and bury them, or to give way and precipitate them down the abyss, was an arduous and discouraging task; but it was surmounted by the aid of the peasants of the neighbouring cantons, who hollowed the trunks of trees, and, placing the fieldpieces in them, dragged them with incredible labour to the summit. A very small force would have stopped the French in their ascent; but the attempt was looked upon as impracticable, and they met with very little resistance till they reached the river Po.

Whilst Buonaparte was crossing the mountain, the Austrians were at Nice, celebrating their successes over the French. Melas, awaking from his dream of pleasure, collected his army to defend the approaches to Turin, which he expected the French would make for; but he was deceived. Buonaparte, making a feint of crossing the Po, drew off towards the banks of the Tessino, on the road to Milan.

The passage of this river was a most desperate enterprise, and it was strongly guarded by cavalry and artillery; but the French could not retreat, as Melas was in their rear. The passage was, however, effected with little loss; and on the second of June Buonaparte entered Milan.

It was at this time that the French were informed, by the intercepted correspondence of Melas, of the fate of their army at Genoa, which, being pushed to the last extremity, was compelled to capitulate. After the capitulation, general Otto, with thirty battalions, marched from Genoa to oppose the progress of the French towards Piedmont.

The advanced guards of the two armies met at Montebello, and a well-contested action was fought, which ended in the defeat of the Austrians, who lost nearly three thousand in killed and wounded, and six thousand prisoners. Melas now collected all his forces between Alessandria and Tortona, and resolved to attempt to crush the French at one blow, or to cut his way through them, and join the Austrian divisions on the Mincio. Buonaparte, after having detached various corps to strengthen different parts, and to secure the passages of the rivers, marched with the remainder against general Melas. The French fell in with the advanced guard of the Austrians at St. Julian, which they evacuated, and took post at Marengo, from whence they were also driven, and compelled to retreat beyond the Bormida.

The French at first imagined, from the retreat of the Austrians from St. Julian, where they were superior in numbers, that they designed to pass either the Po or the Tessino, or to march by the territory of Genoa and Bobbio. But they had no sooner began to make the proper dispositions to frustrate their attempts than, on the fifteenth of June, the advanced guard of the French was suddenly attacked, and the Austrians appeared in full force, as if they meant to hazard a general battle. The troops under

general Victor were instantly ranged in order of battle ; one part of which, forming the centre, occupied the village of Marengo, and the other, composing the left wing, extended to the Bormida. General Lasnes's division was on the left wing, and the whole, formed on two lines, had the wings supported by a numerous body of cavalry. The Austrians began the engagement by an attack with their right and centre upon general Gardanne, who maintained his position during two hours, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's artillery, while the cavalry, under Kellerman, supported general Victor's left. The centre of the French was, after a while, obliged to fall back, and the Austrians advanced towards Marengo. The French disputed every inch of the ground, and a dreadful slaughter ensued ; but the Austrians, having received a reinforcement, gained possession of the village, and the centre of the French was then put to flight. The right wing still maintained itself ; but after the route of the centre, general Victor, being insulated and attacked by two lines of infantry supported by a powerful artillery, and on the point of being flanked by another considerable body, was compelled to order a retreat upon the body of reserve under general Dessaix, which alone could now save the whole of the French army from a total route, but it was not then in readiness for action. Buonaparte, in order to gain time, advanced upon the right wing to support it till the reserve could get ready ; and the retreat was made with great firmness, although, being exposed to the fire of eighty pieces of cannon, the slaughter was terrible.

At this most critical moment the grenadiers of the consular guard marched to support the right wing ; and Monnier's division, which composed a part of the reserve, also came up for the same purpose. As the Austrian cavalry, supported by several squadrons of light artillery, were scouring the plains in pursuit of the centre and left of the French, and threatened to turn the army, Monnier's division was ordered to attack them.

The Austrians, thinking themselves secure of victory after the route of the centre and left of the enemy, had by this time scattered themselves in pursuit of the fugitives, without regarding the reserve, which had not yet been engaged, and which was in the plain of St. Julian, drawn up in two lines, and supported on the right and left by the cavalry under Kellerman, and the artil-

lery under Marmont. Dessaix now perceived his time to turn the adverse current, and rushing forwards with his legion, he attacked the dispersed Austrians with the bayonet. The remainder of the division instantly caught fire, and advanced upon the Austrians, who, in consternation at this unforeseen renewal of the battle, withdrew their artillery; and the infantry, at length, began to give way. At this moment the brave general Dessaix received a mortal wound; but his death rather animated his followers to revenge it than dispirited them. Although the first line of the Austrians had been forced by the bayonet, yet the second could not be compelled to give way, and the French seemed for a moment to be stopped in the full career of victory. The event of the day was still doubtful, when general Kellerman ordering the cavalry to make a charge, the Austrians were thrown into disorder, and an entire division of them was made prisoners, with generals Zagg, St. Julian, and several others, and almost all the staff officers.

After all these successes of the French, there still remained a third line of Austrian infantry, posted as a reserve, and supported by the remainder of the artillery and the cavalry. To force this division, the right wing of the French advanced with the grenadiers of the consular guard, and part of the reserve under general Monnet, supported by the artillery under general Marmont. These were, however, not sufficient to break the Austrian line, until the French cavalry under Murat having charged the Austrian cavalry, the latter gave way, and night only put an end to the carnage. The French boast of having that day killed, wounded, and taken, fifteen thousand men.

Melas proposed an armistice on the next day, to which Buonaparte consented. By the terms of it, the Austrians were to have a free passage into the territory of Mantua, Tuscany, and Ancona; Piedmont and Genoa were to be surrendered to the French. This armistice was to be only for Italy; but another was soon after concluded on for Germany, leaving the armies in possession of their respective posts.

The imperial general in Germany wished to conclude a similar cessation of arms with Moreau, but he would not accede to the proposition. Being in possession of the capital and almost the whole of the circle of Bavaria, Moreau detached Lecourbe to-

wards the Tyrol to seize upon the Voralburg and the Grisons, and to form a junction with the army of Italy. Count St. Julian, however, having arrived at Paris with proposals for a pacification from the emperor, an armistice was at length also concluded between the imperial and French armies in Germany, and the posts which they each then held were to be the line of demarcation.

As the French republic had entirely employed its strength and resources in the campaign on the continent, and the empire of the sea was left totally undisputed to the British, they had no opportunities of signalising themselves on their own proper element. The whole of the naval proceedings were confined to a few trifling expeditions, some of which failed ; but the principal one was crowned with success.

A British force, under Sir James Murray Pulteney, convoyed by a squadron commanded by sir John Borlase Warren, sailed from England in August, on a secret expedition. The first object of this expedition was to attack Belleisle, but the French had rendered the attempt impracticable ; it next sailed to the coast of Spain, and the troops were landed at Ferrol, but that place was as secure against an attack as Belleisle. A design was likewise formed by general sir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral lord Keith to destroy the shipping in the harbour of Cadiz ; but, on the representation of the governor that an epidemic disease then raged in the city with pestilential violence, and the universal stigma which an attack on a place so afflicted by Heaven would bring on the British arms, the design was abandoned. A detachment sent into the Mediterranean against Malta was attended with full success. The French garrison of La Valette surrendered on the fourth of September, and the whole island of Malta was soon after reduced.

In the West Indies, the valuable island of Curaçoa, belonging to the Dutch, was surrendered to the British.

Previously to Buonaparte's leaving Egypt, he had opened a negotiation with the grand-vizir, and he left instructions for Kleber to continue it. Kleber placed little reliance on its success ; but he hoped to gain time till he could receive a reinforcement from the directory, which he expected to be near at hand, as he had been informed that a junction had been formed between the French and Spanish fleets at Toulon. The grand-vizir, still pushing on with

an army of sixty thousand men, had his advanced guard at Jaffa ; and Kleber then proposed a conference with sir Sydney Smith, on board his own ship. General Dessaix and citizen Possillgue were invested with full powers by Kleber to negotiate on the part of the French ; and, at El Arish, to which place the grand-vizir had advanced, articles of agreement were signed, by which the French were to evacuate Egypt with arms, baggage, and effects, and embark for France from the ports of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir.

Intelligence of this agreement had reached England ; and the British ministry, fearing lest the return of the army of the east into France might turn the scale of affairs in Italy and Switzerland, sent out orders to lord Keith not to ratify the convention, nor suffer the French to pass unmolested.

Kleber was no sooner notified of these orders than he debarked his stores, and marched his army back to Cairo. The grand-vizir continued advancing ; and after Kleber had given him notice of the refusal on the part of the British to ratify the convention of El Arish, and of his intention to re-commence hostilities, he attacked him in the plain of Coube, and totally defeated and dispersed his prodigious army. After several other actions of inferior note, the grand-vizir was compelled to fly across the desert with scarcely five hundred followers. Kleber then marched towards Cairo, in which an insurrection had broken out, and found the gates shut against him : but he carried the place by assault, and with an immense carnage of the Turks. He was soon after assassinated in his garden at Cairo, by a young mussulman named Ahmed, who was said to have been instigated by religious frenzy, and the resentment of the grand-vizir, who was not ashamed to take this cowardly revenge for his shameful disgrace. Menou succeeded him in the command of the French army.

Preliminaries of peace between the French republic and Germany were signed by count St. Julian in Paris ; but, embarrassed as the court of Vienna was, between the distressed situation of its affairs on the one hand, and its engagements with the court of London on the other, they were the subject of frequent negotiations between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and the court of Vienna. The influence of the party who were inclined to a continuance of the war, however, prevailed in the latter, and the emperor

refused to ratify the preliminaries without the concurrence of Great Britain. This refusal on the part of the emperor was notified to the cabinet of the Thuilleries; and, in justification of so doing, it was accompanied by a note from the British government, which insisted, according to the existing engagement between it and the court of Vienna, on sending a minister to the congress at Luneville, conjointly with those of the emperor. The French and imperial armies therefore began to prepare for another campaign.

During the cessation of arms, a total change had been made in the staff of the imperial armies; and in this dangerous situation of affairs the emperor determined to rouse the military ardour of his subjects by his own personal example. His majesty therefore, in the rescript by which he notified to the diet of Ratisbon the rupture of the negotiation with France, informed them moreover that he had determined to put himself and his brother, the archduke John, at the head of the army; trusting that this example, in conjunction with the national danger, would re-animate the ancient valour of the Germans, and bind the subjects of the empire to join themselves to him, to secure an honourable pacification.

When the emperor and the archduke John accordingly arrived at the army, the latter assumed the chief command; and in this quality he received a letter from general Moreau, to inform him, that, as the emperor had refused to ratify the preliminaries of peace, hostilities must recommence; but that he would agree to an armistice for a month, on condition that places of surety should be immediately put into his possession. It is probable that the emperor was not sufficiently satisfied with the state of his forces, to wish for immediate hostilities, as another armistice was concluded on conditions, the principal of which were, the delivery of the fortresses of Ulm, Ingoldstadt, and Philippsburg, to the French, and the opening the negotiation for a definitive treaty of peace at Luneville. This armistice was concluded at Hohenlinden on the twentieth of September, and was to terminate in forty-five days, if no definitive arrangements were made during that time.

In the preceding month of August, lord Minto, the British minister at the court of Vienna, had addressed a note to baron Thugut, in which he expressed his Britannic majesty's wish to con-

cur in a negotiation with the French republic for a general pacification. This note M. Thugut transmitted to the minister for foreign affairs in France, by order of the emperor ; and accompanied it with a proposal to nominate some central place of negotiation, in order to facilitate the communications with England. The French government immediately transmitted to M. Otto, their commissary for the exchange of prisoners in England, a copy of the communication and propositions of the court of Vienna, together with full powers and instructions to enter into a preliminary discussion with the British ministry.

M. Otto having disclosed the powers with which he had been invested to lord Grenville, Captain George was appointed by the British government as a commissioner to negotiate on their part with M. Otto. The instructions given to the French commissioner had for their principal object to demand a cessation of arms by sea, similar to that which was to exist by land between the armies of France and Germany during the negotiation ; and, after some little prelude, M. Otto sent to the British ministry a project for this armistice, as a basis on which France was ready to treat with Great Britain in conjunction with the Germanic body. The substance of this project was contained in seven articles : 1st, A suspension of hostilities between the fleets. 2dly, A free navigation for merchant vessels. 3dly, The restoration of all vessels captured after a certain time. 4thly, The French to have permission to furnish the sea-ports blockaded by the English with provisions. 5thly, The blockading squadrons to return to their own harbours, or at least keep out of sight of the coast. 6thly, Notice of the armistice, and orders to be given to the British officers to conform thereto. 7thly, Spain and Batavia to be included in the armistice.

As this project was upon the usual French plan of gaining much and conceding nothing, lord Grenville submitted a counter-project, which would effectually answer the purpose of a suspension of arms, but would, at the same time, prevent the French from taking the advantage of it in their preparations for a further continuance of the war. The principle of it was, that the respective position of the two parties should remain in *statu quo* during the continuance of the armistice, and that neither of them should by its operation acquire fresh advantages, or new means of annoying his enemy, such as he could not otherwise obtain. To this

counter-project the French government objected, and proposed as an alternative, that if Britain would treat for herself, leaving Austria out of the question, the counter-project would be accepted by the French; if Britain would not treat separately, she must accept the project. The British ministry having informed M. Otto that a joint treaty and the project only would be acceded to, M. Otto declared that the negotiation was at an end; but intimated that the first consul would be ready to receive any overtures for a separate treaty with Great Britain.

The result of this attempt at negotiation between Great Britain and France having thus failed, the emperor, receiving a fresh subsidy of two millions from the former, and renewing with it its compact not to make any but a conjoint peace, the continental armistice was once more dissolved. During its continuance, both parties had made every possible endeavour to prepare for another contest, if it should take place. At its commencement, the imperial army had concentrated itself between Wassenburg and Alt-Oetting; having its advance guard on the left bank of the Inn, with its right wing to Brannau and its left to Kufstein, where it reached the army of the Tyrol. A few corps skirted the Inn, to keep up the communication with general Klenau on the left side of the Danube. The whole of this force consisted of about sixty thousand men; and the army of the Tyrol was composed of ten thousand, besides a great number of volunteer and undisciplined corps.

The right of the French army consisted of about thirty-six thousand men. This wing skirted the mountains of the Tyrol on the north side in three equal columns, each of which threatened the passes of Ehrenberg, Scharnitz, and Arleberg. The centre amounted to nearly an equal number, and was posted eight or ten leagues beyond the Iser, fronting the centre and left wing of the imperialists. The left wing of the French was in number about twenty-five thousand men, stretched along the river Vils in such a position as to hem Brannau, and to threaten to cut off from the imperial army the magazines on the Danube and the division of general Klenau. In addition to this force, the army of Moreau had, during the armistice, received reinforcements of numerous bodies of conscripts from France and the Belgic departments.

The campaign began on the twenty-fourth of November by an

attack of the imperialists on the division of Angereau, who repulsed the assailants, and, passing the Maine, forced Aschaffenburg to capitulate. The Austrians were more successful in an attack on the left wing of the French army by general Klenau, which they forced to fall back, and to act on the defensive; but imprudently confident in this success, they ventured from their strong lines on the Inn, where they might have made a long, if not effectual, resistance, and ventured into the plain. This was exactly what Moreau wanted, but what he could not have effected by force, unless with a great effusion of blood. The Austrians advanced to the French lines near the village of Hohenlinden, where Moreau, who expected them in such positions as were most advantageous, suffered himself to be attacked, as if he meant only to stand upon the defensive. The Austrians fell into this snare, and whilst they were enjoying their error, that the French wished to avoid a decisive action, they were surprised to find a division of the French army, commanded by Richepanse and Decaen, in their rear. This event was the signal to the French for a general attack. Generals Ney and Grenier advanced upon the Austrian lines in front of that part where Richepanse and Decaen were taking them in the rear; and the centre of the imperialists, thus attacked before and behind, was totally routed with immense carnage. The right and left wings of the Austrians were yet sufficiently strong to keep the event of the day in suspense during eight hours, but in the end they could not make up for the defeat of the centre. The French were, therefore, left masters of the field, with eighty pieces of artillery, two hundred caissons, ten thousand prisoners, amongst whom were three general officers, and many of the staff.

Moreau, to prevent the Austrians from recovering from the surprise into which this severe defeat had thrown them, and then collecting their scattered forces, crossed the Inn on the ninth of December, between Rosenheim and Kufstein, forcing the Austrians, who could make but little resistance, to fall back upon Stephenkirch. From that position they were again forced, by the dispositions of general Lecourbe, to attack them in it; and, falling behind the Salze, the French took possession of Salzburg. The French continuing their pursuit, and the Austrians the retreat, several actions took place at Newmark, Vonaklapluck, and Lambasch, which ended in the further destruction of the Austrian

army, and in the loss of numbers of prisoners, amongst whom were the prince of Lichtenstein and his staff.

The affairs of Germany were now at the height of confusion ; and there appeared to be only one method of relieving them, which was, to recall prince Charles, who was adored by the soldiery, and who had been dismissed from the command of the Austrian army because he differed from the prevailing party as to the event of the war, and to reinstate him in the command.

Prince Charles, on his rejoining the army, immediately discovered how fruitless would be any further opposition by arms to the progress of the French ; but, before he would offer any terms, he resolved to make another attempt to turn the scale. It was unsuccessful ; his army suffered another defeat, and was compelled to retire behind the Ens, with the loss of seven or eight thousand men.

In the short space of twenty days since the recommencement of hostilities the Austrians had lost seventy leagues of territory, twenty-five thousand prisoners, fifteen thousand killed or wounded, one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, and immense magazines ; while the loss of the French had been comparatively trifling. There were no hopes of safety left for the empire but in a peace. In this situation of affairs, the Austrians proposed another armistice, which Moreau acceded to, on the twenty-seventh of December ; on condition that peace should without delay follow this third cessation of hostilities. The campaign in Italy had but just opened, and both sides were preparing for a general engagement, which was to have decided the fate of the Venetian territory, when notice of this cessation of arms in Germany arrived in time to put a stop to the further unnecessary effusion of blood, and was followed by a similar convention between the Austrian and French commanders in Italy ; the former of whom retired behind the Tagliamento, leaving the intermediate fortified places, including Mantua, to the French.

The negotiations for a peace between France and Germany were immediately and seriously entered upon at Luneville ; and the court of London having duly considered the alarming situation of the emperor, and thought proper to release him from his engagements to them, they were ultimately crowned with success ; and a definitive treaty of peace took place between the empire

and the French republic, leaving Great Britain to stand alone against the whole power of France and her allies.

The parliament of Great Britain assembled on the tenth of November for the dispatch of the most urgent business, previously to the meeting of the first imperial legislature of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. The principal part of this business was the granting the immediate supplies necessary to the service of government; and after these had been voted, the last British parliament was prorogued in the December following.

[1801.] On the first day of this year the union between England and Ireland took place; and the king, by royal proclamation, declared, that his style and titles should thenceforth be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words—*Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*; and in the English tongue by these words—*George the Third, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith*. The commencement of this year was likewise to be marked by great political changes in the administration; but as they were not yet matured, the affairs of government remained in the same hands as before for some time longer.

On the twenty-second of January, the first imperial parliament was opened by commission, and, after Mr. Addington had been chosen speaker of the commons, that house adjourned to the second of February, on which day his majesty opened the session in person. The speech expressed his majesty's great satisfaction in being able to avail himself of the advice of the united parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. This memorable æra, distinguished by a measure calculated to consolidate the strength of the empire, he hoped would be equally marked by that energy and firmness which our present situation so peculiarly required. The court of Petersburg had treated our representations of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons, of Englishmen with the utmost disrespect. That a convention had been concluded between Petersburg, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, for establishing a new code of maritime law, hostile to the interests of this country; and that the earliest measures had been taken to repel this confederacy, in which he doubted not the vigorous assistance of the united parliament.

It will be necessary to give some explanation of this enmity of Paul and confederacy of the northern powers against Britain, the latter of which was a reiteration of the famous "armed neutrality" of 1780. Paul imputed the ill success of his armies in Switzerland to the jealousy of Austria, and, under these impressions, he had withdrawn them from the scene of war. He had also placed the slaughter of his troops in Holland (which was solely occasioned by their own intemperate valour and want of discipline) to the intentional exposure of the British; and, for those reasons, he became equally indignant at Austria and Britain. His enmity to the latter was also inflamed into rage by her refusing to elect him grand-master of Malta, which had lately surrendered to the British arms. Buonaparte, easily penetrating into the weak and revengeful temper of Paul, flattered his passions to such an extent, that he broke out beyond all bounds of reason and justice, and not only declared his resolution to enforce the armed neutrality, but laid an embargo on all the shipping and property of Britain, and made prisoners of her subjects in Russia. As Great Britain knew that diplomatic negotiation could produce no effect on a mind capable of such a dereliction and violation of all principles of justice, she prepared a much greater weight of argument—namely, a strong maritime force (which were the measures alluded to in the king's speech) to reduce Paul to reason and repel this confederacy; an embargo was also laid on the ships of the northern nations.

In the debate in the house of lords for an address to his majesty on his speech, earl Fitzwilliam moved an amendment, in effect, that the house would proceed to inquire into the state of the nation, the conduct of the war, and our relation with foreign powers; and offer his majesty such advice as might be conducive to the honour of his crown and the general interests of the people: and if, owing to the unreasonable pretensions of the enemy, peace could not be obtained; if the court of Petersburg would not give satisfaction, and the differences with the northern powers required immediate decision; the house would then give his majesty every support. The amendment was negatived, and the original address voted. In the commons a similar amendment was moved by Mr. Grey, but it shared the same fate as in the other house.

The projected changes in the administration being now all settled, Mr. Pitt gave in his resignation to his majesty, and was immediately followed by the principal leaders of his party, namely, lord Grenville, earl Spencer, the lord chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham. Very little has transpired relative to the resignation of Mr. Pitt. Some have supposed that he conceived himself, from the hostility which he had ever manifested towards the French nation, and particularly towards the person who then swayed it, an insuperable obstacle to a peace. Others have believed that a disunion of opinion existed amongst the ministry. Others again have formed ideas that the difficulty of financial arrangements, and particularly of raising new taxes adequate to the continuance of a war of which no probable prospect of a termination could be seen, induced him to resign the reins which he thought it unsafe to hold any longer. This last, however, the experience of succeeding times has proved to have been a mistaken notion, since Mr. Pitt has again resumed them in times of increased difficulty and danger. Some other reasons of a more delicate nature, as they respected a great personage, have been hinted at; but the only certainty is, that the ostensible grounds of his resignation was the question of catholic emancipation. Mr. Pitt is said to have pledged himself to the leading men of that persuasion in Ireland to bring about their favourite measure, in case they made no opposition to his equally favourite scheme of the union. When Mr. Pitt, in consequence of this secret engagement, brought forward the business in council, the English clergy and the Irish protestants, alike dreading the consequences, procured a strong opposition to it; and it is understood that even his majesty, seeing just grounds for their apprehensions, was averse to the measure, and consequently that Mr. Pitt's plan was defeated. To this failure is attributed his immediate resignation, and that of his colleagues; but the reader must judge for himself which was the true reason. Mr. Addington, the speaker, was appointed prime minister; lord Eldon, lord chancellor; lord St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty; lords Hawkesbury and Pelham, secretaries of state; and colonel Yorke, secretary at war. Subsequent events have made a review of Mr. Pitt's administration premature at this time.

Mr. Pitt, however, opened the budget, which he had probably

arranged previously to his resignation. In fact, the new administration appeared, and they were compelled, to tread in the steps of the late ministry—at least, for a time. On their assuming the reins of government, they found peace with France more distant than ever, from the rejection of Buonaparte's overtures, and the refusal to ratify the treaty of El Arish. France was now strengthened by Russia, and a confederacy of the northern powers threatened destruction to the British navy. The new administration were, therefore, under a necessity of exerting fresh vigour against France, and of breaking up the northern confederacy, before any hopes could be entertained of the pacification of Europe on terms honourable to Great Britain.

To effect the latter point, a strong armament was fitted out, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, three frigates, and about twenty bomb-ketches, gun-brigs, &c. This fleet sailed from Yarmouth, under the command of admiral sir Hyde Parker, on the twelfth of March; and on the twenty-seventh the admiral sent a note to the commander of Cronberg castle, which commands the entrance of the Sound into the Baltic on the Danish coast, demanding if he had received orders to fire upon the British fleet, as he must deem the firing of the first gun a declaration of war on the part of Denmark. The commander, having previously sent to Copenhagen for instructions, replied, that, as a soldier, he could not meddle with politics; but he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet, whose intentions were not yet known, to approach the guns of the castle which he commanded. Admiral Parker informed the commander he should consider this answer as a declaration of war, and on the thirtieth he passed the Sound. The British fleet anchored about five or six miles from the island of Huin, and discovered, by reconnoitring, a formidable line of ships, radeaus, pontoons, galleys, fire-ships, and guns-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on two islands called the Crowns, the two largest of which were mounted with from fifty to seventy pieces of cannon: these were again commanded by two ships of seventy guns and a large frigate, in the inner road of Copenhagen; and two ships of sixty-four guns (dismasted) were moored on the flat on the starboard side of the entrance into the arsenal. Vice-admiral lord Nelson volunteered to lead the attack, and, having shifted his flag to the Elephant and buoyed the

outer channel of the Middle Ground, he sailed with twelve ships of the line, and all the frigates, bombs, fire-ships and small vessels, and anchored off Draco Point on the evening of the first of April. On the next morning he weighed, and made the signal to engage the Danish line, and, after a contest of four hours, seventeen sail of Danes were sunk, burnt, or taken ; being the whole of the line, except a bomb ship and some schooner gun vessels. From the intricacy of the navigation, the *Bellona* and *Russel* grounded, and the *Agamemnon*, not being able to weather the shoal, was obliged to anchor without it. Thus deprived of the assistance of three ships of the line, the whole burthen fell on the remainder, of which the *Defiance* and *Monarch* suffered severely ; and captain Mosse of the latter was killed, as was also the brave captain Riou of the *Amazon* frigate, with eighteen other officers, and three hundred and thirty-four men. The narrowness of the passage prevented the ships immediately under admiral Parker's command from taking any share in this glorious contest. Lord Nelson then proceeded to bombard Copenhagen ; but, previously to the recommencement of hostilities, he dispatched a note to the prince royal of Denmark, offering to send in a flag of truce, and representing that if this offer was refused he should be under the necessity of destroying the whole of the floating batteries, while it would be impossible to save those brave men by whom they were defended. This message brought about an interview between the prince and admiral Nelson ; which produced first an armistice, and afterwards an adjustment of all differences to the satisfaction of Great Britain.

The British fleet then turned its attention towards Sweden ; and on the nineteenth it appeared off the entrance of Carlsrona, and the admiral acquainted the governor that, an armistice having been concluded with Denmark, he was directed to require an explicit answer from his Swedish majesty relative to his intention of adhering to or abandoning the hostile measures which he had taken in conjunction with Russia. Sir Hyde Parker received an answer that his Swedish majesty would not fail to fulfil the engagements entered into with his allies, but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies furnished with proper authority to regulate the matters in dispute. Notwithstanding the effect which the British fleet must have produc-

ed, yet the ready acquiescence of Denmark and Sweden to the demands of Britain was principally caused by the sudden death of Paul in the night of the twenty-second of March. He was succeeded by his eldest son Alexander, who immediately relinquished his claim on Malta, and concluded with admiral Parker a cessation of arms and the general outline of a pacific accommodation with Britain. Lord St. Helen was dispatched from England with full power to fill it up; and the negotiation, which was commenced under such favourable auspices, was happily and speedily brought to an issue. The right of searching neutral vessels, and the manner in which it is to be exercised, were so accurately defined as to prevent all future mistakes and differences. Every merchant ship of a neutral power sailing under convoy is to be furnished with a sea letter, containing an account of its freight. All that can be demanded by the other party is to inspect the papers, and ascertain that the commander is properly authorised to convoy such vessels, laden with articles not contraband, to a certain port. No commander of a ship of war is to detain any of the convoy, but upon probable ground of suspicion; and if it should prove groundless he must make full compensation to the owners of the detained vessels for any loss, detriment, costs, or damages, ensuing from such detention. The contraband articles are also specified, and a number of those formerly considered as such are exempted. The exemptions are iron, copper, timber, pitch, tar, hemp, and sailcloth.—Thus terminated this famous dispute, which, if Britain had not acted with that happy temperate of vigour and moderation which she so fortunately and happily displayed, threatened no less than the annihilation of her maritime sovereignty, and, of course, her existence as a nation!

The navy of Great Britain had, during this year, very few opportunities of signalising itself. Many engagements took place between single ships, which, though redounding highly to the honour of the respective British commanders, yet are too numerous to be mentioned, individually, in a general history. An action which took place between a British squadron under sir James Saumarez and a squadron of French and Spanish ships of war, off the coast of Spain, deserves, however, particular notice.

On the morning of the sixth of July, admiral Saumarez stood through the straits of Gibraltar, with the intention of attacking

three French line-of-battle ships and a frigate, which he had been informed were at anchor off Algesiraz. On opening Cabrita point, he found that the ships lay at a considerable distance from the enemy's batteries, and a leading wind up to them afforded every reasonable hope of success in an attack. Captain Hood, in the *Venerable*, was ordered to lead ; but, from the failure of the wind, he was obliged to drop anchor. The rest of the ships got into action : but the *Hannibal*, captain Ferris, unfortunately grounded ; and, after making every effort to get her off, the squadron, being only three cables length from one of the enemy's batteries, were compelled to leave her. In this situation, all the *Hannibal's* guns were soon knocked up ; her boats, sails, rigging, and springs, shot away ; and, having numbers of killed and wounded, captain Ferris struck, to preserve the lives of the brave men who remained. Sir James Saumarez went to the mole at Gibraltar to repair, and on the eighth of August the three ships at Algesiraz were reinforced by five Spanish line-of-battle ships, three frigates, and an innumerable quantity of gun-boats and other vessels. These all got under weigh on the twelfth with the *Hannibal*, which they had got off the shoal on which she struck. With incredible exertions, all the British squadron, except the *Pompée*, which had not time to get in her masts, warped out of the mole, and followed them. The *Superb*, captain Keats, being the headmost ship, was ordered to attack the sternmost ships in the enemy's rear, and to endeavour to keep in shore of them, to prevent their running into any harbour. At eleven o'clock at night, the *Superb* opened her fire on the enemy ; and on the *Cæsar's* coming up and preparing to engage a three-decker that had hauled her wind, she was perceived to be on fire, and the flames having communicated to a ship to leeward of her, both were soon in a blaze. The *Cæsar* passed on to close with a ship engaged by the *Superb*, but before she could come up the enemy's ship had struck. Night then concealed the enemy ; only one of whom, a French ship, was to be seen at day-break the next morning. The *Venerable* brought her to action, and had nearly silenced her, when the *Venerable's* mainmast, which had been before wounded, was shot away, and the French ship escaped. The captured ship was the *San Antonio*, a Spanish seventy-four, having on board seven hundred and thirty men.

The French still continuing their boast of invasion, and an immense flotilla having assembled in the port of Boulogne, as they pretended for that purpose, admiral Nelson undertook an expedition with a view to attempt to bring off or destroy them. The boats were ordered in, but the darkness of the night and currents prevented their arriving at the same time : they then found that the enemy's vessels were aground, and could not be brought off; and notwithstanding that the British boarded several of them, yet the volleys of musketry from the shore, which was lined with soldiers, made it impossible to stay to burn them. The expedition totally failed ; but, from the persevering courage displayed by the British seamen on the occasion, the failure could only be attributed to the impossibility of success. The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to one hundred and seventy-two ; and that of the French must have been greater, from their having fired indiscriminately into the vessels, upon their own people as well as the British.

CHAP. LXV.

GEORGE III. [Continued.]

By the dissolution of the northern confederacy Great Britain had removed one of the great obstacles to a peace with France ; but another still remained—that was Egypt, of which, after their late successes against the Turks, general Menou resolved to keep possession ; and the British, on the other hand, regarding it of the highest importance not to suffer the French to effect a settlement which might afford them the means of annoying their possessions in India, determined to drive them from it. For this purpose a naval armament, under lord Keith, having on board general sir Ralph Abercrombie and a body of forces, had sailed into the Mediterranean, where it separated to fulfil the secret instructions of government, but re-assembled at Malta on the fourteenth of December. The fleet sailed again soon afterwards for the coast of Egypt, and on the first of March arrived in sight of Alexandria. On the following day it anchored in Aboukir bay, but the unfavourableness

of the weather prevented any debarkation during several days. This delay was unfortunate for the British, as it gave the enemy an opportunity of making every preparation to oppose the landing of the troops.

Let us here pause a while to consider of the parity of strength which was now about to contend for Egypt, in the fate of which was comprehended the termination of this long and eventful war. The British could gain no certain information with respect to the number of their adversaries; but it was afterwards ascertained to be not less than thirty thousand, besides natives, who might be computed at half their number. The French troops were all habituated to the climate, inured to danger, and veteran soldiers; in a word, they were the conquerors of Italy and Egypt. The British army amounted to no more than fifteen thousand men, totally unacquainted with the country, strangers to the climate, and sickly through a long sea voyage. Such was the relative state of the two contending parties; and from this digression we return to our narration.

On the eighth of March, the weather being favourable, the British happily effected a landing of one division of the army, under the most trying circumstances. The boats had near a mile to row, exposed to the fire of fifteen pieces of artillery and the musketry of two thousand five hundred men; yet they held on their course with the most cool intrepidity. Every discharge of the enemy was answered by a shout from the British seamen, who seemed totally insensible of danger. The troops, as they reached the shore, formed as coolly as if on parade; and then advancing towards the enemy, they drove them before them, leaving eight pieces of cannon in the hands of the British. On the ninth, the remainder of the army landed, without opposition from the enemy, who had concentrated themselves about one league's distance from Alexandria, where they were posted on a ridge, with their right to the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea. On the twelfth, the British army, after having disembarked their ammunition, moved forward to attack the enemy and turn their left; but the enemy anticipated them, and, leaving their heights, advanced to meet them. The British marched about five miles, constantly skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy, who had received a reinforcement of two half brigades of infantry

and one regiment of cavalry from Cairo. The British halted for the night about three miles from the enemy's position, which appeared, and turned out to be, very advantageous. On the next morning they moved on to attack the enemy's right, marching by lines from the left, the reserve covering the movement, and advancing parallel with the first line. As the columns advanced into the plain, the enemy attacked the heads of both with all his cavalry, supported by a considerable body of infantry, and ten or twelve pieces of cannon. This attack was repulsed by the advanced guard, consisting of the ninetieth and ninety-second regiments, in the noblest manner. Major-general Cradock immediately formed his brigade to meet the attack, and the remainder of the army followed the example so promptly as to be soon in a situation to repel the enemy. The reserve, under the command of major-general Moore, which was on the right, on the change of position, moved on in column, and covered the right flank. The British continued to advance, pushing the enemy with the greatest vigour, and ultimately forcing them to put themselves under the protection of the fortified heights which form the principal defence of Alexandria. It was intended to have attacked them in this their last position; for which purpose the reserve, which had remained in column during the whole of the day, was brought forward; and the second line, under major-general Hutchinson, marched to the left, across a part of the lake Mariotis, with a view to attack the enemy on both flanks; but on reconnoitring their position, it appeared that it was commanded by the guns of the fort, and could not be maintained if carried. The British therefore took up the ground which the enemy had quitted. The killed, wounded, and missing, of the British, amounted to upwards of one thousand three hundred. The loss of the French has never been ascertained; but it must be presumed to have been considerable.

No material occurrence took place from this time to the twenty-first, when general Menou being arrived at Alexandria from Grand Cairo, the French attacked the British with the whole of their collected force, estimated at eleven or twelve thousand men; as of fourteen demi-brigades, which the French had in Egypt, twelve appeared to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, except one regiment. The distribution of the French forces

was as follows: general Lanusse was on the left with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable brigade of cavalry, commanded by general Roize; generals Friant and Rampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; general Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry. D'Estaing commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry. The right of the British army was composed of various regiments, in front of which, at the extremity, was the twenty-eighth. In a redoubt to the left, and a little more advanced, were the forty-second, with Stewart's foreign regiment to the left in front; immediately behind were the twenty-eighth, the twenty-third, and the fifty-eighth; and about five other regiments in the rear. Between the right and the left of the British there intervened a considerable space, which in day-light could have been protected by the frigates and gun-boats nearest the shore; but, as the action commenced before day-light, that defence was wanting, as the fire from the ships might as well have been directed against friends as foes. An hour before day-break, the engagement began by a false attack on the left, commanded by major-general Cradock, where the enemy were soon repulsed, and immediately after the real attack commenced on the right by a large body of infantry and another of cavalry, who charged in columns. The twenty-eighth, which was the most advanced, received them with the greatest intrepidity, and maintained their ground until the fifty-eighth and twenty-third, which were behind the twenty-eighth, advanced to support them; but the French forces being still immensely superior in numbers, the forty-second also advanced for the same purpose. Here the shock became tremendous, and the contest was unusually obstinate. The enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were frequently intermixed with the British infantry. The twenty-eighth and forty-second were almost overpowered, when general Stewart, with the foreign brigade, advanced to their assistance, and gave the enemy such a heavy and well-directed fire, that they could no longer stand before it, and fled in all directions. Whilst this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate the centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole of the action,

refused their right; but they pushed forwards a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep the left of the British (which was the weakest part) in check. Soon after day-break the enemy were every where repulsed, and obliged to fly; but the British could not prosecute their victory, on account of their inferiority of cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills, under which they retired, with cannon. The loss of the English was considerable; and foremost in the list of heroes who thus gloriously perished stands the name of the commander-in-chief, sir Ralph Abercrombie. On the first alarm he had hastened to the scene of action, and having dispatched his whole suite in different directions with orders to the brigades, he was alone, when some French dragoons attacked, dismounted, and attempted to sabre him. The general, though mortally wounded before by a musket-ball, instantly recovered his legs, and was struggling to wrest the uplifted sabre, when a soldier of the forty-second, who ran up at this critical moment, killed the dragoon who held it with his bayonet. The general re-mounted, and continued giving his orders with the utmost coolness and intrepidity until the enemy fled; when, as with his countryman Wolfe, nature, no longer able to support the energies of his mind, sunk down oppressed within him. He was carried in a hammock to a boat, and conveyed on board lord Keith's ship, where he languished until the twenty-eighth, and then resigned his gallant spirit. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was a North Briton, of a respectable, but not opulent, family, and began his military career as a cornet in the third regiment of dragoon guards. He rose by successive gradation, until, in 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. Early in this war he was employed on the continent, and conducted the march of the guards from Deventer to Oldensaal, in the retreat of the British troops in 1794. From that period to 1797 he was commander-in-chief of all the most successful enterprises of the English in the West Indies. On his return to Europe he was created lieutenant-general, and appointed to the command of the forces in Ireland. In the expedition to Holland he displayed such military talents, that even the enemy could not deny him their praises; and he terminated his career in the ever-memorable battle we have just mentioned. He might have justly exclaimed with his

dying breath, like the Grecian Epaminondas, "I have lived long enough, for I die unconquered."

Besides the commander-in-chief, the British loss was considerable: ten officers, nine serjeants, and two hundred and twenty-four rank and file, were killed; sixty officers, forty-eight serjeants, and one thousand and eighty-five rank and file, wounded; three officers, one serjeant, and twenty-eight rank and file, were missing:—in all one thousand four hundred and sixty-eight. On the part of the French, general Roize was killed on the field, and generals Lanusse and Boden died afterwards of their wounds: their whole loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, has been calculated at three thousand at the least.

Previously to this battle, the French garrison in the castle of Aboukir had surrendered to a British detachment which was left to invest it when the main body of the army marched on for Alexandria; and on the nineteenth of April the town and castle of Rosetta, commanding the navigation of the Nile, and having also a French garrison, capitulated to a corps of British and Turks, who had been detached under the command of colonel Spencer to reduce it.

The command of the British army now devolved on general Hutchinson; and, as it was still inferior to that of the French, he did not judge it prudent to make an attempt on Alexandria, which was so strongly fortified, that the loss of men it would have occasioned might have eventually defeated the end of the expedition. General Hutchinson was fixed in his resolution of not attempting Alexandria for the present, by learning that a considerable force from the East Indies, under the command of general Baird, colonels Wellesley, Murray, &c. were landed by admiral Blanket at Suez, and were marching over-land to co-operate with him. Rahmanieh was still in the hands of the French, who had fortified it, to secure their communications with the upper part of the Delta and Upper Egypt, from whence they drew their supplies of provisions. To deprive Alexandria of these communications, and to insulate it, general Hutchinson cut the canal of Alexandria, and let the sea into the lake Mareotis, which completely effected his purpose. He then proceeded on his plan of reducing Lower Egypt.

On the ninth of May general Hutchinson advanced towards

Rahmanieh, where the French were posted with three thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. It was expected that they would have endeavoured to maintain their position; but a corps of British on the eastern bank of the Nile having got into their rear, they retired in the night, leaving one hundred and ten men, commanded by a *chêf de brigade*, in the fort, who surrendered on the morning of the tenth. As the French retreated towards Cairo, it became necessary to follow them, to cover the army of the grand-vizir, who had crossed the desert, and was advanced so far as Belleis in his way to Cairo, and to secure a junction with the expected reinforcement from India. On the seventeenth, when the British were encamped at Alkham, they received intelligence from the Arabs, that a considerable body of French, coming from Alexandria, were advancing towards the Nile to surprise the boats of the captain pacha. The cavalry were immediately ordered out, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of major-general Doyle, supported by his brigade of infantry. Colonel Cavalier, the commander of the French detachment, retired into the desert, whither the British followed, and coming up with him, he surrendered with his whole force, consisting of six hundred of the best French troops, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with a considerable quantity of the dromedary corps, one four-pounder, and five hundred and fifty camels. The French, who had retreated from Rahmanieh, made a most rapid march from thence to Gizeh, and immediately crossed the river to Boulac with a view to surprise and attack the grand-vizir. He was, however, apprised of their approach; and, anticipating their designs by a forward movement, he met and attacked them on the sixteenth of June. After an action, which lasted seven hours, the French were compelled to retreat, having lost between three and four hundred men in killed and wounded. The British majors Holloway and Hope, and captains Lacey and Leake, were with the grand-vizir, and assisted him with their advice on this occasion.

The British army marched on to Gizeh, which, on the twenty-first of June, they invested on the left bank of the Nile, whilst the army of the grand-vizir took a position nearly within cannon-shot of Cairo. On the twenty-second the French sent out a flag of truce to inform general Hutchinson that they wished to treat for the evacuation of Cairo and the forts belonging to it, on cer-

tain conditions. After a negotiation of several days, the articles of capitulation were settled on the twenty-seventh: they were twenty-one in number—and in substance, that the French forces and their allies, under general Belliard, should not only evacuate Cairo, but the whole of Egypt; and should retire to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, ammunition, effects, &c. to be there embarked and carried to the French ports in the Mediterranean, at the expense of the allied powers. Thus happily terminated this arduous service, in which the British troops surmounted the scorching rays of the sun, nearly vertical, the difficulty of the navigation of the Nile, the entire want of roads, with that patience, alacrity, and zeal, which is above all panegyric. Only a few days after the surrender of Cairo the Indian army arrived on the banks of the Nile, too late, after all its incredible exertions, to partake in the laurels of its European brethren.

It was stipulated in the convention of Cairo that Menou should be included in it, provided he should notify his acceptance of the conditions within ten days after they should be communicated to him; but Menou refused to accept the offer, being still in hopes of receiving a reinforcement which admiral Gantheaume was bringing to him. That admiral, indeed, advanced within thirty leagues of Alexandria; but being descried by lord Keith, who was watching that port to intercept all supplies, he stood off again with the greatest expedition.

General Hutchinson now prepared to march against Alexandria; and the French army at Cairo, consisting of near ten thousand persons, for the Greeks and Copts were not more than four or five hundred, were dispatched to Rosetta under the escort of general Moore, and embarked with all possible expedition. About the middle of August, general Hutchinson having then arrived before Alexandria, the operations against the enemy's works commenced. Major-general Coote embarked, with a strong corps, on the inundation, in the night of the sixteenth of August, and on the morning of the seventeenth he effected his landing, and invested the strong castle of Marabout, situate at the entrance of the western harbour. Two attacks were made on the east side of the town—that on the right under the direction of major-general Cradock, and that on the left conducted by major-general Moore.

—with a view of getting possession of some heights in front of the entrenched position of the enemy. These services were performed without much resistance, and with very little loss. A part of general Doyle's brigade, the thirtieth regiment, under the command of colonel Spencer, were posted on a hill in front of the enemy's right. General Menou, who was in person in that part of the entrenched camp opposite to this position, ordered six hundred men to make a sortie, to drive colonel Spencer from his post. The French advanced with fixed bayonet, and without firing a shot: colonel Spencer ordered his men, who did not exceed two hundred, to receive them in the same manner; and he was obeyed with so determined a resolution, that the French were driven back to their entrenchment in the greatest confusion, and with the loss of many in killed, wounded, and taken. On the night between the eighteenth and nineteenth major-general Coote opened his batteries against the castle of Marabout, seconded by some Turkish corvettes and the launches and boats of the British fleet, under the guidance of captain Cochrane. Every part of this important service was so zealously and intrepidly performed, that, in the night of the twenty-first, the garrison, consisting of about one hundred and eighty men, commanded by a *chêf de brigade*, were compelled to capitulate. On the twenty-second, major-general Coote advanced to attack a strong corps posted in front, to cover the approach to Alexandria; and, notwithstanding the innumerable obstacles which presented themselves to the progress of the troops, he drove the French from their position in so much confusion, that they left their wounded and seven pieces of cannon behind them. On the twenty-fourth batteries were opened against the redoubt de Bain; and, on the twenty-fifth, at night, the enemy's advanced post, consisting of seven officers and fifty men, were surprised and taken prisoners by lieutenant-colonel Smith, with the first battalion of the twentieth regiment and a small detachment of dragoons, under the orders of lieutenant Kelly. The French now made an attempt to regain the ground they had lost, but were repulsed with loss. On the morning of the twenty-sixth four batteries were opened on each side of the town against the French entrenched camp, which soon silenced their fire; and on the evening of the twenty-seventh Menou sent to request an armistice for three days to conclude articles for a capitulation, the

articles for which were finally settled and signed on the second of September. These articles, twenty-two in number, are in effect, that the French forces (eight thousand soldiers and thirteen hundred sailors), the auxiliary troops, and all the individuals attached to the army, should be embarked so soon as vessels could be prepared for the service, and conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean. All the vessels in the harbour were to be delivered up to the British. The members of the institute of Egypt were to carry with them all the instruments of arts and science which they had brought from France; but the Arabian manuscripts, the statues, and other collections which had been made for the French republic, were to be considered as public property, and subject to the disposal of the generals of the combined army.

It is to be remarked, that the conventions concluded at Cairo and Alexandria, were precisely on the same grounds as that signed at El Arish, which the late British ministry refused to ratify; so that the British cause was no further advanced, after all the immense expense attending the European and Indian expeditions, by the conventions of Cairo and Alexandria, than it would have been by the treaty of El Arish, and ministers might have spared the effusion of all the blood spilt in the Egyptian campaign by a single dash of a pen! They have since alleged in their defence, that the glory acquired by the British arms has been much more than an equivalent for the expense and bloodshed. It may be so; but they can never arrogate to themselves any praise for the wisdom of their measures, unless they will attempt to assert that they were beforehand sure of success.

From this field of glory and success, as it eventually turned out, let us return to domestic affairs. In a review of all the administrations of Britain, it will be evident that two or three of the leading aristocratical families, united by the ties of blood or policy, have always commanded a majority in parliament, and either exercised the powers of the state or dictated to those who were entrusted to hold the reins. The new administration included none of these powerful families; and it has been said, and it is very probable, that Mr. Addington would not accept his office until he had obtained from the whole of the late ministry a solemn promise of their constant, active, and zealous support. This promise, however, if really given, was but poorly performed;

and, during the first session of Mr. Addington's administration, he received but very languid assistance from the late ministerial party.

As the new premier came into office with a professed view of listening to any terms of honourable pacification, a negotiation was again opened with M. Otto. The chief obstacle to a prosperous termination of it was Egypt; but, as the hopes of *Buonaparte* with respect to that country diminished by every account received from thence, the difficulty began to wear away. In proportion as the situation of the French army in Egypt became desperate, the first consul relaxed in his demands. At length, on the second of October, when not the most distant ideas of such an event were entertained, the British metropolis was astonished and cheered by the unexpected and welcome official intelligence that preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France had been signed!!!

The general joy which the termination of this long and arduous contest, unprecedented for its novelty and rancorous hostility, diffused throughout the empire, afforded so great an accession of popularity to the new ministry, that they now began, for the first time, to feel their ground, and to get rid of that diffidence with which they first entered upon office. The views of the ex-ministerial party, who looked upon the present administration only as the ephemera of the day, appear to have been crossed; and, whatever might have been their "solemn promises," they no longer kept up even the appearance of abiding by them. Mr. Pitt, however, supported the peace, which had probably been concluded with his consent; and he then imagined that, the end for which the new ministry had been appointed having been accomplished, they would have resigned; but being disappointed, he joined the Grenvilles, and both parties withdrew from the ministry, to whom, as they receded, the whole of the whig party made advances.

The political balance was in this state of vibration when the session of parliament was opened, on the twenty-ninth of October. The king's speech announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiation begun in the last session of parliament, and his satisfaction at the adjustment of all differences with the northern powers. It also announced that preliminaries of peace had been

ratified between the British empire and the republic of France ; and that whilst this arrangement manifested the justice and moderation of our views, it would also be found conducive to the interests of this country and the honour of the British character. As the provision for defraying the expenses, which must unavoidably be continued for some time, and maintaining an adequate peace establishment, could not be made without large additional supplies, his majesty observed that all possible attention should be paid to such economical arrangements as might be consistent with the great object of security to his majesty's dominions. The speech concluded with some well-merited eulogia on the naval and military exertions of the last campaign ; on the glorious issue of our expedition to Egypt ; and with a wish that the people might experience the reward they so well deserved in a full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, and, above all, in the undisturbed possession of their religion, their liberties, and their laws. The addresses on the speech were carried through both houses without a division.

The next subject of importance which engaged the attention of parliament was the preliminaries of peace themselves, of which the following extract from the articles is given, for the better understanding the allusions made to them in the debates.

Article 1. stipulates, That so soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, in order that all hostilities may cease immediately between the two powers, and between them and their allies respectively, the necessary instruction shall be sent with the utmost dispatch to the commanders of the sea and land-forces of the respective states ; and each of the contracting parties engages to grant passports, and every facility requisite to accelerate the arrival, and ensure the execution, of these orders. All conquests made subsequently to the ratification of the preliminaries shall be considered as of no effect, and shall be faithfully comprehended in the restitutions to be made after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

Art. 2.—His Britannic majesty shall restore to the French republic and her allies all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered by the English forces in the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon, of which the sovereignty is to remain with Britain.

Art. 3.—The port of the Cape of Good Hope to be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages.

Art. 4.—The island of Malta, with its dependencies, to be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. To render it completely independent of either of the contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guaranty of a third power to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

Art. 5.—Egypt shall be restored to the Porte, whose territories are to be *statu quo ante bellum*.

Art. 6.—The territory of Portugal to be preserved entire.

Art. 7.—The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English to evacuate all the ports or islands which they occupied in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

Art. 8.—The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic.

Art. 9. specifies the different periods when the restitutions shall take place in the four quarters of the globe.

Art. 10. provides for the restoration of all prisoners on either side, leaving the question of sums due for their maintenance to be settled in the definitive treaty, according to the law of nations and established usage.

Art. 11. settles the question how long after the signing of the preliminary articles captures at sea shall be legal prizes in different parts of the globe.

Art. 12. directs that all sequestrations by either of the parties of the funded property, revenue, or debts, of the other of them, or her subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signing of the definitive treaty; and regulates the manner in which the claims of individuals are to be decided.

Art. 13.—The fisheries round the island of Newfoundland and the islands adjacent, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, to remain *statu quo ante bellum*; reserving power to make, in the definitive treaty, such arrangements as may place the fisheries of the two nations on the most proper footing for the maintenance of peace.

Art. 14.—The fortifications to be restored *statu quo*; three

years to be allowed to the inhabitants of ceded places to dispose of their effects, during which they are to have the free exercise of their religion, and enjoyment of their property, without disturbance on account of their republican opinions, or of their attachment to either of the two parties, or on any other account, except debts to individuals, or acts posterior to the definitive treaty.

Art. 15.—The preliminaries to be ratified and exchanged in London in fifteen days; and immediately after their ratification plenipotentiaries to be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers.

Such were the preliminaries of peace submitted to the consideration of both houses of parliament on the third of November. Lord Romney, who moved the address, expressed his approbation of the peace in the most energetic terms. England, he said, had terminated a war, the most momentous in which she had ever been engaged; a war productive of the heaviest burthens, and most severely felt, though firmly, patriotically, and loyally, endured; a war, glorious as that was in which Chatham presided at the helm of affairs, yet equally splendid with it. After having taken a cursory view of its transactions, his lordship concluded by saying, that, as far as the uncertainty of human events admitted, the preliminaries insured a lasting peace, and the address should have his strenuous support.

Earl Spencer expressed his regret at entertaining a difference of opinion on the subject, and declared the peace to be one of very great inequality, whether we viewed the relative state of France and the continent, or of France and England. It was also a peace with a revolutionary government—with an usurper, who could make a rupture whenever his spleen or caprice prompted a violation of the contract; and consequently a peace which could never be considered permanent. Peace undoubtedly was a happy event, but then it was such a peace as ought neither to have dishonoured our arms nor encouraged the enemy to provoke us afresh.

Lord Grenville also condemned the peace. He detailed our conquests during the late war; and declared that, if Europe could not have been restored to her pristine state, these ought to have been retained as a counterpoise to the power of France. A

parallel had been attempted between the present treaty and the *projet* of Lisle, but it had been overlooked that, in addition to what was proposed to be ceded by the latter, Malta, Minorca, and Surinam, had been given up by the former. It was a serious thing to see the interests of the country signed away. We were now in a new situation—enfeebled, but not broken down; lowered, but not debased: some of our out-works had been demolished—many of them surrendered to the foe—but the citadel yet remained; and, whilst it was defended by the courage of united Britons, it would yet bid defiance to attack.

Earl Moira said, that though the terms were inadequate, they were unavoidable: the noble lord who condemned them (earl Spencer) should recollect that he had left the country in jeopardy, and it was impossible afterwards to conclude an advantageous peace. He knew the sentiments upon which the present ministry acted, and they should have his support whilst they continued to be the basis of their conduct.

Lord Fitzwilliam merely said he had ever deprecated a peace with republican France, and he did so now.

Lord Nelson delivered his opinion that Malta was of no importance to Britain. It was at too great a distance from Toulon to watch the French fleet at that port; and in time of peace would have required a garrison of seven thousand men, and double that number in time of war.

The earl of Carnarvon said there was nothing worse than a hollow truce, which gave no security for permanence, and was dishonourable to our allies.

The address was carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen against ten.

On the same day, when the address was moved in the house of commons, the honourable Thomas Grenville, after having inveighed against the dereliction of our allies, asserted that the only plea on which ministers could justify the inglorious peace was that which they disclaimed—necessity. He admitted the value of Ceylon and Trinidad, but said it was greatly diminished by the aggrandisement of the French republic.

Earl Temple considered those who had signed the peace as having signed the ruin of their country. Amongst other ill consequences, he lamented the encouragement it gave to republican

principles ; and one of its effects would be to revive the hopes of the disaffected. He recapitulated the various ostensible objects of the war, and said that not one of them had been accomplished. The only adequate plea for such a peace was—dire necessity!

Mr. Pitt (after stating his misfortune to differ from those with whom he had been in habits of the strictest friendship upon a subject of so much importance) professed to take up the enquiry on the grounds of what would be the expense of continuing the contest, what were the attendant difficulties, and what was the hope of its success. He did not pretend to say that the peace was adequate to his wishes ; but the government had obtained the best terms they could, and the terms for which those who condemned the peace contended would not have justified ministers for protracting the war. Our grand object was to give additional vigour to our maritime strength, and security to our colonial possessions. In thus considering the subject, it was necessary to have an eye to the leading quarters of the globe in which we were to look for this security. Our acquisitions were all in the Mediterranean, in the East or West Indies ; and if it should appear that in two of the three quarters we had retained such possessions as effectually preserved our antient territories, we had done much. He meant not to undervalue our conquests in the Mediterranean—especially Malta ; yet, compared with the East Indies, even that was but a secondary consideration. The importance and advantages of the Levant trade had been greatly exaggerated, and, allowing them to have been correct, they applied only to times when those other branches of trade with Ireland, America, and the Indies, to which we owed our present grandeur and naval superiority, did not exist ; these were the sinews of our strength, with which the Levant trade was, comparatively speaking, but trifling. It appeared to him sound policy rather to place Malta under the protection of a third power than, by retaining it to ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. He lamented that a more definitive arrangement concerning the future state of Malta could not be made ; but, unless we had retained it ourselves, the best plan was to make it independent both of England and France. He did not totally disregard the Cape of Good Hope ; but he regarded it as far inferior to Ceylon, which, of all places upon the face

of the globe, would add most security to our East Indian possessions ; and Trinidad was of the greatest importance in the West Indies, as being the best naval post from whence we might direct our future operations against Spain in South America. After having proceeded to justify our conduct towards our allies, he endeavoured to overturn the assertion that we had signed the death-warrant of our country in this peace : if we had retained all our acquisitions, he asserted, they would not have enabled us to counterbalance the power of France on the continent—they would have only added a little more wealth, which would have been ill purchased by a little more war. With respect to our resources, he would affirm that they were greater than the enemy, or even than the people of this country, had an idea ; but then they ought to be employed for the purpose of defence, or the security of our honour, and not to be lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of an enormous expense. The restoration of the French monarchy had never been the *sine qua non* of the war, but self-defence and security ; and whatever might be the future objects of the first consul (of whom it would be hypocrisy in him to say he had changed, or ever could change, his opinion till a train of conduct justified such a change of sentiments), he would venture to predict that, if they were to exercise a military despotism, he would not select this country for his first attack. We had not only anticipated his threats of invasion by blocking him up in his own ports, but we had sent troops to triumph over him on the barren sands of Egypt. These were grounds not only of exultation, but of security ; yet we ought not to fling aside all caution. We ought to avoid irritation, and endeavour to allay animosity ; but this was not to be done by paying servile court to France ; and if her views corresponded with our own, we had every prospect of enjoying a long peace.

Mr. Fox said, that he had never given his vote with more hearty pleasure than on the present occasion. The subject had, he said, been very properly divided into two heads : 1st, Whether this peace was preferable to a continuance of the war ? and, 2dly, Whether we could have obtained a better ? The last point could not be easily ascertained : if ministers could, they ought to have obtained it ; but he should like to have the possibility demonstrated before the censure was regarded as

just. The question was—Could we, by any pressure of the war, prevail on France to cede to us Malta or the Cape? Was it to be accomplished by an attack upon her colonies?—No: we had tried it. By an attack upon the European territory of France?—Absurd to imagine it. By exhausting her finances?—Ah! no. He, therefore, gave it as his opinion, that we had no probability of gaining a better peace. He then adverted to the question, whether these terms were preferable to a continuance of the war; and after having drawn a *sombre* picture of the evils attending upon it, he asked whether it was not better that the poor should be fed, than that we should possess the Cape or Malta? There were persons, he said, who lamented the peace as glorious for France; if it were so, and not inglorious for England, it gave him no concern. He perfectly approved the terms of the treaty, but he disliked the time in which it was made—it came many years too late!

He would put it to the house, whether at the time the opposition were most railed at for advising pacific measures we could not have made a peace equally advantageous with the present? Would not France, on the breaking out of the war, have acceded to any terms? Would she not have then relinquished Holland, and abandoned her designs on the Netherlands? Could we not have since that eventful period often negotiated better?—For instance, after the surrender of Valenciennes, at Lisle, in January, when the first consul made a direct overture? Would not Buonaparte then have ceded Ceylon or Trinidad?—Yes; and the Cape into the bargain. We then might have had the treaty of El Arish; the gallant Abercrombie, indeed, would not have fallen, covered with laurels, in the lap of victory, nor would our brave army have acquired immortal honour; but we should have gained Egypt without the loss of blood or treasure. Since our impertinent answer to the overtures of Buonaparte, we had added seventy-three millions to our national debt—which was five times as much as all the duke of Marlborough's campaigns stood the country in. He was not sanguine enough (though he hoped for a lasting amity) to calculate on seven years of peace; but he thought the new state of France would turn the dispositions of her people to a mind less hostile respecting England. He imagined that Buonaparte's government would not be so adverse to this

country as that of the Bourbons : he meant not to insult that fallen family ; but the interests of his own country induced him to say, that the first consul could not have a more inveterate spirit and rancorous hostility against us than they had for ages evinced.

Mr. Addington said, that the duty of negotiation had been commenced by the present administration at a time when all hope of continental aid in checking the power of France had died away. By the treaty, however, we had acted honourably towards our allies, and preserved, or rather added to, our possessions. He acknowledged that it depended on the future conduct of government whether the peace should be a blessing or otherwise ; he could only say, that as it had been made sincerely, it should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given in this country to subvert the present government of France ; and a line of conduct ought to be pursued, not of suspicion and jealousy, but of prudence and circumspection ; and it would be necessary to provide means of security never before known in times of peace.

The motion was then agreed to without a division.

This discussion displayed all the political skill of the different parties, and developed their designs from under the veil by which they flattered themselves they would have been concealed. The Grenvilles, true to the declarations they had formerly made when they denounced a war *ad internecionem* against regicidal and republican France, adhered to their principles, and publicly execrated the peace at which they secretly rejoiced, and for the very same reason as Mr. Pitt, who supported it—namely, that they thought the premier would resign the helm whenever they should signify a wish to resume it : but Mr. Addington seeing himself buoyed up by the popularity which the peace had procured him, and the advances made to him by the opposition, who had more hopes of participating power with him than with the ex-minister, was not inclined to relinquish his high office so speedily.

In this session of parliament a very interesting question was agitated : it was brought forward by Mr. Manners Sutton, on the thirty-first of March, in the shape of a motion relative to the claims of the prince of Wales to the reve-

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nues of the duchy of Cornwall. The principal object, Mr. Sutton said, was to propose that a committee be appointed to enquire what sums arising from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall had been received, and under what authority, since the birth of his royal highness, till the period at which he attained twenty-one years of age. He wished it to be enquired what sums had been advanced to his royal highness, up to the twenty-seventh of June, 1795, towards the payment of his royal highness's debts. It would be then necessary for the committee to refer to precedents, to determine whether the parliament was not fully competent to a decision of the prince's claim, which was as follows. Edward the Third granted the duchy of Cornwall to his son, the Black Prince, then only eight years of age; in consequence of which grant, the duchy had been invested in every succeeding prince of Wales from the moment of his birth. Contrary to the operation of this grant, it was rather extraordinary that the king should be entitled to hold the revenues of the duchy till the prince was of age, without being under a necessity of rendering any account of them. Yet doubts had been entertained by men of supereminent legal talents and erudition whether the king, as guardian of his children, had not a just claim upon the revenues of the duchy; and whether the king, by his prerogative, or some other attribute, was not entitled to receive these revenues: but both these doubts were done away by a reference to the several reigns succeeding that of Edward the Third, which he detailed, and inferred from thence that the prince of Wales was, from his birth, duke of Cornwall, and entitled to the revenue of the duchy. All this revenue, excepting two sums, amounting to one hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds, had been carried to the treasury. If, therefore, his royal highness's title was so clearly made out, would the house, he asked, compel him to resort to legal means to establish his right? The motive of his royal highness—and that, he trusted, a laudable one—was to show, that if his right had been duly acknowledged he should have been no burthen on the people, and that his expenses would have all fallen upon himself. If the result of the committee confirmed his royal highness's claims, he should then propose that the surplus of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall should be applied to the discharge of his royal highness's debts. Mr. Sutton then shaped his motion accordingly.

Mr. Addington considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in the motion. He was not prepared to give a decided opinion on the legal question. Knowing that doubts were entertained, he thought it improper for the house to take the step now recommended, until legal redress out of it had been found unattainable. As to the next point, whether the public had received the revenues and profits of the duchy of Cornwall, he would ask where was the direct proof of it? He knew that, during the prince's minority, sums of money arising from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall had been voted to be applied to the purposes of the civil list, and that ninety-four thousand pounds of this property came under the head of public services; but the house must be aware that it did not always follow that a sum intended to be applied for the public service could be actually said to be so employed. As to the second part, the statement of the account, after taking a cursory review of the advances made to the prince, he said, that supposing those advances were taken on the one hand, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall on the other, without touching the question of right, he doubted very much the accuracy of the calculation by which it was asserted that a considerable balance would be found in favour of his royal highness. He conceived it not to have been intended at the creation of the prince of Wales, for the first time, duke of Cornwall, that the whole revenue of the duchy should belong to the duke, and yet that the king should be at the charge of maintaining him during his minority. He was not saying that the claim was unfounded, but a doubt was entertained; and as whenever there was a wrong in this country there must be some redress, he thought such a point ought not to be discussed in that house. He concluded by moving, "That the other orders of the day be now read."

Mr. Erskine entered into an historical detail of former reigns, to prove that this was a petition of right; and as to the accounts, however small might be the balance was not the question: the prince was anxious to have the accounts gone into, for the reasons already mentioned.

The master of the rolls observed, that it was contended that the claim of the prince was a legal claim; by which nothing else could be meant than a claim founded on the principles of law.

If so, what had that house to do with the discussion ? Was it by a committee of the house that the rights of property were to be tried ? If this principle were to be once admitted, and the house were thus to take upon itself to decide what rights were clear, would there, he asked, be any protection against the grossest infringements on property of every description ? He did not dispute the claim of the prince to the duchy from the moment of his birth ; but the doubt was, that he had had no livery and seizin of possession made to him ; and during his minority the management had devolved on the king, to whom it belonged exclusively to educate the infant prince, and determine on the propriety of every article of expenditure. The question, therefore, was, whether his majesty exercised these powers subject to control, or were they a part of his prerogative, free from every species of enquiry ? If ever the question should regularly come before him in a judicial capacity, it would then become him to pronounce on its validity ; but at present he should give no opinion.

Mr. Fox contended that the motion did not contain a syllable of law, but proposed merely the investigation of facts. The prince of Wales came before the house in the character of a public creditor. If the committee allowed his claims to be just, the house would then be bound to discharge these claims, not by a judicial act, but by a legislative enactment, in which all the three estates of the legislature would participate. His majesty had, he said, appropriated the property of the prince in aid of the civil list, and the public had reaped the advantages of this appropriation. If his royal highness came forward to make his claim, he had two opponents—his majesty, who had diverted the revenues to other purposes—and the public, who reaped the benefit of this diversion. He was moreover to be told that the king was entitled to make what distribution he thought proper, without being liable to account ; and that the public were not to be called upon to refund the sums which had been appropriated to their service. He could not believe that when the prince says to the house—"I have a just demand upon you," it would answer—"Seek your remedy ; bring your action ; but, as a friend, I tell you that you have no remedy at all." This would be meanness and disingenuousness of the deepest die. He sat down in the confident hope that the order of the day would be negatived.

Many other members delivered their opinions pro and con; but the chief of the arguments on both sides are already gone over. When the question was called for, there appeared for the order of the day one hundred and sixty, against it one hundred and three; majority against the prince's claims, fifty-seven.

On the twenty-sixth of April it was announced, by a royal proclamation, that a definitive treaty of peace between Britain, the French republic, his catholic majesty, and the Batavian republic, had been signed at Amiens on the twenty-seventh of March, and that the ratifications had been duly exchanged. As there was no material difference between the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, it will be needless to specify any of the articles of the latter except the tenth, which relates to Malta, the bone of contention for which the greatest part of Europe was shortly after involved in another scene of destructive warfare! It is therefore necessary to a knowledge of the future events of British history that the reader should impress that article on his mind. It is as follows:

Article 10th. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; to be held on the same conditions on which it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The knights of the order, whose languages shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand-master, chosen from among the natives of the nation which preserve their languages, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is understood that an election made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree that there shall not be in future either a French or English language; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues and commercial duties of the island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment, and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this language; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state; provided the grand-master, or commissaries fully authorised according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereinafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall always be composed of native Maltese; for the remainder, the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages. The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commander-in-chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall belong to the grand-master; and this right he cannot resign, even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the isles of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, are placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishment of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which subsists between the said states of Barbary and the order of St. John, and the powers possessing the languages, or contributing to their composition, shall have ceased.

10. The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the isle, except as far as the present treaty shall derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws, and perpetual statutes of the order, in the usual form; and the grand-master, or, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be obliged to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his states, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from their restitution to the knights; and if, at the expiration of this term, the order should not have raised a force sufficient in the judgment of the guarantying powers to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the paragraph, the Neapolitan troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in the 6th paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

This treaty of peace, which was termed the treaty of Amiens, from its having been adjusted at that place, was received with such demonstrations of joy by the British and French nations, as left no doubt of their being most heartily tired of this unprecedented and sanguinary contest. The British government evinced every symptom of a sincere wish to heal the wounds of the two nations by a solid and durable peace, and, as a token of their good faith, they even dismissed their seamen and dismantled their navy with much more celerity than prudence. It was soon found that those gloomy statesmen, as they were called, who denominated the peace "an armed truce" were perfectly aware of the

restless ambition of the ruler of France, and that the treaty of Amiens was, in the words of lord Spencer, nothing more than “a peace with a revolutionary government—with an usurper, who could make a rupture whenever his spleen or caprice prompted a violation of the contract, and consequently a peace which could never be considered as permanent.”

ADDITION
TO
WOOD'S CONTINUATION
OF
DR. GOLDSMITH'S
HISTORY OF ENGLAND :

CONTAINING
A SUMMARY OF EVENTS
FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS, TO THAT OF GHENT.

BY A MEMBER OF THE "MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

BOSTON :
PUBLISHED BY CHESTER STEBBINS.

.....
1815.



SUMMARY, &c.

CHAP. I.

RETROSPECTIVE REFLECTIONS.

THE nineteenth century opened with events, calculated to awake the most lively interest and the most serious consideration, in every mind, alive to the prosperity or suffering of human beings. In EUROPE, the war which had raged with such desolating fury, for more than eight years,* was suspended. This tremendous conflict had been conducted by the rulers, and borne by the people of Great Britain, in a manner, which elevated the nation to a height of glory, before unexampled. This resulted not only, nor indeed chiefly, from the military and naval exploits, numerous and splendid as these were, achieved by their arms. Nor was it effected by the increase of their manufactures, commerce, and wealth, immense as this was, in amount and value ; nor by the new empire, to which their colonies in the East Indies were fast extending. What gave, at this period, the crowning and peculiar lustre to England now, by the union, taking the designation of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," were her literary, political, and religious institutions ; and, still more particularly, the *principle* on which she had sustained the contest with the French regicides. In this severe conflict, however reluctant to engage, and long as she forbore, notwithstanding multiplied indignities and aggressions, which would abundantly have justified hostilities ; yet, when no hope either of security or peace was left ; when actually assailed by those who appeared

* The National Convention of France declared war against Great Britain and Holland, 1 February, 1793. Preliminaries of peace were signed 1 October, 1801. The definitive treaty, 27 March 1802.

resolved on universal revolution and plunder, the spirit and perseverance, the resolution and patience, which were exhibited by Britons, in all the unprecedented efforts and privations required of them, were as honourable to themselves, as astonishing to all beholders. With the admiration, they had the best wishes and fervent prayers of multitudes, in every civilized and Christian country, for the success of their struggle against the atheism, and anarchy, and profligacy of the common enemy of mankind. The war had been chequered with various events, animating to the hopes, or alarming to the fears, of those who anxiously looked on its progress, and contemplated its issue. At some periods, the great continental powers, alive to their dangers and duties, coalesced with the champion of order, and freedom, and religion. At other times, several of them, deceived by the arts or corrupted by the influence of those who successively wielded the energies and commanded the resources of the "new Romans,"* pusillanimously deserted, or more basely betrayed the confederate policy; and England was left to fight alone the battles of the world. Reverting to her internal situation, as well as foreign relations, a short time previous to the season under consideration; many causes of anxiety, and some for alarm, crowd on recollection. At home, the crop of grain in 1799 was exceeding small, almost to scarcity; and that of 1800 was not much if any more abundant. An administration, which combined the most splendid talents, tried integrity, and profound wisdom, was deprived of its head, and some of its ablest supporters by imperious circumstances. And, as if to complete the catalogue of evils, the health of the beloved monarch was materially impaired; and serious apprehensions began to be entertained, that an event, at any time afflicting, but then peculiarly calamitous, from its probable influence on the political arrangements of the kingdom, was apparently not remote—probably very near. Abroad, not only had Italy and Switzerland been conquered, the Netherlands completely subjugated, and Austria received peace, as a suppliant, if not a vassal; but a formidable coalition of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, in entire accordance with the policy of France, if not in subserviency to it, threatened the vital principle of Britain's

* See Ames' masterly exposition of Gallick democracy and despotism, under this title. Works, p. 188—207.

security,—the dominion of the sea. Such were some of her peculiar trials, at the commencement, and during the former portion, of the year 1801.

The happy change, which a kind Providence interposed to produce, gave as lively and sincere joy, as the preceding forebodings had been gloomy and distressing. The hostile plans of the Northern Powers were disconcerted, by prompt and energetick measures. The victory at Copenhagen,* and the death of Paul,† were speedily followed by the removal of the restrictions on British commerce. The triumph of British valour in Egypt‡ gave new spirits to the nation; and inspired universal confidence, that the boasted “Invincibles” of Bonaparte, if by any means they should effect the invasion, now again vauntingly threatened, would find at every post another Alexandria. The convention of Petersburg,§ by which all differences between Russia and England were satisfactorily adjusted; and to which the other parties in the anti-commercial coalition successively acceded, prepared the way for peace with France. The state of the United Empire, and of the rest of the world, seemed to authorize the experiment; and many circumstances conspired to demand it. A party, considerable in number and talents, had for years, and indeed from the beginning, been opposed to the war. The new ministry were generally believed to be less strenuous in its favour, than their predecessors. Multitudes looked to them, with the hope that they might safely terminate a contest, long protracted, immensely expensive, and the whole burden of which pressed on Britons. The nation asked for peace, if to be obtained on just principles. It was concluded, on the terms summarily stated in the last chapter: and was followed by universal expressions of rejoicing, and a publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God, throughout the kingdom.

Here, perhaps, as properly as in any place, may be inserted a summary of the population of Great Britain, at this period. The amount returned, agreeably to act of parliament, in England, Scotland, and Wales, was 5,450,292 males, and 5,492,354 females, 10,942,646. The population of Ireland, exceeding 4,000,000; of the smaller islands, equal to 80,000; and of parishes omitted

* 2 April.

† 23 March.

‡ 21 March.

§ 17 June.

in the returns, estimated at 20,000; will give the whole number, in the United Kingdom, at least, 15,100,000. The number in London was 864,845.

Before proceeding to the summary of events, which followed this important epoch in the annals of Britain, it may be proper very generally to state the condition and prospects of the United States, at the beginning of the new century. So intimately associated have been and are, the real interests of the two nations, that it were not easy if desirable, to give a history, however brief, of the one, without noticing the great occurrences in the other.

The descendants of Englishmen, as was to be expected, had been deeply interested in the great conflict, which was waging in the old world. When the founders of the colonies emigrated from the parent country, they brought, and their posterity have retained, the same language and faith; and, especially in New England, many of the same civil institutions, and principles, habits, feelings, and manners. The war, which terminated in the independence of our republick; had indeed, for a time, produced an alienation of affection; it had excited, in many, a rancorous enmity, towards those who had accelerated the unhappy rupture by oppression, and had carried on the contest, that ensued, with peculiar severity. At the peace of 1783, many wounds were left rankling; and many injuries on both sides, continued to keep them open. Some of the causes of irritation arose, from the inability of the confederation to enforce compliance with the terms of pacification. The establishment of the new constitution, among other important blessings, it was hoped would lead to a final and satisfactory adjustment of all misunderstandings; and to produce in fact, the general disposition, agreeably to the correct sentiment of a former day, to treat Great Britain, like the rest of the world, "as enemies in war, in peace friends." This fond hope was most happily realized. The treaty of 1793, negotiated by one of the ablest and purest statesmen, who have blessed any country; approved and defended by the "master mind," and ratified by the incorruptible and magnanimous chief, of our nation, operated in a manner to verify all the calculations of its most sanguine friends, and to refute the predictions of its numerous, and some of them able opponents. The boundaries were

settled ; the infractions of the former treaty were to be ascertained, and the injuries, consequent on these, to be reciprocally compensated ; the capture and condemnation of property on the high seas were to be investigated, and restitution made, in cases of illegality. Indeed, all the points at issue were arranged in a way, which promised great and mutual benefits. Nor was more promised, than was fulfilled. The commercial intercourse between the two countries increased, in an astonishing degree. An immense capital, and a still more vast credit, was employed to the incalculable profit of both parties. Occasional interruptions of our trade arose, out of the peculiar warfare, in which Europe was involved. Both belligerents, at times, harassed neutral commerce ; but the maritime strength of England caused that questions arose more frequently, and of greater moment, between her and us, than those with her enemy. The difficulty of discriminating between her subjects and our citizens, led doubtless to some abuses, in claiming the latter, as her own seamen. Her manufacturing and mercantile interests had also, at times, sufficient influence over the political, to produce a relaxation of her rights on the ocean. The waving of some unquestionable prerogatives, particularly those respecting colonial trade, or the exacting of them with less rigour at some times than at others, was pleaded as an argument, that she herself held them to be untenable. There is not however room, if it were expedient, to enter here fully into questions, now, it is to be hoped, at rest forever. It must suffice to remark, that although some hardships were sustained, and some injuries suffered, the balance of advantages resulting from our position, continued to prove the prospective wisdom, which dictated the proclamation of neutrality, and had influenced to a faithful adherence to the policy it avowed. A class of specious writers, had from the first, attempted to excite popular feelings against it ; to revive old animosities, and excite new hostility, against our transatlantick brethren, by detailing and distorting every act of Britain that operated unfavourably ; and by concealing, or glossing over, the greatest outrages on the part of France, continually perpetrated against not merely our commercial rights, but our very existence, as an independent nation.—Still, however, the publick mind was kept prevailingly correct, especially in the northern and eastern section of the country ;

where most of the peculiar causes of gallick partiality and anti-british feeling, which operated in the southern and western states, produced comparatively little effect. This sound state of opinion preserved, through the whole period of the two first administrations under the federal constitution, the relations of amity with Great Britain; and, still more honourably roused the nation, for a time, to a manly sense, and an energetick resistance, of the insufferable wrongs of France. Although this period was as brief as it was glorious, still many of the people believed with their best counsellors, that no confidence ought to be reposed in the friendly dispositions of the first consul. They were led, by those whom they most revered, to believe, and they generally, in New England, did believe, that if Britain yielded, or were overcome, they must follow in the train of the vanquished. Those, who considered such an event as the worst of calamities, were led by self interest, as well as by philanthropy, by regard to their country's salvation, as well as the welfare of mankind, to hope and to pray that the Universal Sovereign would interpose, and crown with success the Defender of nations. In proportion to this fondly cherished desire, was the solicitude, with which the whole progress of the controversy had been viewed, and with which the prospects, that opened from its close were contemplated. At this anxious and eventful era, the administration passed out of the hands of the first and fast friends to the constitution. A majority, hostile to the Washington principles, was also returned in the national congress; and thus the century commenced with events, awfully portentous to the interests of America. How the fears, then indulged have been realized, and even exceeded; and how her degradation and sufferings have been consummated by an unnatural war with Great Britain; will be incidentally noticed in the summary that follows.

CHAP. II.

HOSTILITIES RENEWED BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE
FRENCH REPUBLICK.

THE treaty at Amiens proved but an armistice. Such [1802.] it was early predicted would be its issue, by many of the soundest and best informed political calculators. The formidable armament of the French, avowedly for the reduction of St. Domingo, December, 1801, although with the assent of the British ministry, who were apprized of it, gave no little uneasiness to many, in both houses of parliament. The manner of organizing the new Italian, Ligurian, and Helvetic republics, indicated the all grasping ambition of the first consul; as it, in fact, operated to annex both Italy and Switzerland to the before extensive territories of France. The arrangements in that country, for the appointment of Bonaparte first consul for life, with power to name his successour, under the farcical appearance of the form of an election by the people; and the establishment of a legion of honour, served farther to develop his character and views. By a senatus consultum, immediately following the publick investment of the chief consul with his new dignity, which took place 3 August, the constitution was completely changed; and a military despotism, in fact, though not so completely in form, as at an after period, was fastened on the French people.

The discussions in the British parliament, on the peace, were unusually able and eloquent. Among the powerful opponents in the house of lords, lord Grenville took the lead. In the commons, Mr. Windham, Thomas Grenville, lord Temple, and Mr. Sheridan, severally displayed great force of reasoning, and much keen invective, with some pleasant wit, in reprobating the conditions, authors, and supporters of it. Mr. Pitt took a high stand in its favour, and in behalf of his successours in the cabinet. After several incidental questions, in which the division varied somewhat, the final vote stood in the lords, for the treaty 122, against it 16; in the commons, for 276, against 20.

On the 29 June, parliament was dissolved, by the royal proclamation, and orders given for writs to issue, returnable 31 August,

for calling a new one. The elections were held in July, and the members assembled 16 Nov. and it seemed generally agreed, that a more just representation had never been; or an election held, in which less ministerial influence was exerted. His majesty's speech contained no intimations of other than pacifick intentions, or expectations: in the debate, on the answer, were some not very equivocal appearances, that the long continuance of peace was not probable.

The ministry continued, without important changes; and on all important subjects had large majorities, in which some of the late administration took an honourable lead. The financial reports were in a high degree satisfactory, and encouraging; the harvest was abundant; and the trade, and manufactures of the country were invigorated with new energy.

General Andreossi, the new French ambassadour, had his first audience with the king, 17 November. Mr. Schimmelpenninck, the Dutch plenipotentiary, arrived in December. Lord Whitworth went as ambassadour to France, the same month, and was received with great rejoicings. In this year, lord Clare, lord high chancellor of Ireland, died. Sir John Mitford, speaker of the house of commons, was appointed his successour. Right honourable Charles Abbot succeeded, as speaker.

The French expedition, against St. Domingo, was attended with many circumstances of atrocious cruelty, and perfidy; and, perhaps as much as any thing, served to open the eyes of the people of England, to the character and views of the Corsican. Touissant, a man whom it would be cruel and unjust to name in comparison with the other, after concluding a treaty with his invading enemy, was inveigled away from the colony, which by his talents and virtues would probably have risen to prosperity, and treacherously confined in the castle of Joux. He was afterwards committed to the dungeon of Besançon, and there fell a victim to the cruelties inflicted, not improbably to the assassins employed, by his remorseless persecutor. In August, the chief consul prohibited the circulation of English newspapers in France; professedly because of the severe strictures, occasionally published, on his plans and character; but doubtless full as much, that his vassals should not possess the means of knowing the truth, nor have examples of the free discussion of publick measures by an unrestrained press.

The beginning of this year gave new evidences of the hostile dispositions of Bonaparte towards Great Britain. [1803.]

Not only were his schemes, for excluding her commerce from the continent of Europe, continually unfolding; but a conspiracy of a most daring nature, discovered Nov. 1802, which was headed by colonel Despard, having in view no less, than to seize and depose the king, and take possession of the parliament, bank, tower, &c. was satisfactorily traced to his agency. Several of the conspirators, with their chief, were convicted of *high treason*. On him and six others, the sentence was executed on the 21 February. He met death with the hardy insensibility of one, infected with the philosophy, as well as corrupted by the influence, of France.

A message to parliament from his majesty on the 8 March, intimating not very obscurely the probability of soon being compelled to renew hostilities, gave little surprize to those who had carefully observed the measures of the first consul. This message was inserted, without comment, in the Paris *Moniteur* of the 14. The English newspapers soon after related, as from good authority, and it was generally believed, that a very extraordinary conversation took place, at a publick levee, between Bonaparte and the English ambassadour. The former, in rude and violent terms, accosted lord Whitworth on the *violation of the faith of treaties by Great Britain in delaying to evacuate Malta, &c. &c.* That this delay originated in circumstances over which Great Britain had no control, was satisfactorily demonstrated to all impartial observers. Russia and Prussia had both declined to guaranty that island to the knights, on the terms of the treaty; and to have restored it, without some pledge from a power equal to the defending of it, would have been actually abandoning it, to the domination of France.

The message, was on the day following its communication, answered by unanimous addresses from both houses, in a corresponding language and spirit; "hoping for the continuance of peace, if consistent with the honour of the crown, the safety, and essential interests of the nation," &c. Two royal proclamations were immediately issued; one recalling all seamen from foreign service, &c. the other, encouraging enlistments by a bounty, &c. On the 16 May, another message announced, that the discussions, noticed in that of 8 March, had terminated unfavourably, and

that "the conduct of the French government had obliged his majesty to recall his ambassadour from Paris." The whole declaration would be inserted, but for the contracted limits of this summary. It exposes, in a masterly and satisfactory manner, the insults and injuries of France. 1st. In prohibitions on his majesty's commerce; and violence, in several instances, to the vessels and property of his subjects. 2d. In sending over military men, professedly as commercial agents or consuls, furnished with instructions to obtain soundings of the harbours, and surveys of places. 3d. In the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandizement, which the French have continued in relation to other nations, especially Holland, Switzerland, and Italy. 4th. In avowing a determination to involve powers, which were not parties to the treaty of Amiens, in the consequences of the termination of that treaty; although the same powers were not allowed to derive any advantages from his majesty's remonstrances in their behalf, in regard to the outrages, which the French were perpetrating towards them. 5th. In the interference of France and Spain in the constitution of the order of Malta, and the consequent changes which have taken place, and destroyed the means of supporting its independence. 6th. In the avowal of views hostile to the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Ionian islands. 7th. In the unwarrantable charges against his majesty's government, and the British army in Egypt, contained in an official report of colonel Sebastiani. 8th. In the still more offensive communication of the first consul to the legislative body; in which, among other indecorous and arrogant assertions, he presumes to offer defiance to Great Britain, and affirm, she "cannot singly contend against France." 9th. In the conduct of the first consul to his majesty's ambassadour at a publick audience, in presence of many foreign ministers. 10th. In the French minister's requiring the publication, in the gazette of the senate at Hamburgh, of a most opprobrious libel against his majesty. 11th. In repeated requisitions that the laws of Great Britain, relative to the freedom of the press, be changed. "Under all these insults and provocations, his majesty has proceeded with temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress. His efforts have proved abortive. Still he is ready to concur in any arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given, for the indignity offered to

his crown and people, and substantial security afforded against *further* encroachments on the part of France." "He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people; and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which if not resisted may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

The message, and documents accompanying, were taken into consideration 23 May, and after a very able and spirited discussion, addresses, pledging parliament "to support the cause in which his majesty is engaged, and in which are involved the rights of his majesty's crown, the interests of his people, and every thing dear and valuable to a free and independent nation," were carried, in the lords, 142 against 10; in the commons, 398 against 67.

CHAP. III.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR. CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

WARLIKE preparations immediately proceeded, with great spirit, and the nation seemed to be animated with one sentiment, that the contest was unavoidable; that sacrifices had been offered, which would have satisfied any ambition, but one that aimed at the empire of ocean and land; that war was the favourite aliment of the military adventurer, who swayed the destinies of France; and that he would be content with nothing short of the dominion of the world. In his actual inroads on the liberties of neighbouring nations, and the still more enormous projects, intimated or avowed; were fully exhibited, as well the utter destitution of any sentiments of honour or magnanimity, as the most gigantick strides to universal despotism. At home, and in the countries subjugated to his iron sceptre, the most oppressive exactions and conscriptions were enforced. Three in four of all the young men in France, between the age of 20 and 23, were driven into military service, at the point of the bayonet, except

the few who could pay for exemption, a sum equal to about 112 dollars. Forced loans followed on the back of excessive taxes, in the cities of Europe ; and with still more characteristick depravity, with almost infernal malignity, the brave inhabitants of St. Domingo, whom the perfidy of the French had united to the amount of 80 or 90,000, were persecuted with a war of extermination, and were hunted like wild beasts, with blood hounds, by the myrmidons of Bonaparte. It may here be added, though a little out of place, that by the assistance of the British, to whom the blacks sued not in vain against their ruthless tyrants, these latter were compelled to evacuate the island ; and their fleet and army under Rochambeau surrendered to the English squadron, by consent of Dessalines the successour of Touissant, in the beginning of December. The island soon was declared independent, by the name of Hayti.

The arrest and detention, as prisoners, of all British subjects in the territories and dependencies of the republick, was a suitable commencement of the novel mode of warfare, adopted by the first consul. On the 1 June, the French, under Mortier, took possession of Hanover, on terms exceedingly humiliating to the regency. Heavy contributions were levied ; and the most shocking outrages committed by the soldiery. The indifference with which the inroad of the invaders into Germany was viewed by Prussia and Austria, to say nothing of Russia, gave considerable ground of apprehension, respecting the disposition of those powers. Spain, Holland, the Italian republick, and Switzerland, were the known tributaries or vassals of the enemy. Still the United Empire was wholly undismayed ; the energy of government, and the spirit of the people, appeared to rise in proportion to the exigency. The menace of invasion was renewed ; and preparations, all along the opposite coast, indicated that something more than an empty threat was intended. The navigable rivers and seaports were filled with gun boats and flat-bottomed row-boats ; and several armies, said to be 200,000 strong, were moving to the nearest points for embarkation. Parliament, with great unanimity, voted for the increase both of the army and navy. Besides the militia before called out, amounting to 90,000 ; 135,000 regular troops were to be raised, by enlistment, 50,000 by ballot, to be trained by half pay officers. For the sea service,

40,000 were added to the 80,000 already granted. Associations were formed in every part of the kingdom; addresses, handbills, songs, adapted to raise and support the tone of patriotism, were circulated. The enormities of the French, in Egypt, as well as on the European continent, were exhibited in plain, but strong terms, together with the avowal, by the despot, of his purpose, "to give no quarter to the base English, who fight for their perfidious government; but to put all such to the sword, and give up all property to pillage." At the same time, that this ferocious declaration was published at Paris; a formal decree was issued, confiscating all merchandize of British manufacture arriving in any port of France.

A strict blockade of the river Elbe, the banks of which were occupied by French troops to exclude British commerce, followed this unprecedented mode of commercial warfare. The ships of war, and cruisers of Britain, investing all the considerable French and Batavian Ports, continually assailed the enemy even in their own harbours. Captures to an immense amount were made; and in the course of the summer, St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Pierre, Miquelon, Demarara, and Essequibo, were taken from the French and Dutch. A bill was passed to define and render more effectual the constitutional power of his majesty, to call out every man, capable of bearing arms, for the publick defence. In the progress of this measure, for embodying the whole male population between 17 and 55, through the commons, Mr. Pitt exerted his wondrous powers in a speech, the eloquence and argument of which, neither he, nor probably any other orator, ever exceeded. The necessity, for executing the compulsory clauses of this act, was precluded by volunteer associations, in every part of the kingdom. The number of those, who crowded to the ranks, was greater than was needed; and in consequence, the lords lieutenants of counties were advised not to enrol more than six times the amount of the old militia, or about 280,000 men in all. The zeal was as universal as it was ardent; the effects, such as were to be expected among a *free* people, engaged in a just and necessary war, and under a government *respected* and *beloved*. Every vulnerable point was fortified. Horses and wagons were offered, more than could be registered; individuals and trading companies fitted up a vast fleet of ships for the defence of the

coast; immense subscriptions were raised for clothing and other necessities, to the volunteers. At Lloyd's coffee house alone, the amount of contributions, in a few days, exceeded £.160,000. The *subscribers* voted £.20,000, 3 per cts. from their fund; besides individual contributions. A few mercantile houses, and even some persons, subscribed £.1000 each, several gave £.500; many £.300, £.200, £.100.

A temporary interruption, of the hopeful and animating prospect, was occasioned by an insurrection in Dublin, on the 23d July, in which lord Kilwarden, chief justice of the king's bench, and his nephew, reverend Arthur Wolfe, were murdered. A proclamation was circulated, by the self-styled *provisional government of Ireland*, avowing the object "to establish a free and independent republick," &c. 30,000 pikes, and uniforms for 100,000 men, were discovered and seized. The intelligence of this treasonable attempt was communicated to Parliament, by message, on the 28th; and two bills were passed, the same day; one, for trying the rebels by martial law; the other, for suspending the habeas corpus act, in Ireland. A special commission was instituted for the trial of the insurgents; several of whom were fully convicted, and were executed. Robert Emmett, one of their generals, and the author of the incendiary proclamation, in a very affecting speech, previous to receiving sentence of death, denied, for himself and confederates, any reliance on "French interposition." "I exhort," said he, "the people of Ireland to beware of such assistance. I urge them, in the strongest terms, to burn their houses, nay, even the very grass, on which a Frenchman shall land. Various opportunities have occurred to me, of witnessing the misery and desolation they have produced, in every country where they have gained an entrance, under the fallacious pretence of aiding the inhabitants, who considered themselves in a state of oppression." Notwithstanding this declaration, it was made clear, to the satisfaction of most enquirers, that this horrid plot, as well as that of Colonel Despard, was in fact promoted, if not excited, by the influence and the bribes of France. Awed by no principle, restrained by no sentiments of honour, her emissaries were actively engaged in every country, to intimidate the rulers, or corrupt the people.

On the 19 October, a day of national fasting was religiously observed. Never was a people more suitably affected by the aspects of Divine Providence, towards them. The spirit of piety appeared to rise, in all its fervour, and vigour, and purity. Associations for prayer kept pace with, or rather were in advance of, those for secular exertions, in behalf of their threatened blessings. Sacrifices of personal ease and of worldly substance were made, to an incalculable amount. All seemed animated, with one heart, in the emphatical words of their popular orator, "to serve a monarch whom they loved, a God, whom they adored." "In the name of the Lord of Hosts," they professed and manifested, that they "lifted up their banners." In the capital, and in most places, all the volunteer corps attended divine service, in a most exemplary manner. On the 26 and 28 of the same month, his majesty reviewed those of the metropolis, above 30,000; and through the duke of York, commander in chief, expressed his high satisfaction, in general orders of the 29. In his speech at the opening of the session of parliament, 22 November, among many magnanimous sentiments, the following was received through the nation with the grateful admiration it deserved; and, if possible, added to the enthusiastick attachment, long cherished for their venerable and exemplary monarch. "Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence." At the close of this year, the armament of the boasting invaders was believed to be nearly 300,000 strong, and their chief was said to meditate an immediate execution of his purpose. In England, the harvest had proved most abundant; the union was unexampled; the taxes, amply productive; and for defence, 1300 ships, and, at least, 500,000 men in arms, were ready at a moment's warning.

In a summary so brief as this must be, even of events, relative to the British empire at home, little, if any thing, can be expected, concerning its colonies abroad. The extensive and valuable acquisitions in India, made in October and November this year, by the armies under generals Wellesley and Lake, were otherwise well entitled to particular specification. Delhi, the capital, and Agra, often and correctly termed the key, of Hindostan, were

among the important conquests ; and, with other strong posts, gave the English undisputed ascendancy over all the country of the Mahrattahs ; and led to the conclusion of a peace, between the company and Scindia, the Indian chief. In the island of Ceylon, some differences, which arose between the British and the king of Candia, gave rise to a contest, in which, though carried on with various success, the principal possessions there were placed in a critical situation, and considerable fears, for their safety, were justly entertained.

On this first occasion, of referring to this portion of the foreign dominions of Great Britain, it seems pertinent to remark, that the gradual establishment of her power in India, briefly noticed in the preceding history, forms a very momentous epoch, in the annals of civilization and religion. Whatever speculative objections may be adduced against parts of the system, adopted by the East India company, under the patronage of the British court ; the practical operation of this system has been, in a very high degree, beneficial to the inhabitants of Asia. They had, for the most part, groaned under a despotism, as cruel as it was absolute. They were oppressed, by the grossest and most bloody superstitions ; were debased, by indolence and ignorance. The arts of life have gained, and are gaining, ground among them. The industry and knowledge of Britons, with some portion of their freedom, are introduced ; and their pure religion is disseminated. By these means, the evils and miseries of barbarism and idolatry are softened, if not removed ; and the christian philanthropist, while he regrets any excesses, which may have been suffered to tarnish the honour of any civil or military commander, must rejoice, does, and will more and more rejoice, in the extension of the means of improvement and virtue. He does and will hope, that a gradual but sure amelioration of the condition of the Asiatics, will enable the faithful historian, at no remote day, to give unqualified praise to the benefactors and guardians of India. Never let their progress be compared, or so much as named, with the desolating and exterminating conquests of the Spaniards, on the other continent.

[1804.] At the beginning of this year, the king's health was again seriously impaired ; and, for a time, seemed to absorb the apprehensions of the nation, even to the comparative

exclusion of solicitude, respecting the still threatened invasion. The immediate alarm was soon dispelled ; and thanksgiving succeeded to sighing and supplication.

Indications of a rupture, between the ministers and Mr. Pitt, caused no little publick anxiety. Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, in the course of the session of parliament, appeared in firm coalition against them.

The severity of the winter compelled the channel fleets, once or twice, to intermit the blockade of the enemy's coast ; and so gave opportunity for several detachments of gunboats to pass from the outports to the principal rendezvous. Many of them, however, were captured from time to time ; as was an immense amount of merchant ships, in the East and West Indies. Considerable losses too were sustained, in those seas. Ten vessels, bound to Newfoundland, were taken ; an Indiaman, valued at £. 150,000, fell into the hands of admiral Linois. Goree capitulated, 18 January, to a squadron of privateers from Cayenne ; by which also many captures were made, on the coast of Africa. The island was soon after retaken by the British.

Amid the preparation and alarm of war, was originated that most noble institution, the splendour and purity of whose lustre throws into shade all the merely political events of the age, bright and auspicious as many of them must be acknowledged. On the 7 of March, was formed in London, "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, for the sole and exclusive purpose of promoting the circulation of the HOLY SCRIPTURES, in the principal living languages." The subscription immediately rose to £. 1000 ; and on the anniversary, 31 March, 1805, amounted to £. 5,600. The chairman of the meeting, at the commencement of this truly christian association, was Granville Sharp, esquire ; the first president was right honourable John, lord Teignmouth.

The indignation of Europe, and of the civilized world, was roused, by some new enormities of the first consul. In consequence of an alleged conspiracy, Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau, were seized in March, and ordered to be tried by a special tribunal ; a law having been suddenly passed, to suspend the trial by jury. The same month, Duc D'Enghein, son of the duke of Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince of Condé, of the blood royal, was arrested, by a body of French troops, at Ettenheim, in the neutral

principality of the Elector of Baden. He was conducted under a guard to Paris, where, having arrived on the 20th, he immediately underwent a mock trial, by a military committee, on several charges, of conspiracy with the English, of heading a body of emigrants, and similar pretended crimes. He was convicted, of course; and his execution took place, about 2 o'clock, on the morning of the 22d. Such an open contempt of even the appearance of right, in the violation of a neutral territory, to say nothing of the MURDER, produced no *publick* remonstrance from the head of the Germanick empire. This furnished further, though unnecessary proof, of his degrading timidity, if not entire subserviency, to France. But some of the northern powers showed honourable marks of sensibility. The courts of Petersburg and Stockholm went into mourning; and the Russian minister strongly remonstrated to the Diet at Ratisbon, on this outrage. Seven of the exiled nobles, attached to the family of Louis XVIII. published, in July, a detailed account of an attempt to poison that unfortunate Prince, by emissaries of Bonaparte. Some hopes were indulged, that this addition to former provocations, might rouse up a new confederacy, to throw off the galling yoke, imposed by his boundless ambition and cruelty. But new trophies were, for a time, to crown the adventurer. The arrangement for his exaltation to the throne of the BOURBONS, by the title "*Napoleon I. Emperor of the French*," was made publick, 18 May; having been adopted by the different legislative bodies, with only one dissentient, Carnot. The dignity was decreed to be hereditary, in the male line; and he was proclaimed, with great pomp, at Paris, 20th of the same month. Still, to keep up the semblance of freedom, the proposition respecting the change, was presented to the people for their acceptance.

Pichegru had been found dead, 5 April, in his prison. Probably his *fate*, according to the atheistical phraseology of his persecutor, was similar to that of Touissant.* Georges, Moreau, and others, were tried in May and June. The former, with 19 more, were capitally convicted; the latter, with 4 others, were found guilty, in a less degree; 21 were acquitted. Georges, and 11 with him, were guillotined,† exclaiming, "Vive le Roi—Vive Louis XVIII." Eight were pardoned; Moreau was banished.

* Page 10.

† The following extract, from "*Holinshead's Chronicles*," will probably surprise many, who have

A change of administration now took place. The opposition, as before hinted, was augmented to so formidable a degree, and the ministerial majority was reduced so small, that Mr. Addington honourably resigned the seals, 11 May; at the same time declining a proffered peerage and pension. He was, next year, called to the House of Lords, by the title of lord Sidmouth; and was made Lord President of the Council.

CHAP. IV.

MR. PITT'S RENEWED ADMINISTRATION AND DEATH.

RIGHT honourable William Pitt was placed at the head of a coalition, consisting of many of his old political friends, and several members of the late ministry. Some men of the most powerful minds, and highest character, declined accepting places, because of the exclusion of Mr. Fox; which was generally believed to have been peremptorily insisted on by the king, although his admission to a high post, was proposed and urged by Mr. Pitt. Still, the new cabinet combined much talent, energy, and experience; and seemed well adapted to inspire confidence, at such a momentous crisis. On the first important measure proposed by them, *the bill for increasing the means of defence*, notwithstanding the united opposition of lord Grenville, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Fox, the majority varied, in its details, from 40 to 50.

believed the instrument of decapitation to be an *invention* of Mons. Guillot. "The engine where-with the execution is done, is a square blocke of wood, of the lengthe of foure foote and an halfe; which doeth ryde up and down in a slot, rabet, or regall, betweene two pieces of timber, that are framed and set upright, of five yards in height. In the neather ende of the slyding blocke, is an axe keyed or fastened with iron into the wood, which being drawne up to the top of the frame, is there fastened with iron into the wood, which being drawne up to the top of the frame, is there fastened with a wooden pinne, unto the which pinne, there is a long rope fastened, that cometh downe among the people, so that when the offendour hath made his confession, and hath layde his neck over the neathermost blocke, every man there present doth eyther take hold of ye rope, (or putteth forth his arme, so neere to ye same as he can get, in token that he is willing to see true justice executed,) and pulling out ye pinne in this manner, ye head blocke, wherein ye axe is fastened doth fall downe wythe such a violence, that yf the necke of the transgressour were *so bigge as that of a bull*, it should be cut in sunder at a stroke, and roll from ye bodie by an huge distaunce." Descript. of Britaine-Book III. c. 6. *Of sundrie punishments*, p. 107, 8. In another part of the same volume, now before the writer, is a figure of this instrument, probably from an engraving on type-metal, in which the executioner is cutting the rope, that holds up the sliding axe. The volume has numerous cuts, intermixed with the letter-press, which is in the **old English** character. Folio. London: For John Harrison, 1577.

The long agitated question respecting the Slave Trade, was again brought forward, in the House of Commons, by the great champion for abolition, Mr. Wilberforce. He prefaced his motion for leave to bring in a bill, by a speech of masterly eloquence, united with unanswered and unanswerable argument. The numbers on the question were, for leave 124, against it 49. After a long and thorough discussion, the bill, by which importations of slaves into any British islands, was to cease, after 1 January, 1805, passed 69 to 33, on 27 June. In the House of Lords, the second reading was assigned for a day, three months distant. The extending conquests of enemies' colonies, gave new reasons for a decision, on this great subject. About this time, news arrived of the addition of Surinam, 4 May, to the other acquisitions on the Main.

The decision of the House of Commons against the first election of Sir Francis Burdett, and the tumults at a second trial, in which he failed, the canvass being protracted through the whole period allowed by law, 15 days; occupied much notice and conversation.

In the summer, LOUIS XVIII. who had for some years resided at Warsaw, removed with his family into Russia, whither, it was understood, the emperor ALEXANDER, had cordially invited him, not improbably in consequence of the nefarious attempt before mentioned;* and which the Prussian governour appeared unwilling to take any measures to detect or punish.

The joy, at the safe arrival, in August, of the China fleet, consisting of 16 sail, was greatly augmented by the intelligence, that admiral Linois' squadron, consisting of an 80 gun ship, 2 frigates and a sloop, was repulsed by 5 of these heavy laden Indiamen, unattended by any ship of war. The East India company, voted rewards, amounting to £. 50,000, to captain Dance, (who was also knighted, by his majesty,) and others, concerned in this brilliant affair. In the same week with these, came in safe, 5 south sea whale ships, 150 from Jamaica, 225 from the Leeward Islands, and several from Portugal. The harvest was again bountiful; and the weather, for gathering and securing it, most propitious.

No inconsiderable impression was produced, in England, by the fall of general ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of New York, in a duel with colonel Aaron Burr, then vice president of the United States. This event filled his countrymen, of all parties, with the

* Page 20.

† 12 July, aged 47.

deepest sorrow. He was one of the few men, whose transcendent talents and commanding character, make them the property of the age in which they live ; and cause that all nations are interested in their life, afflicted by their death. "As a hero, as a statesman, as a patriot," said the most eloquent* of his eulogists, who thoroughly knew, and dearly loved him, "he lived nobly ; and, would to God I could add, he nobly fell !"

Bonaparte, then on a visit to the coast, was a spectator of an attack, on about 350 of his gun-boats, at Boulogne, by the British blockading squadron, in September. But little advantage was gained ; as the batteries, on shore, served to protect them.

In October, the English charge d'affairs at Hamburgh, sir George Rumbold, was seized and sent to Paris, by a party of the French, in the most contemptuous violation of the laws of diplomacy. The senate ably protested against this outrage on their neutrality ; and were followed by a very spirited remonstrance from the court of Berlin. In consequence, he was liberated, but his papers were retained : and a most intemperate ebullition of rage appeared in the *Moniteur*, from its master ; attempting to fix on England the breach of publick law, &c. An imperial decree, was also promulgated in Holland, for the seizure of all ships from an English port, with their cargoes, excepting colonial produce.

The intentions of Spain appearing very questionable, she having agreed to a subsidy, and to the passage of French troops through her territory, and no satisfactory explanation being given of the extensive armaments preparing in her ports ; several Spanish frigates, with specie on board, were detained, 5 October, by a British squadron off Cadiz. This indicated that war with that power was considered to be not remote ; and a formal declaration of hostilities, by his catholick majesty, soon put an end to conjecture on this subject. The removal of the French ministers, from Stockholm, and Petersburg, together with a recriminating manifesto by Talleyrand, the secretary for foreign affairs, to the Russian minister at Paris, and his spirited reply, gave considerable grounds for calculation that the war would be extended over Europe.

The usurper and his consort were crowned, Lord's day 2 December, with a degree of pomp and splendour, seldom exceeded. His holiness, Pope Pius VII. had been induced, or rather com-

* Reverend Dr. NOTT, President Union College.

pelled, to come to Paris, for the purpose of performing this ceremonial.

1805.] At the opening of the session of Parliament, 15 January, his majesty, among other important information, communicated an overture for peace, made directly to him, in a letter from Bonaparte; and the answer from lord Mulgrave to M. Talleyrand. In this, any arrangement for that purpose was declined, without a previous understanding with friendly continental powers, especially the Emperor of Russia. Not only in England, but wherever this step was carefully examined, it was considered a mere movement of policy, a lure for popularity, on the part of the new chieftain. So far, therefore, from causing any relaxation of the warlike preparations, it was followed by measures of increased watchfulness and vigour. The Spanish war underwent a close discussion; the objections of the opposition were fully answered; and the address, approving it, passed, in the Lords, by 114 against 36; in the Commons, 313 against 106. Government, with characteristick generosity, issued orders that no neutral vessel with grain, even though the property of the enemy, should be molested, in carrying supplies to the Spanish, then suffering great distress from scarcity.

A domestick event, worthy of particular notice, was the foundering, off the Bill of Portland, of the Abergavenny East-Indiaman, captain Wordsworth, 1 February. The loss of property was immense; the cargo being estimated at £ 200,000, and the specie at 275,000 ounces. But the destruction of lives gave this occurrence stronger claims on serious reflection. Of 402 souls, only 139 were preserved. About this time, the Right Rev. Charles Manners Sutton, D. D. was elected lord archbishop of Canterbury, in place of Dr. John Moore, deceased; and Marquis Cornwallis was appointed Governour-General of India.

Mr. Wilberforce again, 15 February, introduced a bill for the abolition of the slave trade. On the 28th, the motion for a second reading was lost, 70 for, 77 against it. A petition from the Irish catholicks, which Mr. Pitt declined to present, was introduced into the House of Lords, by lord Grenville; and by Mr. Fox, into the Commons, 25th March. In May, a motion to refer this petition to a committee of the whole, was rejected, in the Lords, 178 to 49; in the Commons, 336 to 124.

A new accession of power and dignity was now gained by the French ruler, which would, at most periods, have produced immediate alarm and resistance, among the sovereigns of Europe. But wonders had become usual; and ceased to excite much notice. Napoleon, a little time before, had so managed as to have the crown of Lombardy tendered to his brother Joseph. Against this, the court of Vienna solemnly and strongly protested. So far from checking the monstrous strides of the despot, he was himself proclaimed, 18 March, and crowned king of Italy.

The unavoidable relaxation of the British blockade, on account of the tempests of winter, had enabled the Rochefort and Toulon fleets to escape from port. The latter, compelled by a violent storm, put back. The former sailed for the West Indies, and laid the islands of Dominica and St. Christopher's under contribution. The Toulon squadron, 11 sail of the line and 7 frigates, again gained the sea; and being reinforced at Cadiz, by six Spanish ships of the line, and a number of frigates, sailed also to the West Indies. Lord Nelson, deceived, by some means, as to their motions, sailed to Egypt in quest of them. Not finding them there, he returned, and pursuing them to the West Indies, he reached Barbados, 4 June. The joy of those loyal islanders, on hailing the return of their beloved monarch's natal day, was not a little augmented, by the arrival of this favourite hero. He immediately continued his pursuit, visited Trinidad and Antigua, without success; and satisfied that the combined fleet had gone back to Europe, he sailed thither after them 13 June. The same day, he despatched a swift sailing sloop of war, the *Curieux*, to advise government of his plans, and in order that measures might be adopted to intercept them, if he should be disappointed of meeting them. By this means, sir Robert Calder was enabled to fall in with them, 22 July; having under his command 15 sail of the line, 2 frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. With this force, he immediately engaged 20 sail of the line, 3 ships of 50 guns, and 5 frigates; and captured, after an action of four hours, two Spanish ships, the *St. Rafael*, of 84 guns, and the *Firm*, of 74. The enemy having the wind, and the weather being unfavourable, admiral Calder could not pursue his advantage; and they escaped into Vigo. Hence, after a slight repair, they sailed to Ferrol; and being reinforced to 34 sail of the line, took refuge in Cadiz. Here they were closely

blockaded, by the united squadrons of admirals Collingwood and Calder; till lord Nelson, having, after his long and arduous cruise, passed a few weeks in England, arrived there 29 September, his birth-day, and took the command of a fleet, which was soon to gain honour, most memorable even in the annals of the British navy. His great object was, to induce the enemy, whom he had so long and eagerly sought, to come out of port; and for this purpose, he had urged the greatest secrecy in the British papers, respecting the sailing of his reinforcement. Villeneuve, the French commander, had knowledge of the sailing of admiral Louis, with 6 sail, to Gibraltar, for stores; and being under orders to put to sea, availed himself of what he supposed a favourable opportunity. On the 19th of October, he sailed, with 33 ships of the line, 7 frigates, and 8 corvettes; and was followed closely by Nelson, with 27 ships of the line, and 4 frigates. Early in the morning of the 21st, he discovered the combined fleets off Cape *Trafalgar*; and immediately gave the signal for the attack, on a plan before arranged. The enemy were ranged in a double line, in the form of a crescent; the British advanced in two columns, the commander in chief leading one, and admiral Collingwood the other. Lord Nelson appeared to labour under a presentiment of the issue. In regard to the victory he seemed to have no doubt; and very little, of the price at which he was to purchase the highest niche in the temple of naval fame. The action commenced at noon; about a quarter before two, his lordship received a decisive wound, by a musquet ball, fired from the mizentop of the *Redoubtable*, which his ship, the *Victory*, had boarded. He fully realized his situation, retained perfect self possession to the last, and expired about half past four, just as the triumph of his beloved country was fully accomplished. "God bless you," said he, in the pangs of dissolution, to his friend, the captain of his ship. "Thank God, I have done my duty," were his last words.

This battle will remain conspicuous in the annals of the world. Nineteen ships of the line were taken, two of the first-rate; one, a French 74, blew up. Three flag officers, one of them the commander in chief,* were among the prisoners. Not a single British

* This gallant, but unfortunate officer, soon after his exchange, was found dead in the chamber of a hotel, pierced with five wounds; and, no doubt, is to be added, to the awful catalogue of D'Enghien, Touissant, and Pichegru.

ship was lost. The carnage on both sides was severe. Admiral Collingwood, on whom the command devolved, with the true feelings of his nation, sent all the wounded Spaniards ashore, and secured the everlasting gratitude of their countrymen; as by the unfeigned piety, which breathed in his official despatches and general orders, he gained the admiration of his own. Four of the French ships, which escaped, were met by Sir Richard Strachan, with about an equal force, 3 November; and every one of them was obliged to surrender, after a conflict of 3 and an half hours. When the intelligence reached London, the rejoicing, great as was the cause, was tempered by the universal grief, for the loss of the favourite chief. A day of national thanksgiving and prayer, was observed, 5 December. A most magnificent funeral was solemnized the 9th of January, at the publick charge. The collections and subscriptions, for the relief of those who were wounded and bereaved in the battle of TRAFALGAR, amounted to £ 80,000. To testify the sense which Parliament entertained of NELSON's services, provision was made to enable his majesty to settle annuities on his family. His brother, Rev. William Nelson, was created an earl, with a grant of £ 5,000 a year; £ 10,000 were voted to each of his sisters; and £ 2,000 a year to his lady. A valuable estate, too, was purchased, at a great sum, to be annexed to the title. A monument, suited to the place and person, was erected in the cathedral of St. Paul. Statues and mausolea were likewise raised, in most of the important cities in England and her colonies. Nor were surviving heroes forgotten. Admiral Collingwood was raised to the peerage, with a grant of £ 2,000 a year; and rewards, according to their respective merits, were bestowed on the principal officers, acting in this engagement, which was justly considered a decisive blow to all the maritime schemes of the enemy against Great Britain.

This season, a new question arose, between Great Britain and the United States, in respect to neutral rights.

It was hinted, in the introductory chapter* to this section of the history, that the British government, during the former part of this war, (for it was but interrupted by the truce of 1801,) had not ri-

* Page 7.

gently insisted on all her belligerent claims ; nor had been uniform, in regard to their exaction or relaxation. The wishes of their own merchants, the desire of peace with their transatlantic brethren, and the engrossing claims of their conflict with France, at times operated, to produce *orders in council*, more or less liberal in their application of the law of nations. The rule of the war of 1756, as it is familiarly quoted,* had not been rigorously enforced ; and a very large and profitable trade had been enjoyed, by American merchants, in carrying the produce of French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies to Europe. In some instances, the cargo was not unladen in the United States ; a new set of papers, perhaps a new master and seamen, were put on board ; or the cargo was shifted from one vessel to another, prepared to receive it ; and in this way it was pleaded, that the continuity of the voyage was broken. The direct transportation to the mother country from the colony, is believed to have been generally admitted to be illegal. On the detention of several valuable ships, by the cruisers of Great Britain, on an alleged violation of her maritime rights, in reference to enemies' colonies, a strong sentiment of injury was roused, in the United States. Memorials from many of the commercial cities were forwarded to the congress, some of which were very able and spirited. A remonstrance was presented by the American minister, Mr. Munroe, to the British government ; and serious fears were entertained, that the relations of amity between the two countries, which many circumstances had served to enfeeble, would be interrupted, or perhaps terminated.

But prospects and events of a far more interesting nature to Britons, and of the most auspicious promise, as to the condition of man, demand commemoration. A new confederation, more powerful than any that preceded it, was formed, for circumscribing the huge power and more enormous pretensions of France. Bonaparte, instead of carrying into effect his vaunting menaces against England, was compelled to defend his own frontier against a formidable assailant. AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, with some smaller powers, in concert with Great Britain, had engaged to

* The substance of this is well stated by the author of "War in Disguise," which is a masterly vindication of the soundness of this principle. "A neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of his enemy, by trading with his colonies in a time of war, in a way that was prohibited in time of peace."

bring into the field an effective force of 500,000 men, to be headed by the arch duke Charles, against the common enemy of the world; and it was stipulated that no peace should be concluded with him, but by the consent of all the allies. The hopes, which this splendid project raised, were as transient as they were delightful. The French chieftain by forced marches, in utter contempt or defiance of the immunities of neutral territory, placed himself between the Austrian armies and Vienna, before the Russians had arrived at the scene of action. The king of Prussia, it was hoped, would have been aroused, by the new aggressions of Bonaparte in marching through a part of his kingdom, to join heartily in the coalition. Complaints of the wrong, and consent that the Russian forces should have the privilege, which their foe had forcibly taken, followed a visit of the emperor Alexander to Berlin. A Prussian force also took possession of Hanover, 25 October, in the name of the king of England. But a series of reverses secured, for a farther time, the disastrous ascendancy of the corruption, and arms of the tyrant. The garrison of Ulm, under general Mack, capitulated 17 October, chiefly by the influence of the former; and about the middle of November, Vienna yielded, though without opposition, to the force of the latter. Early in December, was fought, on the plains of Austerlitz, one of the most awful battles, in the annals of human butchery. The details are too humiliating to be particularized; if the limits of this sketch would admit them. Buonaparte was victor. Austria submitted to a treaty, to which none but a vanquished power, could have consented;* and Russia withdrew her forces from the field of humiliation.

The *woes* of Europe now *clustered*. The man, whom Providence, had before used as the instrument of her deliverance, and on whom all eyes were turned, as again to be honoured in accomplishing her rescue, was removed from earth. [1806.] WILLIAM PITT died, 24 January, in the 48th year of his age. His health had been for some time slender, and his most intimate friends were apprehensive, of the effects to himself, of his resuming the direction of affairs. With his habits, of personal attention to the

* It was computed that Austria ceded 1300 square miles of territory, occupied by at least two and a half millions of people, and yielding 16 millions of florins in revenue. All her influence, too both in Germany and Italy, was surrendered.

vast and various business of his high office, no important post, in the most tranquil state of affairs, would have been *a chair of ease*. What then must have been his charge, at such a time ! A plan, concerted with all his wisdom, and, as was fondly hoped, secured by every possible precaution, for staying the plague with which the earth was scourged, was frustrated. Whether pusillanimity or treachery, in some of the subsidiaries of Britain, had detached Germany, and Prussia, from the common cause ; it for a time seemed desperate. The depressed spirits, and exhausted strength, and broken health, of its mighty champion, were unequal to sustain the shock. He met the approach of death, in a manner becoming his life. To his friend, and the tutor of his youth, the lord bishop of Lincoln, he declared, in the strongest terms, “ his sense of unworthiness, and his firm reliance on the free mercy of God, through the merits of JESUS CHRIST.” His last hours were made serene, by the offices of piety, and the hopes of the gospel. Of the character and services of this wonderful man, space cannot be allowed to speak. His eulogy is written in his country’s history ; it is interwoven in the records of the world ; and while these last, will be read with grateful admiration. As a statesman and an orator, few can be compared to him. With less fancy, or less frequent indulgence of it, than *Burke* and *Ames*, with less discursive illustration than *Fox*, he still had as much fascination as either ; and yet seemed to have no object, but the closest reasoning on principles, or stating of facts. Probably *Hamilton* more resembled him, than any other of his contemporaries. Both were scholars, “good and ripe ones ;” willing to render the greatest services, without being ambitious of appearing to command, in their respective governments. Both raised the finances and the commerce of their country, to the highest pinnacle of prosperity. Both, in publick life, were of irreproachable, of unsuspected, integrity ; in private conduct, prevailingly amiable and engaging. Both served their countrymen, disinterestedly ; for with opportunities for amassing princely affluence, both left to surviving friends no legacy, but of a fame beyond price. Would that *religion* could unreservedly approve of every particular, in the life of either ; and that the last act of the American had not been as censurable as it was mournful ! To the Briton, national gratitude expressed itself, by providing for the expenses of a magnifi-

cent funeral ; by erecting a grand monument, in Westminster abbey ; and by a unanimous vote, in parliament of £. 40,000, for the payment of his debts.

About the time that England was in tears for Nelson and Pitt, the intelligence arrived of the death of the marquis of Cornwallis, governour general of India. This event, which took place 5 October, was one of no ordinary calamity. The war between the company and the natives, before noticed,* had not ceased ; but rather threatened to become more extensive and severe. The talents, character, and former successful administration of the marquis, inspired general confidence, that his presence would have established and secured a just and honourable peace. He was enabled, in a short time, to do much towards fulfilling these expectations ; and left the work comparatively easy for his successor. The East India company, in testimony of their high sense of his eminent services, voted to his son, the salary for a year and a half, amounting to about £. 40,000.

The new triumph of Bonaparte served to strip his ultimate designs of any veil, by which, however thin, some might have before been deceived. In all the naked deformity of absolute, unrelenting despotism, the monster stood displayed. Because a Russian and English force had landed in Naples ; he who had audaciously invaded Prussian independence, by marching his licentious hordes through its peaceful territory, issued a decree, " that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign." The crown was given to Joseph Buonaparte ; who, with an army to secure his welcome, immediately entered the kingdom, and seized on the capital. The royal family retired to Sicily, under protection of the British. The fortress of Gaeta, commanded by the prince of Hesse, made a vigorous and most gallant defence, long protracted through the active co-operation of sir Sidney Smith's squadron. But it capitulated, to general Massena, 18 July. On the fourth of the same month, a very famous battle was fought in another part of this kingdom, by a British force of 4,500 men from Sicily, under general sir John Stuart, with the French 7000 strong, under general Regnier. The issue was such as even to exceed the expectations of those, who most highly calculated on British valour and skill. The enemy was totally defeated. Their killed,

wounded and prisoners exceeded 5000 ; while that of the British, consisted of one officer, 3 sergeants, 41 men killed ; 11 officers, 8 sergeants, and 233 men wounded. This battle, called that of Maida, near which place it was fought, vies with any in military annals. The commander was proclaimed, by the king of Naples, his vicegerent in Italy. The inhabitants of both Calabrias were, for a time, freed from their oppressours ; and the stores, collected for the invasion of Sicily, fell into the hands of the victors. But these brave Neapolitan loyalists were, ere long, overpowered by numbers ; and the operations of general Stuart and sir Sidney Smith, were confined to the preserving of Sicily.

CHAP. V.

LORD HENRY PETTY'S MINISTRY. ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE administration, which succeeded that of Mr. Pitt, was indeed *new*. Not an individual, of the former cabinet, was in this. Among the prominent members were, lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer ; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury ; Mr. Fox, secretary of state for the foreign department ; Mr. Windham, colonial department ; Mr. Grey, first lord of the admiralty. The admission of Mr. Fox, furnished to the nation, with a large portion of whom he was very popular, new, though unnecessary proof, that their sovereign, in times of peril, would make great sacrifices of his personal feelings, for the sake of union, and the general good. The effect appeared correspondent to his magnanimous purpose ; and the ministry, which must be granted to have comprized great and various talents, was so compounded of the several political parties, that each found in it some special favourite, to admire and defend.

Abroad, disastrous as had been the campaign of the allies, victory still perched on the British standard, in most of the single efforts made against the foe. The Cape of Good Hope was taken from the Dutch ; by an expedition commanded by sir Home Popham, and general sir David Baird. A landing was effected, of about 4000 men, and on the 8th January, a battle was fought, in

which the enemy, 5000 strong, including a very numerous cavalry, were compelled to yield, with great slaughter. On the following day, as the victors were pressing their march, towards Cape town, a flag of truce was sent by governour Jansens, proposing a capitulation; which was accepted, and signed on the 10th.

Another brilliant naval victory served further to cripple the power of Bonaparte, on the ocean. Admiral Duckworth entirely defeated a squadron of 5 French ships of the line, 2 frigates, and a corvette, in the Bay of Santo Domingo, 6 February. One ship of 80 guns, and two of 74, were taken; L'Imperiale, of 120, (admiral Seigle's,) and a 74, were driven ashore, and burnt; the others escaped. In March, a part of sir John B. Warren's fleet captured the Marengo, 80 guns, admiral Linois, and another ship of 40 guns, which had committed great depredations in the East India seas.

On the continent, all still was gloomy. Prince Eugene Beauharnois, son of Madame Bonaparte, was made king of Italy; which thereby in fact was incorporated, with the French empire. Prince Murat, her brother, was made sovereign, with the title of Duke of Cleves and Burg. Louis Buonaparte was made king of Holland. Prussia basely accepted Hanover in lieu of certain territories, yielded to the usurper; and, 28 March, closed all its ports against English commerce. In consequence, measures of just retaliation were taken with such promptitude, that a vast amount of Prussian property was brought in, by his majesty's ships; and a strict blockade of the Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave, was officially notified.

Complaints, in addition to those respecting the colonial trade,* were made, by the American government, on the subject of frequent impressments from their vessels, by British officers. A proposition which did not prevail, was submitted to congress, to pass an act, authorizing resistance to this alleged wrong. But a law was passed, 18 April, "to prohibit the importation, of certain goods, &c. from Great Britain, or its dependencies." This first measure, in the system of *restriction*, was to take effect after 15 November. By a law, 19 December, the time was extended to 1st July, following; and the president was authorized farther to suspend the operation, not, however, beyond the second Monday in December; and it was so suspended.

* Page 28.

A cruiser, off New York, in bringing to an American vessel, had shot one of the men; and thereby excited the strongest feelings in that city; in which, domestick differences of opinion were merged, in one sentiment of indignation. A proclamation was issued, for the apprehension of the captains of the British squadron. Mr. William Pinckney was sent a joint commissioner, with Mr. Munroe, the resident at London, to adjust the unhappy differences between the two countries. They were completely successful; and, in December, informed their government that a treaty was agreed on, embracing *all* the points submitted to them. The joy, which this intelligence gave in the United States, was sadly damped, by the rejection of this treaty by Mr. Jefferson, even without submitting it to his constitutional council. To this unexplained — act, may be referred all the subsequent troubles between the two countries, which terminated in the deplorable result of war!

From this painful and hateful topick, it is delightful to make a transition to one of a most grateful nature; the abolition of the slave trade. To Mr. Fox be this honour attached, that he was the mover of the ultimate measures, by which this good consummation was effected. Never be it forgotten, how much is due to Mr. Wilberforce, for his early and persevering efforts in the cause of mercy and truth. The commons resolved, 10 June, 114 against 15, “that conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, the house will, with all convenient speed, take measures for abolishing it, in such manner, and at such time, as shall be thought adviseable.” The lords concurred, on motion of lord Grenville, 24th of the same month, 41 against 20, independent of proxies. Both houses addressed his majesty, praying that he would be pleased to negotiate with foreign powers, for the purpose of procuring a *general abolition*. An act of parliament was also passed, to prevent any extension of the trade, intervening these steps, and the final decision of the subject; prohibiting all persons, not then actually engaged in this traffick, from embarking in it.

Russia, with Sweden, had inspired a good degree of confidence, that neither French power nor intrigue should detach them from the interests of England, which were those of Europe, and of the world. Strong fears, in reference to the former, began, about this

time, to be entertained; it being published in the Paris *Moniteur*, that preliminaries of a treaty with France, had been signed, 20 July. Probably somewhat under the disheartening influence of this news, the antient Germanick empire was dissolved; and a new confederation of the princes was formed, under the auspices of France; and this, neither Austria nor Prussia ventured to resist. But the monarch of the north, with that elevation of mind, which has since been still more illustriously manifested, spurned the disgraceful instrument, which his minister at Paris, D'Oubril, had concluded, contrary to his instructions; and a new spirit seemed to be awaking against the enemy.

A mission of lord Lauderdale to Paris, at the beginning of August, naturally gave rise to some expectations of an approaching pacification. But they proved delusive, and he returned early in October. In the declaration, which officially announced the course and failure of this negotiation, it appeared that it originated in an offer from the government of France, to treat on the basis of actual possession, with the exception of Hanover, to be restored to Great Britain. But incessant versatiliity and bad faith, in Bonaparte, caused that the English minister was repeatedly recalled. In consequence, fresh concessions were proposed, and as often, soon retracted. The surreptitious treaty with Russia, appeared to have been one manœuvre to induce England to conclude a separate peace. His majesty expressed, in conclusion, "heartfelt concern, at a continuance of the evils, inseparable from war. But it is with the enemy, that this awful responsibility rests. His faithful and affectionate subjects will not forget, that no sacrifices are to be compared with the certain disgrace and ruin, of yielding to the pretensions of the enemy; and that, in asserting the rights and upholding the dignity of the British empire, they *defend the most powerful* BULWARK of the liberties of mankind."

Right honourable CHARLES JAMES FOX, after a rapid decline, died 13 September, in the 59th year of his age. His name will stand high among his contemporaries, illustrious for talents, and for many important stations and services. With many defects, and great vices, he combined a most attractive gentleness in private life; so as to have been most devotedly loved, by his intimate associates. His oratory was usually bold and vehement; often most

splendid and powerful. His political career was marked by inconsistency; and he seemed wholly under the control of party feelings. His religion, notwithstanding his professed attachment to "the truly apostolick church of England," appears to have had little hold of his understanding or his heart. He was much connected with those among the dissenters, whose favourite tenet, is the insignificance of religious errors, the indifference of all religious speculative opinions.

By this event, some changes in the cabinet became unavoidable. Lord Howick, (Mr. Grey,) succeeded to the foreign department; Mr. Thomas Grenville took his place at the admiralty. Soon after, 24 October, parliament was dissolved; and writs were issued for summoning a new one, returnable 15 December.

Some important successes crowned the British arms, by sea and land, in the course of this season. Buenos Ayres, was taken by the forces, from the Cape of Good Hope, under major general Beresford, and commodore sir Home Popham, 27 June. The publick treasure was said to exceed one and a half million of dollars; private property was protected, the religion and laws to be undisturbed. It was however retaken, by Spanish troops from Monte Video, 12 August. Sir Samuel Hood's squadron met five frigates and two corvettes from Rochefort, and captured four of the former, 25 September. Sir Edward Pellew made an attack on the harbour of Batavia, 27 November, and took 18 ships, one a frigate, and several vessels of force.

But more important movements, on the old continent, deprived these events of much of their interest. The king of Prussia, roused by the noble conduct of his brother of Russia, assumed an attitude of resistance to the oppressor. In a very able manifesto, the multiplied wrongs of France, "the scourge of humanity, for the last fifteen years," were detailed. Together with the successive impositions, aggressions, and usurpations in Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany, the chief of which have been mentioned in the preceding pages, "the *perfidious* conduct of Bonaparte towards Prussia, in the course of his negotiations with Russia and Great Britain," was particularly reprobated. Alexander also, at the same time, publicly pledged his determination, to proceed to extremities, if no just peace could be obtained, "to secure the general safety, the preservation of his allies, and the

dignity of his empire." These declarations were followed by efficient acts, corresponding to their spirit ; but, alas ! with most unhappy issue. The Prussian forces had scarcely collected, ere Bonaparte was ready to meet them : and before the Russians could arrive to their succour, the fate of the monarch was decided, by the disastrous battle of Jena, 14 October ; and on the 24, the victor entered Berlin. The most strongly fortified places surrendered at the first summons. Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Magdeburg, and Hameln, opened their gates ; some without any, others after a feeble resistance ; and the bulletins of the conqueror exultingly computed those taken in the campaign at 140,000, with nearly half that number, left on the several fields of carnage.

An immense Russian force, under general Bennigsen, exceeding 200,000, advanced against these insolent invaders. Prussia, with this powerful auxiliary, once more rallied, and nearly 70,000 flocked to the royal standard. Several severe battles were fought, in December, in which both sides claimed the advantage ; but the year closed without any decisive result of the momentous array, on which the eyes of the world were turned with inexpressible anxiety.

LOUIS XVIII. in whose behalf, a deep interest would have been felt, had not after events elevated him to the throne of his family, arrived, this autumn, in England. He probably considered, and justly, that the continent afforded him no place of security ; and that if such were any where to be found, it was in "the sea-girt kingdom." He was received with distinguished hospitality and respect by the most dignified characters, under the title of count de Lille.

An event, worthy to form the introduction to this [1807.] year's history, and which will render it an epoch in the annals of civilized and christian society, was the completion of the work, so long attempted, and so nearly effected the preceding summer ; the utter ABOLITION of the SLAVE TRADE. A bill, wholly interdicting this infamous traffick, "by enacting, that from and after 1st May, no vessel shall clear out from any port or place under the dominion of his majesty, for the purpose of carrying slaves ; and that from and after 1st January next, the British slave trade shall cease, both on the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies," was brought into the house of lords, by lord Grenville, in January. On the second

reading, 5 February, it was carried by 100 against 36. In the commons, it was debated 23 February; and passed 283 against 16.

Soon after this triumph of humanity, a sudden and unexpected change took place, 24 March, in his majesty's ministry; not, as for the most part, in consequence of parliamentary opposition, but solely from the dissatisfaction of the sovereign. This was considered, and no doubt truly, to have arisen from some measures, introduced into the house of commons, relative to what was popularly, but invidiously called, catholick *emancipation*; to which, the good old king was conscientiously opposed; and which, besides, he thought his coronation oath would have forbidden him to sanction.

CHAP. VI.

MR. PERCEVAL'S MINISTRY. REVOLUTION IN SPAIN.

IN April, right honourable Spencer Perceval was appointed chancellor of the exchequer; duke of Portland, first lord of treasury; Mr. George Canning, secretary of state, for foreign department; lord Hawkesbury, home department; lord Castlereagh, colonial department; lord Mulgrave, first lord of admiralty &c. With a view probably, of surely, though indirectly, ascertaining the sense of his people on the great question, the parliament was dissolved, 29 April, and writs were issued for a new election, returnable 22 June. The point at issue seemed to the monarch of such vital importance, that he was willing to take the immense responsibility, of removing several very popular members of the cabinet, at a time of peculiar solicitude, on account of the state of the continental war. Very active efforts were made by both sides; the result appeared, on the address in answer to the speech, at opening the session, 26 June. The numbers were, for it 300, against it 155. In the house of lords, the division was 160 to 67.

The great hostile armies, after a long succession of comparatively inconsiderable skirmishes, (among which, however, that of Eylau, 7 and 8 February, would in any former war have been

accounted a great, as it was a most bloody battle ;) had a general engagement at Friedland, 14 June. The slaughter, on both sides, was immense ; the French were victors. The reader will probably remember this day as that which, in 1800, gave to the first consul his bloody laurels at Marengo. It now proved awfully disastrous to the allies. After the fall of Dantzic, 27 May, the most fearful apprehensions were entertained, as respected the issue of the campaign. These were realized, in fullest extent. Bonaparte entered Konigsburg, the 2d day after the battle, and pushed on, by rapid marches, to Tilsit, where the Russians proposed an armistice. A first conference took place, between him and the emperor Alexander, 23 June ; and on some following days the king of Prussia becoming a party, preliminaries of peace were signed, 3 July, by which Europe was, for a time, bound at the feet of the enemy of Britain.

To countervail, if possible, the effects of this ascendancy, became an imperious demand of self preservation. An avowed object was to exclude British commerce from the whole continent ; and with a view to this, it was the policy and plan of Bonaparte to secure to himself the navy, together with the alliance of Denmark. The honourable Francis James Jackson, was sent envoy to that court ; and a proffer of aid, naval, military, and pecuniary was made, to enable the prince regent to resist the mandate of the dictator. His European possessions were to be guaranteed, and his colonial possessions extended, on condition that the fleet should, for a time, be removed to a port in England, to be restored in the same condition, as when placed there. A powerful armament was sent to protect him against the consequences of his amity, in case of compliance ; and otherwise to take forcible possession of the fleet. Admiral Gambier, with 25 sail of the line, 9 frigates, and 21 smaller vessels, sailed from Yarmouth for the Baltick, 27 July ; and passed the sound, 12 August. The land forces, amounting to nearly 30,000 were commanded by general Lord Cathcart. The troops disembarked 16th, on the island of Zealand, and proceeded to invest the capital. Batteries were opened on Copenhagen, 2 September, and at the same time a heavy bombardment was commenced from the shipping, and continued 3 successive days, when a capitulation was proposed. On the 8th, the capital was surrendered. The ships of war of every de-

scription, 16 or 18 sail of the line, 9 frigates, 14 sloops of war, and many gun-boats, with all naval stores, belonging to the government, were delivered up; all other property, publick and private, remained unmolested. Instigated by the assurance of aid from a French alliance, the crown prince declared war against his Britannick majesty, and interdicted all intercourse with his subjects, under severest penalties, and even, in case of direct communication, on pain of death.

Another power was also inveigled into hostilities against Great Britain. Sebastiani, the French envoy at Constantinople, had succeeded in producing war between the Ottoman Porte and Russia; and England joined with its then ally. Admiral Duckworth passed the Dardanelles, 19 February; and approaching the Turkish capital, dispatched a flag of truce to the porte, in order to negotiate an equitable peace. But the populace, it was said in reply, were so averse to pacifick measures, that the court thought it inexpedient farther to exasperate them, by entering into a treaty. The force not being sufficient for the attack of the city and fleet, with any probable, or scarcely possible, chance of success; the British squadron retired, though not without considerable loss.

A British force from Messina, under general Fraser, succeeded in an attack on Alexandria, 20 March. Rossetta was also twice attempted; but the expeditions failed, and many of the troops were slaughtered.

In South America, the Dutch settlement of Curracoa was captured 1 January, by 4 frigates under command of captain Brisbane. The city of Monte Video, on the Rio Plata, was taken by assault, after a severe siege, 4 February, by the troops under command of general Achmuty and admiral Sterling. This important fortress cost the victors more than 500 killed and wounded, among whom were several valuable officers. The enemy's loss was stated at near 1300; and 2000, including the governour, were made prisoners. A large force being collected here, it was determined to attempt the recapture of Buenos Ayres. General Whitelocke and admiral Murray had charge of the enterprize, which totally failed. A most desperate attack, 5 July, was as desperately resisted. On the 6th, general Liniers, then commander, proposed an armistice, which was gladly ac-

cepted; and issued in a convention, by which all the prisoners on both sides, were to be restored, and Monte Video evacuated in two months. The British loss was not less than 2400.

On the other part of the continent, the progress of events was also unfavourable. No small dissatisfaction was felt, by the government and people of the United States, at the measures which Great Britain felt bound to adopt, to counteract the anti-commercial edicts of her enemy. The famous Berlin decree, issued 21 November 1806, declared "all the British islands in a state of blockade; and prohibited all commerce and correspondence with them." When this before unheard of outrage, against the law of nations and the rights of neutrals, was known in London, the American ministers there were apprised by government distinctly and frankly, that if a measure of this sort were submitted to, Great Britain would be compelled to retaliate. No resistance was made, in fact, to this enormous wrong; which, if it could admit of aggravation, was increased by being in direct contrariety to the express stipulations of an existing treaty. If any remonstrance were made on this subject, it was of a kind to give little satisfaction to most in America, and to none in Great Britain. The consequence could not therefore be surprising, however unpleasant. Orders in council were issued, 11 November, 1807; not much less rigorous than the decree before quoted. The only considerable neutral power, remaining on the ocean, was, of course, greatly affected by these conflicting arrangements of the two great belligerents.

An unhappy rencounter, between an English and an American frigate, the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, 22 June, had extremely irritated the feelings of the people of the United States. Several deserters from the former were known to be on board the latter; and her commander, commodore Barron, refused to surrender them, or to permit search to be made for them. Captain Humphries, in consequence of an order from admiral Berkeley, resolved to obtain them by force; he attacked the *Chesapeake*, which, after two broadsides, struck her flag, having had 5 men killed, and 21 wounded. Of the men demanded, one was found, who with three other deserters, was taken out, and the frigate set at liberty. A *proclamation* of the president followed, 2 July, order-

ing, among other things, all British ships of war to quit the waters of the United States, and inhibiting all intercourse whatever, between them and the inhabitants.

Immediately on the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Canning, in a note to Mr. Munroe, 25 July, informed him of the affair, and expressed "sentiments of the deepest regret; and assurance, that if on investigation, his majesty's officers shall prove culpable, the most prompt and effectual reparation shall be afforded." Right honourable George Rose was sent, in October, on a special mission, to adjust the existing difficulties, between the two countries. But appearances were unfavourable. The message of president Jefferson, at the opening of an extra session of congress, 27 October, breathed a spirit of irritation and hostility. The non-importation act was allowed to go into operation; and as a further step in the system of *coercion*, an act laying an embargo on all vessels, for an indefinite period, was passed, 22 December. At the close of this year, Russia again united with the enemies of Great Britain; and "proclaimed anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the empress Catharine." The prince regent of Portugal, too, acceded to the "cause of the continent," and shut her ports against British commerce. But finding that no sacrifices, short of unconditional subjection, would appease the usurper of France, he embarked from Lisbon, 20 November, with the royal family, the court, and a great number of loyal subjects, for the Brasils. The fleet consisted of 8 sail of the line, 4 frigates, 4 smaller ships of war, and about 40 large merchantmen; and at the mouth of the Tagus, were received by sir Sidney Smith, who sent 4 ships of the line, with them as an escort.

In December, Madeira was provisionally surrendered to his Britannick majesty; to be held in trust for the crown of Portugal, until a general pacification. The Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, also yielded without opposition.

The pernicious effects of the treaty of Tilsit, continued to unfold themselves, in the submission of Europe to the increasing impositions of the dictator. With the vast accession of territory and power, which he derived from it, his ambitious claims and projects seemed to rise in proportion: and

[1808.]

his determination was now stated to be, "that France will not lay down her arms, until she has *conquered the freedom of the seas.*" Of the means to be employed for this end, the decree of Milan, (17 December preceding,) affords a good specimen. By this, "every vessel which shall have submitted to search, by an English ship, or to a voyage to England, or have paid any tax, to that government, is *denationalized*; and every vessel that sails to or from England, or any of its colonies, or countries occupied by English troops, is declared *good prize.*" At the same time he *gave* a new constitution to the kingdom of Westphalia, over which his brother Jerome was his viceroy. Portugal was occupied by his troops, and general Junot, proclaimed that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign." Soon after, Rome, with all the temporalities of the pope, were forcibly siezed.

An entire revolution, in Spain, appeared a favourite work of the *great nation.* In March, the old king, Charles IV. abdicated the throne to his son, the prince of Asturias, Ferdinand VII. under the superintending care of general Murat, and 30,000 French soldiers. Soon after, evidently in furtherance of the deep plot, against the Bourbon family, Bonaparte solicited and obtained an interview with the new king, at Bayonne. Here he was ordered to renounce the throne in favour of the Napoleon dynasty; with which demand, for a while, he indignantly refused to comply; and justly complained of the perfidious protestations of friendly regard, by which he had been decoyed, into this snare. To secure the grand object, the royal parents were induced to come to Bayonne; and the prince, under restraint, and in fear for his life, gave back the crown to his father, 5 May. The old king surrendered it to Napoleon, who placed it on the head of his brother Joseph, king of Naples. This infamous procedure, and the atrocities committed by the French armies, which had continued to pour into Spain, roused the ancient heroism of the nation; and with delighted astonishment, the world beheld the first important display of determined and successful resistance against the tyrant. The government of the country was assumed, temporarily, by the junta of Seville, in the name of Ferdinand VII.; and by them peace was proclaimed with England. This power, nobly overlooking the unprovoked aggressions of Spain, while her rulers were under the complete domination of Bona-

parte ; promptly concurred in pacifick arrangements. Portugal followed the example of the *Spanish patriots* ; and an expedition, for aiding the cause of freedom, under sir Arthur Wellesley, and general Spencer, was immediately fitted out. About 10,000 men sailed from Cork for Lisbon ; where, for a while, the most glorious success attended the efforts of the allies. In two severe actions, 17 and 21 August, the latter near Vimiera, the French under Junot, gallantly contested the field, but were repulsed, with great loss. But sir Hugh Dalrymple, who now arrived from Gibraltar and took the command of the British army, granted to the enemy, an armistice, which issued in a convention, remembered as that of *Cintra*, 30 August, by which the French troops, on condition of an immediate evacuation of Portugal, were not to be under the disabilities of prisoners of war ; but were even to be conveyed to some port of France. Such stipulations, under such circumstances, occasioned great dissatisfaction, among many, both among the new confederates, and in England.

In Spain, the patriots gained several important advantages. Admiral Purvis sailed from Gibraltar to their aid, and the French were compelled to surrender, unconditionally, their ships, 5 sail of the line, and a frigate, under admiral Rosilly, at Cadiz. A splendid victory was obtained, near Saragossa, by the troops under general Palafox, over 18,000 French, under Lefebre. Another detachment, from Madrid, under Dupont, were attacked near Cordova, by the Andalusians, led by general Castanos, and after a severe engagement capitulated, to the number of 8,000 ; as did another division of 6,000, which was marching to their relief. In consequence of these, and similar results, king Joseph, as he was termed in derision, with the whole French force, evacuated Madrid, 31 July ; and Spain seemed, for a while, to be freed from her invaders. Barcelona, and a small portion of the frontier alone, remained in their possession.

The ruthless despot, irritated and mortified by such determined and effective valour, where he had looked for tamest acquiescence, fulminated forth to Europe, the desperate threat : “ 200,000 Frenchmen shall forthwith cross the Pyrennees, and before christmas, not an Englishman shall be in Spain, nor a village remain which does not acknowledge the king *I* gave.” In September he had an interview, with the emperor of Russia, at Erfurth in

Saxony. One purpose or consequence of it was, a proposition to the court of St. James, for a general pacification. A Russian and French messenger came hither soon after; but the English government would not listen to terms, in which the legitimate monarch of Spain should not be recognized; still less, "in which the glorious efforts of the people were stigmatised as *insurrection*." On the return of Napoleon to Paris, he communicated his plan to the legislative body, 26 October. "The first thought, at this meeting, was a thought of peace. We even resolved to make some sacrifices, to enable the hundred millions we represent, to enjoy the benefits of repose. *The United States have rather chosen to abandon the commerce of the sea, than to acknowledge their slavery.* I depart to crown *my* king in Madrid, and to plant *my* eagles on the forts of Spain." &c. &c.

The supreme junta began its functions at Madrid, under the presidency of count Florida Blanco. But the season was short, in which this unhappy kingdom enjoyed a respite from the *confused noise* and carnage of *battle*. In November, several engagements took place between the Spaniards with their auxiliaries, and the French, in which the latter were almost uniformly victorious. They again entered Madrid, 5 December, by capitulation.

Little occurred, this year, of great moment to the internal state or foreign relations of England. With America, no decisive arrangements were concluded. His majesty's ministers contended that the "orders in council," being only in retaliation of the previous far more hostile edicts of the enemy, these "decrees" must first be rescinded; and then declared that the repeal of their orders should, on the annulling of the other, be immediate and effectual. They pledged themselves to be ready and desirous to place neutral commerce on the ground of the old law of nations. The embargo, and the exclusion of British vessels of war, still remained in force; although against the former, earnest remonstrances were sent to congress from most of the commercial places.

The king of Sweden remained true to the cause; and in reply to the declaration of war against him, by Russia and Denmark, fully exposed the futility of the charges made by those powers against him and his ally. A levy of 150,000 men was made without difficulty; a powerful fleet was equipped; which was joined by a considerable British squadron, under the command

of admiral sir James Saumarez, with a large body of troops under general sir John Moore. No very important events resulted from the campaign in the north. The Swedish troops entered Norway, but effected no material conquests. The strong fortress of Swenburgh in Finland, surrendered to the Russians, 3 May; under circumstances which excited strong indignation in the king, against its commandant. General Moore returned to England in July, and proceeded with his forces, to aid the Spanish patriots. The small islands of Mariegalante and Deaseada, near Guadaloupe, were added to the conquered colonies.

The safe arrival and welcome establishment of the prince of Portugal, at Rio Janeiro, opened a new and rich source of commerce to Great Britain. Lord Strangford was appointed ambassadour to the Brazilian court.

Among interior occurrences one entitled to record was, a conviction and sentence for *heresy*, in the consistory court of the bishop of London, before sir William Scott. Reverend Francis Stone, rector of Cold Norton, Essex, was charged "with having preached, printed and published a sermon, in which he had denied the doctrines of the divinity and pre-existence of CHRIST, and of the atonement." The charge was fully proved, and the judge declared "that he should on the next court day proceed to execute the sentence of law, and particularly of the statute XIII. Elizabeth, and deprive the offender of his ecclesiastical preferments, unless he should, mean time, revoke his errors." The court again met, 20th; when Mr. Stone presented a paper and addressed the court, in a manner rather affirming than renouncing the obnoxious doctrines of his sermon. The registrar was ordered to enter on record, that the defendant persisted in error. The lord bishop of London then entered the court, accompanied by his brother of Lincoln, and others of the dignified clergy; and being informed, by sir William Scott, that the charges were fully substantiated, pronounced the sentence of deprivation.

CHAP. VII.

JUBILEE ON COMPLETING A HALF CENTURY OF HIS MAJESTY'S REIGN.
HIS SEVERE ILLNESS. PLAN OF A REGENCY.

THE British in Spain gained laurels before Corunna, [1809.] 16 January; but the cypress was intermingled in the garland of victory, for it was gained at the expense of the life of general sir John Moore, a scholar, a soldier, and a cavalier. The previous defeat and dispersion of the Spanish armies had compelled him, with the division under general Hope, to retreat into Galicia; where he was joined by general sir David Baird. Here, in want of provisions, and with the prospect of still greater want, an embarkation was resolved on, when this memorable battle took place. The British did not amount to 15,000; the French were about 20,000 strong, but the victory on the side of the former was complete.

The loss sustained by the British, in the campaign, had been great, and several of the transports were wrecked on the return to England. The severe and tempestuous season proved destructive also to the Jupiter of 50 guns, at the entrance into Vigo; two valuable East India ships were lost, and several were much injured.

At the winter session of parliament, Mr. Wardle, member from Okehampton, preferred some heavy charges against the commander in chief, his royal highness the Duke of York, relative to improper influence in respect to army promotions and appointments. Of the four specifications which were brought forward, the house of commons fully acquitted the Duke of the two most material. On the others, a decision was not had; for induced by the ascertained wishes of his royal father, and the sensation in the public mind, he resigned his office, and was succeeded by sir David Dundas.

The affairs of Spain, the convention of Cintra, and the relations with America, were the chief subjects of discussion. £.100,000 was added to "Queen Anne's bounty for raising the value of small ecclesiastical livings; and an increase of £.1,000, annually, to the salary of the puisne judges.

The palace of St. James was greatly injured by fire, 21 January; and the Drury-lane theatre was totally consumed, 24 February.

A most respectable board of inquiry, respecting the arrangement at Cintra, were unanimous in opinion, that there was no ground for a court-martial on any of the officers, concerned in that unfortunate affair.

Early in this season, 12 January, a Portuguese force, aided by the British, took Cayenne from the French; and Martinique fell into the hands of Great Britain, 24 February. An attack was made, 11 April, by a squadron under lord Cochrane, on the French fleet, in Basque roads; and four ships, one of 80, two of 74, and one of 56 guns, were destroyed.

In an expedition against the island of Walcheren, the troops, under lord Chatham, effected a landing the last of July, and in two days obtained possession of the whole island, Flushing only excepted. This was speedily invested, and capitulated, 15 August; 5,000 prisoners being taken, and about 2,000 more, in the previous engagements. By incessant rains, the dampness of the situation was increased to a degree, which rendered it exceedingly unhealthy to the British troops. The enemy, meanwhile, was enabled to prepare an effectual defence for the city of Antwerp. At the close of the season the island was evacuated, the fortifications of Flushing being previously demolished.

Senegal capitulated to a small detachment from Goree, 13 July; and in August, the town of Santo Domingo was taken, and given up to the Spaniards. In the autumn, Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, formerly of the Republick of the Seven Islands, surrendered to a small British squadron.

In Spain, Corunna and Ferrol capitulated, soon after the embarkation of the English. Saragossa was closely besieged; and a heavy bombardment was commenced, 12 January. It was surrendered 14 February, after a defence of unparalleled gallantry and obstinacy. The carnage was immense; by some accounts, 50,000; and the town was almost reduced to ruins, by the operation of mining. At Cadiz, suspicions having arisen that timidity or corruption were meditating to deliver it into the hands of the French, violent commotions arose among the people. Joseph entered Madrid with considerable pomp, 22 January; Napoleon re-

turned to Paris, 27th of the same month, in consequence of indications of renewed hostilities, on the part of Austria. In March, the French garrison at Vigo, about 1,400, surrendered to the patriots, aided by two English frigates. About the same time, 29th, the French, under marshal Soult, took Oporto, and threatened Lisbon; whither sir Arthur Wellesley was sent, at the head of a large and well provided armament. May 9th, he put himself at the head of the combined force, and advanced from Coimbra against the French outposts at Grijon, which he drove back. On the 12th, Oporto was retaken, and his lordship followed marshal Soult, who retreated towards Galicia; and ere long evacuated Portugal.

The French, under marshal Ney, were defeated near Vigo, in Galicia; but in Arragon, Blake sustained a severe loss, and Soult and Victor were enabled to effect a junction. Joseph created some favourable dispositions towards his cause, by a decree for the accepting at par, for confiscated lands, the paper issued by the old government, and which had become of exceedingly little value. In July, was fought near Talavera, one of the most ably planned and conducted battles, which is recorded in British history. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having effected a junction with general Cuesta, a general engagement ensued. The attack was begun by the French, commanded by Joseph Buonaparte, aided by Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani, on the evening of the 27th, and renewed early the 28th. The whole force was directed against the British portion of the allied army, which did not exceed half the number of the assailants, but was completely successful in repelling the enemy; whose loss was estimated at nearly 10,000. That of the conquerors was not less than 5,000, including many very valuable officers. Strong reinforcements soon after arrived, to strengthen the enemy, and the remaining part of the campaign was unfavourable to the patriots.

Affairs with America assumed, more and more, a threatening aspect. The embargo act of 1807, and its several supplements, with the previous non-importation act, had proved so intolerably burdensome, that in many places violent resistance to their provisions seemed not improbable nor remote. A law was now enacted, 1 March, to "interdict commercial intercourse both with Great Britain and France;" by which the embargo was repealed, except as respected vessels sailing to these countries. The president

was authorized to cause a renewal of intercourse with either of these powers, which should revoke their edicts violating neutral commerce. In April, an arrangement was made by honourable David Montague Erskine; in consequence of which, the president, honourable James Madison, issued a proclamation, 19th of that month, reciting that "the British orders will have been withdrawn on the 10th of June next, and that the trade with Great Britain may, after that day, be renewed." The joy, which this event occasioned in the United States, was lively and sincere. In proportion to the unbounded gratification, at the prospect of renewed commerce and continued amity, was the disappointment experienced, upon learning that as this stipulation by Mr. Erskine was unauthorized, his government could not ratify it. An order of council was issued, to protect such property as might be exposed in consequence of this expected repeal. On the receipt of intelligence, that the arrangement would not be accepted by the British cabinet, the president proclaimed that the non-intercourse was renewed. Honourable Francis James Jackson was sent minister plenipotentiary to the United States, and arrived at Washington, early in September. After a discussion of the points in controversy, for several weeks, the correspondence was broken off. About the end of November, Robert Smith, secretary of state, informed Mr. Jackson, that no further communications would be received from him. The reason assigned was, offence at his repeated declarations, "that the executive had knowledge that the arrangement made by Mr. Erskine was without competent powers, on the part of the latter." His dismissal was regretted by most, and strongly censured by many of the American people. In a tour through the eastern states, marked civilities were paid to him by many of the most respectable individuals and publick institutions. His conduct was approved by his government; and lord Wellesley assured Mr. Pinckney, that "although no intentional offence had been committed, yet as his majesty was always disposed to pay the utmost attention to the wishes and sentiments of states in amity, he had been pleased to direct the return of Mr. Jackson."

A formal declaration of war against France, by Austria, was proclaimed, 8 April. Bonaparte, in announcing this to his senate, ascribed it "to the machinations and the gold of England."

The archduke Charles was placed at the head of the Austrian armies, which immediately entered Bavaria, unopposed. Prince Stahremberg came to London, 10 May, as ambassadour from the court of Vienna; and a treaty of alliance was promptly concluded. The French "soldier of fortune," by a course of rapid marches reached Dillengen, 16 April; and in several battles, in quick succession, gained decided advantage. Ratisbon was taken by storm, 24th; and on May 12th, he a second time entered Vienna. His intention was to push on to Hungary; and his troops were permitted to cross the Danube, without molestation. On the left bank they met the archduke prepared for their reception; and on the 21st and 22d of May, the armies, consisting of at least 75,000 men each, were closely engaged, and fought with desperate fury. The French were compelled to retreat by the only remaining bridge, to the island of Lobau, which is in the middle of the river. Charles was pleased to pursue a system entirely defensive; and thus Bonaparte was enabled to rebuild the bridges, and prepare, in other respects, for retrieving his late disaster. For more than five weeks these vast hostile armies reposed in the vicinity of each other. On the 5th and 6th July, the conflict was renewed, and the French made good their footing on the ground before occupied by the Austrians. Soon after, the Austrians proposed an armistice; and one was concluded for thirty days, on condition, that the Austrian troops should abandon the Tyrolese. This ended in a peace, signed 14 October; and Bonaparte returned to Paris, amid the fulsome congratulations and splendid festivities of a people enslaved indeed, but self-flattered with the boasted triumphs of their tyrant.

The memorable event, of the 50th anniversary of his majesty's accession, was calculated to excite much attention. The day, 25 October, was set apart as a solemn jubilee; and it was observed, throughout the kingdom. In the metropolis, the ceremonies were most magnificent and appropriate. The morning was devoted to religious worship. In the afternoon, were some grand military exhibitions. In the evening, illuminations and fireworks, of unexampled brilliancy and elegance, completed the expressions of gratitude and affection, cherished by a loyal people, for a virtuous king.* Large subscriptions were raised, for

* Among the numerous effusions, of poetry and eloquence, which this interesting occasion

liberating prisoners for debt; in most places, the poor were feasted by the liberal provisions, furnished by the wealthy. A royal proclamation granted release to all persons under arrest for breaches of military law, and to all debtors, at the suit of the crown. Religion and patriotism offered their joint sacrifice, "prayers and alms" rose as a memorial before the KING OF KINGS, for a favour, so very rarely* granted to this or any nation.

Some changes took place, in the autumn, among his majesty's ministers. The duke of Portland, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning, resigned their respective places. Earl Gray and lord Grenville were consulted, by Mr Perceval, relative to their dispositions to take part in "an extended and combined administration." Both these gentlemen declined, though in respectful and somewhat varying terms, being connected with the existing cabinet. After considerable delay in negotiation, marquis Wellesley accepted the office of secretary for foreign affairs; honourable Richard Ryder, was appointed for the home department, and lord Palmerston secretary at war.

produced; one which gave peculiar gratification to the lovers of simplicity and pathos, was dated from the "Grampian mountains", signed "Norman Nicholson." From this, a few stanzas are copied.

"When *Lon'on* this reaches, at court sire receive it,
Like a tale you may read it, and like a sang sing;
Poor Norman is easy; but, you may believe it,
I'm *fifty years* shepherd,—you're *fifty* a king!

I live in the cottage, where Norval† was bred in,
You live in the palace, your ancestors rear'd,
Nae guest uninvited dare come to our weddin',
Or ruthless invader pluck us by the beard.

But ah! royal GEORGE, and ah! humble *Norman*,
Life to us baith draws near to a close;
The year's far awa', that had our natal hour, man,
The time's at our elbow, that brings us repose!

Then een let it come, SIRE, if conscience acquit us,
A sigh frae our bosoms death never shall wring;
An' may the neist *jub'lee* amang angels meet us,
To hail the auld *shepherd* and worthy auld KING."

† See *Homes' tragedy of Douglass*.

* The longest reign, in the English annals, is that of Henry III. who was crowned 28 October, 1216, and died, 16 November, 1272, in the 64th year of his age, and *fifty sixth* of his government. Elizabeth reigned nearly 45 years; having been crowned 17 November, 1558, and died 24 March, 1603, in the 70th year of her age.

-The course of events, on the peninsula, had been [1810.] unfavourable, in the last months of the past year. The army of general Blake had been defeated, with the loss of not less than one third of his whole force, which was about 55,000 strong. Lord Wellington remained not very advantageously posted at Badajos.

In February, Seville was taken by the French, and on the 5th, they entered Malaga, and conducted with customary barbarity. Cadiz was closely invested; but true to the cause of Ferdinand, exhibited signal resolution, and made several successful sallies against the besiegers. Fort Matagorda, garrisoned by English troops, was reduced in April. In May, the Catalonians obtained a great victory, although at a great price. Not less than 45,000 French were killed, wounded and made prisoners; and nearly 25,000 of the Spaniards. Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by the French, 21 July, after a gallant defence of 16 days; and, 14 September, Almeida too was taken by the enemy. The sensation of regret, occasioned by these events, was soon superseded by exultation at the complete triumph of lord Wellington, over Massena, in the battle of Busaco, 10 October. The victory was most brilliant and important, the loss comparatively small. 5,000 French were captured at Coimbra. Ceuta, on the coast of Africa, was taken by the British, for, and in the name of Ferdinand VII. 24 March.

In the West Indies, between 7 and 8,000 troops under general Beckwith, covered by the fleet commanded by admiral Cochrane, landed near Basseterre, on the island of Guadaloupe; and after several severe engagements, the French gave up the island, by capitulation, 6 February.

Much popular excitement in the metropolis, and thence extending to many parts of the country, was occasioned by the commitment, 6 April, of sir Francis Burdett to the tower, by a warrant from the speaker of the house of commons, for a libel on that house. The offensive publication originated in the exclusion of strangers from the house, on the discussions which were had respecting the Walcheren expedition. The former clamour of "Wilkes and Liberty" seemed to be revived, with only the change of the demagogue's name. He remained in confinement till the prorogation of parliament, 21 June; and then his liberation was

celebrated by many of his constituents forming a publick procession, and some few of them illuminating their houses in the evening. He afterwards instituted suits against the speaker, and others concerned in his arrest ; but the decision was in justification of the defendant.

In May, a most nefarious attempt was made to assassinate His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, by Sellis, one of his pages, an Italian. This same month, the anxiety of the royal family and of the publick was strongly excited by the alarming sickness of the princess Amelia. Their fears were relieved by her temporary convalescence, but she fell into a lingering state, and died 3 November. Right honourable WILLIAM WINDHAM, a man of very distinguished powers, a most eloquent orator and upright statesman, died, 4 June, aged 60 years. July 3d, lord Grenville was installed chancellor of the university of Oxford, with great and splendid ceremonials. William Cobbett, conductor of the Political Register, was convicted of a libel, 7 July, and sentenced to two years imprisonment in Newgate, and a fine of £.1000. In October, a marble monument to lord Nelson, in Guildhall, was completed. The countess de Lille, consort of Louis XVIII. died of dropsy, 14 November, and was interred in Westminster abbey. Lucien Buonaparte, with his family and suite, arrived in England, 1 December, in an American frigate from Malta.

Bonaparte's divorce from Josephine, 16 December previous, and severe illness, by attacks of epilepsy, in January ; and his marriage with the princess Louisa, arch-duchess of Austria, 1 April, excited so much notice at this period, that the entire omission of them, would probably be deemed affectation of indifference.

Peace between France and Sweden was signed, 6 January. About this time Holland was annexed to the French empire. Overtures for peace were said to have been made, but on conditions to which Great Britain would not listen. The states of the see of Rome, were incorporated with France, by a decree of 17 March ; and his holiness was confined in the fortress of Savona.

French injustice, to the only neutral was filled up by the decree of Rambouillet, 23 March. In pretended retaliation of the interdiction of all belligerent vessels of war from the har-

hours of the United States, all American vessels and cargoes, arriving in any ports of France, or of countries occupied by her armies, were ordered to be siezed and condemned. After the news of the act of May arrived in Europe, Napoleon's ministers gave some intimations to the American minister, Mr. Armstrong, that the hostile edicts would be repealed; and they were in some respects relaxed. The President of the United States, by proclamation, 2 November, declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked;* and that by the law, just referred to, the non-intercourse should cease as respected France, and be strictly executed against Great Britain. About the same time, Mr. Pinckney was advised to suspend his functions at the court of the latter power. The alleged reason was that no minister of similar grade, had succeeded Mr. Jackson. This course of measures seemed still more to embarrass the relations between the two countries. In January, lord Wellesley made a proposition to renew the treaty of 1794; but it was not accepted, as, at the same time, the conduct of Mr. Jackson was represented to have been satisfactory to his government.

The Isle of France, the only remaining colony of the enemy in any quarter of the world, capitulated to British troops, under general Abercrombie and admiral Bertier, 3 December. The Dutch spice islands, Banda, Amboyna, &c. had before been taken; the former, by a force not exceeding one fourth of its garrison.

The cortes of Spain were assembled, by a decree of Joseph, dated 18 April. Bernadotte was elected, 26 August, successour to the crown prince of Sweden, who died suddenly, while reviewing his troops, 6 June. The new monarch, in subserviency to Bonaparte, declared war against England, 1 December. In November, a malady, under which the king had laboured for a few weeks, could no longer be concealed from an afflicted people. It appeared that his majesty was rendered wholly unequal to the execution of the duties belonging to the crown, by reason, chiefly, of failure in the powers of his mind.

Parliament met, 30 November; and the report of the physi-

* They were not revoked, until 23 April 1811; and then expressly because "the Americans had caused their rights to be respected," by enforcing the non-intercourse against Great Britain.

cians on the king's health, first occupied attention. An adjournment of a fortnight was moved, in the hope of realizing the fond expectations, excited by some encouraging symptoms of his convalescence, and carried in both houses, the number in the commons being 243 against 129. On the meeting, 13 December, committees were appointed to examine the physicians, and report on the whole case. There seemed to be but one opinion on the necessity of a regency; but considerable diversity of views was entertained respecting the mode of providing and arranging it. Mr. Perceval's plan was founded on the precedent of 1788, which had the high sanction of Mr. Pitt's name. The prince of Wales was to be regent, under certain restrictions, and the queen, to have the care of his majesty's person.—Both houses having agreed that by a commission under the great seal, as when the king does not appear in person, parliament should be regularly opened, it was determined that a vacancy existed, by the incapacity of the monarch to perform the royal functions; that it is the right of parliament to supply the defect; and that this should be done by bill, not by address.

CHAP. VIII.

REGENCY OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. ASSASSINATION OF MR. PERCEVAL.

HIS majesty's lamented illness continued such as to render his resumption of the care of government in the highest degree improbable. A bill for fixing the regency, to which the assent of the queen and of the prince of Wales had been previously obtained, passed through both houses of parliament, in January. Among its provisions were the following: All existing appointments to remain, until the regent declares to the contrary. No act is to be valid, unless done in the name of his majesty. The regent is to be deemed a person holding an office in trust. The regent is restrained, for twelve months, from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to *titles in abeyance*. The care of his majesty's person, and the appointment of his house-

hold, is vested in her majesty, the Queen. Her majesty is to be assisted by a council, who are to notify the king's recovery by an instrument sent to the privy council, &c. &c.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS FREDERICK,* was installed prince regent of Great Britain, at Carlton House, 6 February. Among the first acts of his administration was the transmission of a letter to Mr. Perceval, apprizing him and his colleagues, that "from feelings of tenderness and respect towards his royal father," he should continue the present ministry. He received a most respectful address from the city of London, expressing their condolence on the king's illness, and congratulation on the recent arrangement. Parliament was opened on the 12th, by a speech from the prince regent, delivered by lords commissioners.

In Spain and Portugal this was a year of activity, and productive of many events of moment. The death of the marquis Romana seemed, for a time, to have a most dispiriting influence on his countrymen. A battle was fought, in January, near the Guadiana, between about 4,000 Spaniards, under general Ballesteros, and twice that number of French, in which the latter sustained a loss of nearly 2,000, although they remained in possession of the field. Olivenza was taken by the enemy; who proceeded to the siege of Badajoz, which was commenced 1 February, and possession gained, 11 March; not without strong suspicions being entertained by many, of treachery in the commandant. A very gallant action took place, 5 March, near Cadiz, between a body of 3,000 British with 2,000 Spanish, under general Graham, and 8,000 French, under marshal Victor. The Spanish division of the allies, had been posted on the heights of Barossa, but abandoned their position on the attack of the foe. These, the British division immediately engaged, although the disparity was nearly 3 to 4, and obtained a complete victory; 3,000 French being killed, wounded, and made prisoners. On the same day, Massena, to avoid a battle with lord Wellington, began his retreat from Santarem; and continued to recede before his lordship, harassed by the continual skirmishing of his pursuers, and sustaining continual and heavy losses. Early in April, all Portugal, Almeida alone excepted, was free from its ruthless invaders. Plunder, fire, rapine, and every excess marked their retiring footsteps. In the words of the noble deliv-

* Born 12 August, 1762.

erer of this desolated region, "there is not an inhabitant, of any class or description, who has had any dealing with the French army, but has had reason to repent of it. This is the mode, in which the promise of the commander in chief has been fulfilled : ' We have not come to make war on the Portuguese, our *friends* ; but, with 110,000 men, to drive the English into the sea." Lord Wellington immediately invested Almeida; for the relief of which, Massena, having collected a large force at Ciudad Rodrigo, marched at the beginning of May. Two desperate attacks were made on the beseigers, 3rd and 5th of that month; but the British completely repulsed the assailants, who lost not less than 7,000; and the city was soon after evacuated by the French.

A similar attempt was made, on the 16th, by marshal Soult, with 25,000 men, to relieve Badajoz, which had been closely beseiged by general Beresford, for nearly a month. General Blake, with 9,000 Spanish troops, had joined him on that very morning. The British were about the same number; and the Portuguese between 7 and 8,000. The inequality was not so great between the allies and the enemy, in numbers, as in the comparative want of cavalry and artillery, on the part of the former. The contest was most sanguinary while it lasted, which was from 9 o'clock, A. M. until 2 P. M. The enemy was driven across the Albuera; and sustained a loss of at least 2,000 killed, 1,000 prisoners, and 5,000 wounded. The allies lost in killed, wounded, and missing, more than 5,000. Among the dead, were general Houghton and colonel Duckworth. Both sides claimed the victory; but its fruits certainly were on the side of the allied forces. The foe rapidly retreated, and Badajoz was left to its own defence. Lord Wellington, soon after, reinforced general Beresford, and took direction of the siege. Soult rallied the whole of his forces from Castile and Madrid, and most of those from Andalusia; and so greatly outnumbered the armies under lord Wellington, that the latter, with consummate generalship, raised the siege, and retired to a very strong position behind the Guadiana. The fortress of Tarragona was carried by the French, in July, after a valorous defence; and not long after, Valencia and Montserrat shared the same fate, but not after displaying the same honourable resistance. The horrors acted by the victors, and the desperate measures taken to overawe the insurgents, as they were insolently termed, instead of arousing

indignant courage, rather seemed to depress the spirits of the Spaniards. Figueras surrendered to the enemy, in September, and many entertained the most gloomy forebodings as to the issue of the campaign. But as the year drew towards a close, the prospect brightened. A very gallant exploit was executed, about the beginning of November, by general Hill. A column of the French army, consisting of 2,500 infantry, and 600 cavalry, under general Girard, was surprised; all their stores, baggage, &c. were captured; 600 were slain, 1,400 taken, including general Le Brun, 4 colonels, and many other officers. The British loss did not exceed 7 killed and 65 wounded. In Catalonia, baron D'Erolles took the town of Cervera, with a large supply of provisions, collected there for the use of Barcelona. In Arragon, a force sent against general Mina was repulsed, and the whole body killed, wounded, or made prisoners. An enterprize of don J. Sanchez, ought not to pass unnoticed. He posted a party of men so as to seize the cattle, of the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo, when sent out, as usual, to graze under the guns of the fort. He succeeded in the attempt; and also took the governour, general Regnauld, who had crossed the Agueda with an inconsiderable escort.

The birth of a son to Bonaparte, 20 March, and his baptism with great pomp, 10 June, with the title king of Rome, was a topic of so much consideration, not only in France, but throughout the almost entirely subject continent of Europe, that it will not probably be thought, by most readers, out of place, in a history of the only people, that feared not the power, nor took much interest either in the domestick crimes, or pleasures of the usurper.

In May, a bill was passed for rendering more effectual the laws against the slave trade; by which any person concerned in that traffick, whether as owner, in whole or in part, freighter or shipper, agent or factor, captain, mate, supercargo, or surgeon, were to be punished as *felons*, with transportation for 14 years, or imprisonment and hard labour for 5 years. An inferiour punishment was attached to seamen or servants.

£.100,000 was voted by parliament, and nearly as much more subscribed by individuals, for the relief of the wretched peasants of Portugal, on whom the atrocities of the French had entailed the extreme of misery. The English army in that country, officers and men, nobly contributed a week's pay towards repairing the devastation which the natives had suffered.

The king's health, though with slight changes more or less favourable, remained through the year unequal to the charge of government. In the latter part of it, particularly, his mind became more enfeebled, than his body; and the belief was general, among those best acquainted with his state, that he would not again assume the functions of royalty. The internal affairs of the kingdom proceeded auspiciously; and no important changes took place. The duke of York was reappointed commander in chief of the army. The duke of Gloucester accepted the chancellorship of the university at Cambridge. Lieutenant general sir George Nugent was appointed military commander in India. Honourable Augustus James Foster was sent minister to the United States.

With this power, the difficulties which had for some years subsisted, were rather augmented; and the prospect of a satisfactory adjustment appeared unpromising. The frigate *President*, commodore Rogers, of 44 guns, met his Britannick majesty's sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, of 20 guns, commanded by captain Bingham; and, in consequence of some misunderstanding, an engagement took place, in which, as was to be expected from the vast inequality, the former had greatly the advantage.

In June, it was decided in the high court of admiralty, that a vessel, which had been detained for violating the order of blockade of April, 1809, was good prize. This adjudication was on the ground, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were not, in fact, repealed. This was really the case; notwithstanding any assurances of the French minister, which might have implied the contrary. A declaration may indeed now be found, bearing date, April of this year; but this was not promulgated, if made, until twelve months after;* and, mean while, i. e. March, 1812, Bonaparte had expressly pronounced those edicts still in force, as the *permanent law* of the empire. The British government stood pledged, "that whenever, by some authentick act of the French ruler, the Berlin and Milan decrees shall be repealed, then the orders in council, from January, 1807, downwards, shall be wholly and absolutely revoked."

An engagement took place, in the Mediterranean, between three

* It was communicated, for the first time, to the American minister, Mr. Barlow, 12 May and reached the government, 13 July.

British frigates and a sloop of war, and four French ships, of 44 guns, two frigates, and five other armed vessels. The action, which lasted six hours, and was very severe, ended in the capture of one 44, and a frigate. Another 44 was destroyed; and a third struck, but escaped.

A large fleet, under the command of sir James Saumarez, was sent to the Baltick. But the war in the north, was attended with nothing very remarkable, as it affected Great Britain. In an attempt by the Danes, on the island of Anholt, the valour of her troops was conspicuously displayed, and attended with glorious success. The garrison of but 350 marines, under governour Maurice, were attacked by more than 3,000. The enemy displayed the greatest bravery, in marching in close column to the cannon's mouth; but after a combat of four hours and a half, they were repulsed, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, and *five hundred* prisoners.

The important island of Java was added to the conquests of the British arms. Batavia, the capital was first captured; the loss, on the part of the Dutch, was very severe. Nearly 5,000 were taken prisoners; and the governour, general Jansens, but just escaped. Of the assailants, about 140 were killed, and nearly 700 wounded. After a succession of heroick exploits, on the part both of the army and navy, the governour and his remaining force capitulated.

The curiosity of publick men, and of the nation at large, was 1812.] strongly raised, by the approaching expiration of the restrictions, on the prince regent. His royal highness addressed a letter to his brother, the duke of York, February 13, which he was authorized and desired to communicate to lords Grey and Grenville. In this, the regent declared, "I have *no predilections* to indulge,—*no resentments* to gratify,—no objects to attain, but such as are common to the whole empire." He added, that he should feel gratified, "if some of those persons, with whom the early habits of his publick life were formed, would constitute a part of the government." To this overture, those gentlemen replied, that "on *publick* ground they must express, without reserve, the impossibility of uniting with the administration." A few changes took place, in the ministry; the most important of which was lord Castlereagh, secretary for foreign affairs, in the place of the marquis of Wellesley, resigned.

Soon after, a most horrid catastrophe was acted, within the walls of parliament. Mr. Perceval, as he was entering the lobby of the house of commons, 11 May, was assassinated by John Bellingham. This desperate wretch had been under pecuniary embarrassments in Russia, some years before. He alleged that he suffered wrong; and repeatedly, but without effect, applied to the English ambassadour and consul, for redress. On his return, he presented memorials to government, on the subject; claiming compensation for the losses he had sustained, through the injustice of the Russian courts, and the supineness of lord L. Gower, the minister. His applications had been refused; and he, in revenge, resolved on the death of some of the administration. He was tried 15th, and his guilt being unequivocally established, and without any palliating circumstances, was executed 18th, exhibiting an uncommon degree of hardness of heart, and insensibility. Mr. Perceval was no less estimable in private, than in public life; of distinguished talents and services; of exemplary social, and moral character; of unfeigned seriousness, and truly christian piety. A nation wept in sympathy, with the agonized relict, and 12 orphans. The gratitude of his country shewed itself, by a grant to these mourners, of £.2,000 a year to Mrs. Perceval, £.1,000 to the eldest son, and £.50,000 for the use of the family.

CHAP. IX.

MR. VANSITTART'S MINISTRY. WAR WITH AMERICA.

MUCH embarrassment arose, in the arrangement for a new ministry; and the correspondence of several of the principal persons concerned, was published. After nearly three weeks discussion, it was announced, that the earl of Liverpool was appointed first lord of the treasury; right honourable Nicholas Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department; lord Castlereagh, foreign department, &c.

In a letter from the duke of Bassano to lord Castlereagh, 17 April, proposals of peace were renewed; but nothing favourable resulted, or was probably expected to result from it.

Parliament was dissolved, 29 September; and the election, which followed, was attended with comparatively little animosity, and, with the exception of a very few places, with no excesses. The majority, in favour of administration, was equal to the best expectations of its friends. Mr. Canning's success, at Liverpool, was attended by circumstances peculiarly gratifying to him, personally, and to his friends in the ministry.

The health of the monarch remained nearly stationary; but in a condition to preclude expectation, and almost forbid hope, of his restoration.

Earl Moira was appointed governor-general of India, in the place of lord Minto.

This year gave an entire new turn to the affairs of Europe. The spell, which had bound the nations, was dissolved; and the great arrangements, which issued in their emancipation, were commenced and prosecuted, under most hopeful auspices.

In Spain, the year opened with most brilliant successes; and these were continued, with few interruptions, through its whole progress. General Hill drove the French before him, in every direction; and in January, had cleared the country about Merida, of every detachment of its invaders. At Tariffa, about 1,000 British and 800 Spanish troops, under colonel Skerrett, sustained an assault from more than 10,000; who were twice repulsed with great loss, and decamped, leaving their artillery, and most of their stores, to the besieged. The army of general Blake was dispersed, by Suchet, before Valencia, and retreated within the city, which fell, 6 January, into the power of the foe. But WELLINGTON outdid all his former fame; and gained a high rank, among the greatest warriors in the annals of history. He invested Ciudad Rodrigo, 9 January, and carried it by assault on the 19th. The governor, 78 officers, and 1,700 men, were made prisoners, and 158 pieces of ordnance taken. For this, and other services, his prince conferred on him an earldom; and parliament, with a vote of thanks, added a grant of £.2,000 a year. The important fortress of Badajoz, the key of Spain and Portugal, was also taken by storm, 6 April, after a siege of 20 days; during which it was most bravely defended. Besides an immense amount of military stores, 172 pieces of heavy brass cannon, and 4,000 prisoners, were taken. Sir Rowland Hill, agreeably to a plan formed by

earl Wellington, demolished the fortifications at Almaraz, on the Tagus, and the bridge, by which the communication, between the armies of Soult and Marmont, had been maintained. The earl advanced into the interior of the country, and entered Salamanca, 17 June. Not far from this place, he had a decisive engagement with Marmont, 22 July. The enemy were completely routed; the prisoners, taken on the field of battle, and in the pursuit, were about 7,000; among whom were 1 general, 6 colonels, and 130 other officers. The killed and wounded were estimated at more than 10,000. Eleven pieces of cannon, 2 eagles, 6 stand of colours, fell into the hands of the British. The French commander in chief was himself severely wounded; and 4 general officers were killed. Hence his lordship advanced promptly to Madrid, and entered it in triumph, 12 August. Joseph Buonaparte retired with his army towards Toledo, leaving a garrison in the Retiro. This was immediately invested; and, when about to be attacked, the governour proposed a capitulation. The garrison, to the number of 2,500, surrendered prisoners of war. The stores were of immense value; 189 pieces of excellent brass ordnance, 900 barrels of powder, 20,000 stands of arms, the eagles of two regiments, and large magazines of clothing, provisions, and ammunition. Leaving Madrid, the British hero advanced and took Valladolid, 6 September.

Besides these great events, the siege of Cadiz was raised, 25 August; the enemy retreating precipitately, and leaving a numerous artillery, and many stores behind. About the same time Astorga, Bilboa, and several other places, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who however had sustained a considerable loss in Murcia, under general O'Donnell, 21 July. Owing chiefly to the refusal of Ballesteros to act under lord Wellington, whom the cortes had appointed generallissimo of all the armies of Spain; the French gained some advantages, at the latter part of the season. The Spanish capital was again disgraced by their dominion, and polluted by their excesses.

In the north, the spirit of liberty, which was, by the blessing of Heaven, to free the world from its oppressour, awoke. In May, Napoleon proceeded to Dresden, and there met the emperor of Austria, the kings of Prussia and Saxony, and some other vassal princes. A treaty offensive and defensive with the two former

was the result. In June, he declared war against Russia, and immediately marched into it, with his several armies, exceeding 500,000. The grand complaint alleged, was : “ She had favoured English commerce ; the system of England was triumphant ; her orders in council threatened to produce the most important results.” Enraged and self-elated, he declared to the world, “ the destinies of Russia are *settled*.” Alexander, nothing intimidated, replied, “ the sword is not to be sheathed, while a single enemy is on the territory of my people.” Through the months of June and July, the Russians kept on the defensive ; retiring in good order, and harassing the outposts of the invading force, with frequent, and many of them severe, skirmishes. The object of the emperor appeared to be to preserve his armies unbroken, until events should favour their becoming in turn the assailants. As they fell back, their magazines and military stores were destroyed. Smolensk was taken, by the French, after an obstinate and bloody battle, and with a loss of upwards of 7,000 killed and missing. Immediately after this, Kutusoff, (or Kutuzow,) at the age of 75, returning from Turkey, where he had closed a glorious campaign, by an honourable peace, took the chief command. A general battle was fought, near a village called Borodino, from the 4th to the 7th of September, in which the carnage on both sides was most dreadful. The killed and wounded fell little short of 70,000. It was said to have been a far more furious and bloody action than that of Eylau, February, 1806. The French were driven back ; and the Russians remained masters of the field. But they thought it not prudent to maintain their ground, nor was it concluded to defend Moscow. This ancient capital was entered by the French, 14 September ; to whom, however, it presented but one scene of universal conflagration. Its patriotick inhabitants would not consent that it should enrich the invaders with its spoils, or afford them winter quarters for shelter. It was therefore devoted to destruction. The flames raged four days ; and all was consumed, except the Kremlin, a quarter of the city surrounded by a high wall. So desperate was the resolution with which a general detestation of the foe had inspired a brave people, that even this sacrifice, great as it was, appeared far less terrible, than that it should give comfort, or furnish means, to the invaders. Their situation, in this desolated city, was distressing in the extreme. Straitened

for provisions, and exposed to the inclemency of a "horrid winter," Bonaparte and his hordes evacuated it, 19 October, and the Russians reoccupied it, 22d. On the 18th, Murat's corps was signally beaten by the army of Bennigsen; while that of Wittgenstein, totally defeated the division under St. Cyr, on the 20th. Bonaparte marched rapidly to Smolensk, which he reached, pursued and harassed all the way, 9 November. This same day, the division under Beauharnois was attacked and dispersed by that of Platow. From Smolensk the leader was compelled to fly, about the middle of November. On the 16th and 17th, he was attacked by Kutusoff, and sustained immense loss in both the battles. He rapidly retreated towards Wilna, closely followed, and severely annoyed by the cossacks. It was computed, that from Smolensk to Wilna his loss was not less than 120,000. A large Prussian force, under Macdonald, entered into a convention of neutrality; and the utter rout and destruction of the French armies was effected. Bonaparte delivered over the miserable remnant of his troops to Murat, 5 December; took a private conveyance, and, in disguise, fled through Warsaw, Dresden, Leipsic, and Mentz, to Paris, where he arrived about midnight, 18 December.

The following is an official return of the captures made by the Russians, during the retreat of the enemy from Moscow, up to 26 December: "131 pieces of cannon; 41 general officers; 1,298 officers; 167,510 non-commissioned officers and soldiers." No such result is to be found in modern warfare. The following is thought worthy to follow this unexampled detail. The British parliament voted £.200,000 for the relief of the sufferers at Moscow, and elsewhere in Russia; and the sum was increased, more than half the amount, by subscription.

About the same time that peace was settled by Great Britain, with Russia and Sweden; war was declared against her, by the United States. The act was passed, 18 June; in the senate, by 19 against 13, in the house of representatives, 79 against 49; and was accompanied by a message from the president, and a report from the committee of foreign relations, assigning the "orders in council" as the chief ground of the measure. These were revoked, 23 June, as regards American ships and property, in consequence of the French decree, dated April, 1811.* A very able

and unanswerable protest, of the minority, in the house of representatives, exposed the fallacy of many of the pretensions in the manifesto ; and, by far the greater part of the respectable and virtuous throughout the community, the war was deplored as *calamitous*, and reprobated as *UNJUST*.

It was hoped, and expected by all who did not duly estimate the degree of French influence which operated in producing the declaration of war, that the certainty of the repeal of the "orders in council," might put a termination to the unnatural contest. In this fond hope, and in the true spirit of just and pacific policy, sir John Borlase Warren, appointed commander on the American station, was entrusted with full powers to arrange a suspension of hostilities and negotiate a peace. But all proffers of this sort were rejected ; the tone of demands was raised higher, some entirely novel claims advanced ; and, as though Bonaparte himself spoke through mere passive organs, indemnity for the past, and security against the future, "maritime wrongs of the tyrant of the ocean," were avowed as objects of the war, in publick documents and official gazettes. The operations commenced against Canada ; the permanent annexing of which to the United States, was stated boldly from demi'official sources, as one indispensable prerequisite to peace. General Hull entered the upper district, in July ; and dispersed a proclamation far more disgraceful, than his speedy surrender with 2500 men, and the fort of Detroit, 16 August. A second attempt, by general Wadsworth, was defeated in October.

The British frigate *Guerriere*, captain Dacres, was sunk by the *Constitution*, captain Hull, 19 August. In October, the frigate, *Macedonian*, and sloop of war *Frolick*, were taken by the Americans ; the former by the United States, the latter by the *Wasp* ; which with its prize, was soon after captured by the *Poictiers*. In December, the *Java* was destroyed by the American frigate *Constitution*.

A declaration of the prince regent, 9 January, on the war waged by America, would richly deserve a place [1813.] in this history, could space be allowed. The closing paragraph only can be given as a specimen of the sentiments and style of this document. "Whilst contending against France, in defence not only of the liberties of Great Britain, but of the world, his

royal highness was entitled to look for a far different result. From their common origin, from their common interest, from their professed principles of freedom and independence ; the United States were the last power, in which Great Britain could have expected to find a willing instrument and abetter of French tyranny. Disappointed in this, his just expectation, the prince regent, will still pursue the policy which the British government has so long and invariably maintained, in repelling injustice, and in supporting the general rights of nations ; and under the favour of Providence, relying on the justice of his cause, and the tried loyalty and firmness of the British nation, he confidently looks forward to a successful issue to the contest, in which he has thus been compelled most reluctantly to engage."

The whole of the negotiations with America, for the three preceding years, were communicated to the imperial parliament ; and in both houses a *unanimous* vote passed, 18 January, expressive of acquiescence in the general course of policy pursued by the government, and of the determination of support against unjust aggression.

Among the most important of the discussions and measures of parliament, was that respecting the renewal of the East India company's charter. After a very able and patient investigation of the subject, a bill, to continue in force 20 years, from 10 April, 1814, was carried through both houses, and received the royal assent, 21 July. It limited the operation of the exclusive charter to places, north of 11° south latitude, and between 64° and 150° east longitude. It gave a monopoly, only of the China trade. Ships of 350 tons, under certain limitations to prevent smuggling, may bring all India products, tea excepted, to Great Britain or Ireland. The duty of "promoting the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants, and of adopting measures for the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of *religious* and moral improvement," was solemnly recognized ; and thus the hopes were animated, and the exertions encouraged of those powerful associations, which had been formed, for diffusing the blessings of christianity in the east. The session was closed on the 22d July, by a speech from the prince regent ; in which, after gratefully acknowledging the splendid successes in the peninsula ; and the treaties with Russia, Prussia, and Sweden ; he regretted the con-

tinuance of the war with America, and his desire for the restoration of peace, on terms consistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain.

The campaign of this year, in the north, was even more glorious than the last; and, in fact, may be regarded as having really effected the emancipation of Europe, although not the complete prostration of her oppressour.

Early in the season, the emperor Alexander, joined his army in East Prussia; and issued a proclamation, alike memorable for moderation and dignified resolution. He disclaimed all views of conquest; offered peace and independence to all who should abandon the cause of Napoleon; and professed the earnest wish and fond hope not only of restoring Prussia to its former extent and power, but of "reconstructing the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and thereby ensuring publick tranquillity and individual happiness." The Prussians, as if animated by one soul, joined in the common cause, and hailed the Russians as friends. The king entered into alliance with Alexander, and declared war against France. Austria and Denmark were more tardy, in breaking their chains. Sweden was prompt and decisive in her efforts. Bernadotte, with an army of 40,000, joined Wittgenstein, on the Elbe, in April. About the middle of this month, Bonaparte quitted Paris, for the armies; having appointed the empress regent, during his absence. He reached Dresden, 8 May; having been engaged in a very severe action, 1st and 2d, at Lutzen. The field was obstinately and bravely contested; from 12 to 14,000 men were slain, on each side. The allies thought it expedient to fall back, but preserved the utmost order, and lost no honour, experienced no depression of spirits. Previous to this battle, the hero Kutusoff had died, and was succeeded by Wittgenstein. Several important engagements were fought with great obstinacy and valour on both sides; the allies still yielding ground, but unbroken, and without sustaining any material disadvantages. An armistice was concluded, 23 May, to continue till 26 July; unless either party should prefer to engage, which was allowed, at any time, after 6 days notice. Its termination was not anticipated, but was extended to the middle of August. Before this arrangement, Hamburgh was retaken by the French, who had been compelled to abandon it, in the former part of the season.

General Moreau had joined Bernadotte, in Pomerania, during the interval of hostilities. These were resumed 17th August, by the decision of the allies on the 8th. On the 11th, Austria acceded to the coalition. In the manifesto, which accompanied the declaration of war, the series of aggressions and insults, on the part of Napoleon, was ably detailed. "His union with the princess, instead of causing any change in his policy, had led to aggravated wrongs and injustice. He had proposed to dissolve the Prussian monarchy, as a punishment for its *defection*. All the efforts of Austria to effect negotiation among the contending powers, had proved ineffectual through the insincerity of France. The former had no option, but war or degrading submission." Terrible were the struggles of this vast combination, in various quarters, against their hated opponent, through the remainder of August, and the following month. In a battle near Dresden, 27th, between Bonaparte, with 170,000, and the allied forces, of about 140,000; general Moreau, who had, in a considerable measure, arranged the plan of military proceedings, lost both his legs by a cannon ball, as he was in earnest conversation with the emperor of Russia. He died of his wounds, 2d September, lamented by the brave in all countries; most deeply deplored by his companions in arms. Early in October, the allied armies, the several divisions of which had been gathering laurels in almost every field, adopted the plan of concentrating themselves towards Leipsic, whither the enemy appeared also to be tending. Bernadotte and Blücher, by a bold movement, placed themselves between him and France. On the 16th, a long and bloody, but not decisive, battle was fought. An eagle, 2,000 prisoners, and 30 pieces of cannon, were taken from the French. The *eighteenth of October, eighteen hundred thirteen*, may be considered as the crisis of Napoleon's "destiny." On that day, it was computed that not less than half a million of men were in conflict. The issue was as splendid for the allies, as it was auspicious to Europe. The loss of the enemy was above 100 pieces of cannon, 60,000 men, immense numbers of prisoners; the desertion of the army of Saxony, with the Bavarian and Wurtemberg troops; several generals, among whom were Regnier, Vallery, Brune, Bertrand, and Lauriston. This, was said by lord Cathcart, in his dispatches, to have been "the 8th general action, 7 commanded by the ruler of France, in which Alexander

was at the head of his troops. As usual, unmindful of personal danger, he approached every column, animating the officers and men by his presence and example, and by a few energetick words, touching the chords, which produce the strongest effects on the minds of Russian soldiers;—*confidence in the SUPREME BEING, resignation to HIS will, and attachment to their SOVEREIGN.*” The next morning, 19th, Bernadotte attacked and carried Leipsic, into which Bonaparte had retired. With considerable difficulty, and in great confusion, he effected his escape. On this and the following day, more than 300 pieces of cannon, 1000 caissons, and above 15,000 prisoners, with many eagles and colours, fell into the hands of the allies. The sick and wounded, abandoned by their leader, exceeded 22,000. At the capture of this city, the four sovereigns of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden, met in the great square, having entered at different points, each at the head of his respective troops. Acclamations and benedictions welcomed these illustrious deliverers. The retreating army was assailed incessantly; and of the 80,000, who followed their crest-fallen chieftain, one half at least fell by the sword or fatigue. Bavaria, instead of affording succour to the fugitives, was in arms against them; and with a prodigious waste of blood, they literally cut their way through opposing ranks, at Hanau, near Frankfort, 30 October. Napoleon reached St. Cloud, 9 November; and on the 14th, received the senate, in a tone very remote from that employed on former occasions. “All Europe was with us a year ago; all Europe is now against us.”

The ardour of former feelings revived among the Belgians, at these great occurrences. About the middle of November, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and proclaimed the house of Orange. The example was contagious; the usurped authorities of the French were prostrated. A deputation, to his royal highness the prince of Orange, reached London, 21st, and he immediately embarked. Hanover, too, returned to its rightful allegiance. Prince Bernadotte entered it, about the 10th; and, welcomed by the shouts of the inhabitants, re-established his Britannick majesty’s authority. Switzerland broke from the sleep of despair, and the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved.

The allied sovereigns issued a declaration from head quarters, Frankfort, 1 December, that the first use of their victories was the

offer of peace to Bonaparte, on terms securing the independence of France, and the other states of Europe. He addressed the legislative body 19th of that month, with considerable appearance of moderation. A congress was soon after convened for negotiating a general peace; for which, lord Castlereagh, the representative of Great Britain, departed 28th December.

On the peninsula, the events of this year continued to be important and interesting; but the attention was so much more forcibly seized, by the wonderful events in the north, that the other shared, less than before, inquiry and notice. Early in the year, the cortes invested the earl of Wellington with the supreme command; and, though not immediately connected with the war, it deserves recording, they decreed the entire abolition of the *inquisition*. Marshal Soult, with 20,000 men, was called away, by his master, to aid in the great northern array. A severe action was fought, 13 April, between the allies under lieutenant general sir John Murray, and the French, under Suchet, in which victory declared for the former. Wellington entered Salamanca, 26 May, the enemy retiring from this, and also from Zamora, and Toro; Burgos was abandoned, 13 June. On the 21st, a grand engagement took place, in front of Vitoria, between his lordship's army, and the French, under Joseph Buonaparte, aided by marshal Jourdan. The former obtained a complete victory, with 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition &c. and a great number of prisoners. The enemy's loss was estimated at 20,000; of the allies, 730 were killed, 4,110 wounded. Pursuing his success, his lordship drove the French before him, from station to station; and Spain had probably again been entirely rid of the invader, had not general Murray failed, in the execution of his part of the plan prescribed. The armistice, between the combatants in Germany, gave opportunity for a reinforcement to come from that quarter, to the aid of the French. Soult was appointed to the command, and several severe engagements took place, between 25 July, and 4 August. The result was favourable to the patriots, though in some of the battles, the invaders prevailed. On the last date, lord Wellington wrote; "there is no enemy in the field, within this part of the Spanish frontier." Success followed him, in a desperate assault on fort San Sebastian, 8 September. The prisoners were about 2,500, and twice

that number were destroyed in the siege. Crossing the Bidousoa, 7 October, he in turn, became the invader, following the enemy into their own territory, by forcing all their entrenchments. A series of actions between his army and that of Soult, took place from 9 to 13 December; in which the latter was uniformly repulsed. The ports of France, occupied by the allies, were opened to neutrals.

The duchess of Brunswick, sister to his majesty, died, 23 March, aged 75, after a short illness. Lord Whitworth was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. Parliament commenced its session, 4 November, and the glorious events in the north, furnished abundant topics for congratulation from the prince regent.

A proposition for peace, under the mediation of Russia, was made by the United States; who had accepted the proffer, and appointed honourable James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin, with his excellency John Q. Adams, resident minister, as commissioners in the negotiation. They sailed, 9 May, and arrived at St. Petersburg, early in July. The British government, whose reiterated direct offers had been rejected, declined this circuitous mode of pacification.

The pope was, this season, forcibly brought to Paris; and by the hope of restoration to his temporal dominions, was induced to sanction the repudiation of Josephine, and the connexion with Maria Louisa.

The border war, against his majesty's North American colonies, produced no important results; but was incalculably distressing to the inhabitants of both frontiers. In the course of the season, several considerable battles were fought. Little York, the capital of Upper Canada, was taken, sacked, and the public buildings wantonly destroyed, in the former part of the campaign, by troops under general Dearborn; but the Americans were soon forced to abandon it, with considerable loss. The British blockading squadron in the Chesapeake, kept the towns, on that bay and its streams, in continual alarm. The frigate Chesapeake, captain Lawrence, was captured in Boston bay, by the Shannon, captain Broke, 1 June. Both commanders were wounded, the former mortally. The Americans gained the ascendancy on Lake Erie.

CHAP. X.

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS. PEACE IN EUROPE, AND WITH AMERICA.

[1814.] **T**HIS year, so memorable in the annals of the world, was commenced in a manner becoming a christian people, who had experienced such blessings, and were authorized to cherish such hopes, as those which now crowned Britain and Europe. A publick thanksgiving, to ALMIGHTY GOD, for the success with which HE had crowned the arms of the allies, was solemnized, 13 January, in the united empire.

The grand campaign, which liberated the world from its degraded and suffering condition, was commenced with the opening season. No more is it necessary to separate the accounts, of the efforts against the oppressour, into those made in the north and south of Europe. France was itself the theatre of the war, which rescued her, and her sister states, from the iron yoke of unfeeling despotism, and unexampled guilt. It has been before mentioned, that earl Wellington had penetrated into the enemy's region. Late in December, the allies, who were now, at last, increased by the accession of Denmark, crossed the Rhine, through Switzerland, with the cordial concurrence of the Swiss cantons, who agreed also to furnish 20,000 men to the common cause. An army of at least 200,000 men, was speedily in possession of Alsace. By the 17th January, prince Schwartzenburg had his headquarters at Langres, about 150 miles from Paris. Geneva was delivered from its tyrants, and the passes of the Alps were secured, by a detachment of the grand army; while another division advanced towards Lyons, to cooperate with the deliverer of Spain and Portugal. In other quarters, Blucher, at the head of 80,000, and Bernadotte, with more than half that number, were proceeding to the great theatre of action; forcing the enemy's positions in every direction. By the latter, Hamburg, in which Davoust and his army were shut up, was closely invested, and the inhabitants were reduced to extremest suffering. The remorseless commander had driven out of the town, in a most inclement season,

at least 30,000 of the poor ; most of whom must have perished, but for the humane assistance afforded them, by the besiegers. Near Antwerp, a body of 20,000 French were defeated by the allied troops of generals Bulow and Graham.

On the 25th January, Bonaparte quit Paris, not soon, (God grant never !) to return. Active operations soon commenced ; at first decidedly favourable for the allies ; and again, considerably against them.

While hostilities were vigorously prosecuted, negotiations for a peace were opened, at Chatillon, 4 February, between lord Castlereagh, on the part of Great Britain, Caulincourt, for France, with the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian ambassadours. The discussions were continued, and various rumours were circulated respecting their probable issue, till 18 April ; when they terminated without success. In January, the Spanish cortes had transferred the seat of government from Cadiz to Madrid. Napoleon liberated Ferdinand VII. having previously obtained a treaty of alliance, which the cortes unanimously refused to ratify. Murat, king of Naples, revolted from his hard and arbitrary master ; joined in the league against him, and took possession of Rome, Leghorn, &c. the former in behalf of the pope.

Almost incessant battles were fought, and some attended with great displays of heroism and skill, on each side, from the middle of February till the latter part of March. The detailed gazette accounts of these, would demand more space, than this abstract can furnish. Their important operation, in bringing about the grand and glorious consummation, would otherwise secure them the particular notice which they merit. On the 8th March, general sir Thomas Graham, failed in an attempt to storm Bergen op Zoom, and with a severe loss. On the 18th, Bourdeaux, the second city of France, was occupied by the troops under marshal Beresford, not only without opposition, but with the universal exultation of the inhabitants. The civil authorities, and many of the principal inhabitants, met the English out of the town ; and of their own accord displaced the eagles, and other emblems of the usurpation, shouting, “ *Vive Bourbon !” “ Vivent les Anglois !” “ Vive Louis dix huit !”

* Long live the Bourbons, the English, and Louis XVIII !

The decisive movement was made about the 20th of March, by the united armies of Schwartzenburg and Blucher, amounting to above 200,000. Leaving a strong detachment of cavalry and artillery to watch Bonaparte, they began their march directly and rapidly for Paris. On the 25th, they met, and completely routed, the corps of Mortier and Marmont, who were hastening to the relief of their chieftain. They reached Paris, 29th; and addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants, inviting them to follow the example of Bourdeaux, and accelerate peace, by concurring with the allies, in establishing the rightful authority over France. The flag was refused admittance; and on the 30th, the garrison of Paris, headed by Joseph Buonaparte, united with the two corps just mentioned, who had continued to retreat before the allies, and took possession of the strong heights of Belleville. These were attacked, and the whole line of entrenchments were carried, though not without a severe, and a sanguinary conflict. At the moment of victory, a flag was deputed to propose acceding to the previous offer. This was agreed to; and on the 31st, the allies entered Paris. All ranks hailed the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia, as deliverers. The general, the *universal* cry, was, “†Vive l’empereur Alexandre!” “Vive notre libérateur!” “Vive le roi de Prusse!” “Vivent les Bourbons!” “A bas le tyran!”

When Bonaparte discovered the bold design of his opponents, and that they were actually in advance, towards his former capital, by two or three days’ marches, he made every effort to retrieve his error. But the continual engagements, by which his troops had been exhausted, forbade the expectation of their overtaking the allied armies. The supplies he expected, had been intercepted; his flanks and rear were harassed by the powerful cavalry of Austria and Prussia; and he was more than two days march from Paris, when it welcomed the friends of the old dynasty. On receiving this intelligence, he established his head-quarters at Fontainebleau; probably hoping to reorganize his forces. But he had no friends; no! not a single being, who loved or respected him! The moment he ceased to be feared, or to excite admiring wonder, he was without influence. Neither his generals, nor his soldiers were attached to him; and he was abandoned. His em-

* Long live the emperor Alexander, our deliverer! Long live the king of Prussia, and the Bourbons! Down with the tyrant!

press, and son, and their escort, had retired to Tours, about the 25th; and he saw them no more.

The allied monarchs, attended by prince Schwartzenburg, marshal Blucher, and the British generals Stewart and Cathcart, entered the city of Paris, amid civick rejoicings and military cavalcades, about 11 o'clock, A. M. At 3, P. M. a declaration was circulated, signed by ALEXANDER, containing, among other assurances, the following: "The allied sovereigns will treat no more with *Napoleon Bonaparte*, or with any of his family. They will recognize and guaranty the constitution, which the French nation shall give itself. They accordingly invite the senate to appoint a provisional government." The senate was forthwith assembled; a provisional government, of five persons, was established; at the head of which was the prince of Beneventum, M. Talleyrand. The dethronement of Bonaparte was decreed, 2d April, as was the wish of France, "that the head of the house of Bourbon should return to the hereditary throne of St. Louis." On the 6th, the plan of a constitution, submitted by the provisional government, was unanimously adopted by the senate. To the count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVIII. who had just arrived, was committed the government, with the title of lieutenant-general, till LOUIS STANISLAUS XAVIER DE FRANCE, shall have accepted the constitutional charter.

The emperor of Russia, as soon as the senate had pronounced that Napoleon was dethroned, desired the duke of Vicenza, Caulincourt, to offer him some retreat, and a suitable provision for his support. He immediately sent a note of abdication, and selected the island of *Elba*, in the Mediterranean, for his future residence. He was allowed a pension of 6,000,000 francs annually.

The emperor of Austria, with Bernadotte, joined the illustrious royal brothers on the 13th, and the rejoicings and festivities of the 31st March were renewed. The king had a publick audience with the prince regent, whom he invested with the order of St. Esprit, 20th April. He left London, 23d, for Paris, having signified, through his brother, his approbation of the general principles of the proposed constitution, reserving the right to modify the same, in some of its provisions. He arrived in Paris, 4 May.

The joy, which these transactions inspired, was qualified by the intelligence of a great waste of blood, at Toulouse and Bayonne. On the 10th of April, earl Wellington, ignorant of the grand result at Paris, engaged and defeated the army of Soult, after a dreadful slaughter; and on the 12th, took possession of Toulouse. Ferdinand VII. arrived at Valencia, early in May, and immediately issued a proclamation dissolving the general cortes, and declaring the late constitution, formed by the people, at an end.

It was found that the French prisoners, in England, amounted to 52,649; the English, in France, were about 10,000; all which were liberated, without exchange or ransom.

The prince regent, 3 May, in the name of his majesty, created field marshal Arthur Wellington, a duke, &c.; granting to him, and his heirs male, the titles of marquis Douro and duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset. Several of the field officers, of the army of Spain, were created barons. The parliament granted, on the 12th, £.400,000, for the purchase of an estate for the duke of Wellington; which, with other grants, gave his grace an annual income of £.18,000; his grant from the treasury amounting to £.13,000.

Both houses of Parliament unanimously requested the prince regent to use all possible exertions in the general pacification, to effect the entire abolition of the slave trade.

The general definitive treaty, between France and the allies, was signed at Paris, 30 of May; by the right honourable Robert Stewart, viscount Castlereagh; &c. sir George Gordon, count of Aberdeen; &c. sir William Shaw Cathcart, viscount Cathcart, &c. and the right honourable Charles William Stewart, knight, &c. of the Bath, &c. on the part of Great Britain, and M. Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord, prince of Beneventum, on the part of France; and the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. The following extracts exhibit the principal features of this important instrument:

TREATY OF PEACE.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY AND INDIVISIBLE TRINITY.

ART. 1. There shall be, from this day henceforth, peace and amity between his majesty the king of France and Navarre, on

the one part, and his majesty the king of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland, and his allies, on the other part, their heirs and successors, their states and respective subjects forever. The high contracting parties will employ all their care to maintain, not only between themselves, but also, as far as depends on them, among all the states of Europe, the harmony and good understanding, so necessary to their repose.

ART. 3. The allied powers reserve to themselves reciprocally the entire liberty of fortifying such point of their states as they may judge convenient for their safety.

To avoid all injury of private property, and to protect, upon the most liberal principles the possessions of individuals domiciliated upon the frontiers, there shall be named by each of the states bordering on France, commissioners, to proceed to the delimitation of the respective countries.

ART. 6. Holland, placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, shall receive an increase of territory. The title, and exercise of the sovereignty of that country, shall not in any case belong to any prince wearing or called to wear a foreign crown.

The states of Germany shall be independent, and united by a federative league.

Switzerland, independent, shall continue to govern itself.

Italy, out of the limits of those countries which will return to Austria, shall be composed of sovereign states.

ART. 7. The isle of Malta, and its dependencies shall belong in full possession and sovereignty to his Britannick majesty.

ART. 8. His Britannick majesty, stipulating for himself and his allies, engages to restore to his most christian majesty, in the periods which shall hereafter be fixed upon, the colonies, fisheries, factories and establishments of every kind which France possessed on the 1st January, 1792, in the seas, and on the continents, of America, Africa, and Asia, excepting the islands of Tobago and St. Lucia, and the isle of France and its dependencies, namely, Rodrigue and the Sechelles, which his most christian majesty cedes in full property and sovereignty to his Britannick majesty; as also the part of St. Domingo, ceded to France by the peace of Basle, and which his most christian majesty re-cedes to his catholick majesty in full property and sovereignty.

ART. 9. His majesty the king of Sweden and Norway, agree-

ably to arrangements made with his allies, and for the execution of the preceding article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe shall be restored to his most christian majesty, and cedes all rights which he might have over this island.

ART. 10. His most faithful majesty, agreeably to arrangements made with his allies, and for the execution of article 8th, engages to restore to his most christian majesty, within the period hereafter to be fixed, French Guyana, as it was the 1st January, 1792.

The effect of the above stipulation, being to revive the dispute existing at this epoch on the subject of the boundaries, it is agreed that this dispute shall be terminated by an amicable arrangement between the two courts, under the mediation of his Britannick majesty.

ART. 11. The places and fortresses existing in the colonies and establishments which are to be restored to his most christian majesty, in virtue of the articles 8, 9 and 10, shall be restored in the condition in which they are at the moment of the signature of the present treaty.

ART. 12. His Britannick majesty engages to allow the subjects of his most christian majesty, in respect to commerce and to the safety of their persons and property within the limits of the British sovereignty upon the continent of India, the same facilities, privileges and protection, which now are, or which shall be granted to the most favoured nations. On his side, his most christian majesty, having nothing more at heart than the perpetuity of the peace between the two crowns of France and England, and wishing to contribute as far as in his power to removing at present for the relations of the two powers, whatever might one day disturb their mutual good understanding, engages to make no fortified work in the establishments, which are to be restored to him, and which are situated within the limits of the British sovereignty, upon the continent of the Indies, and to keep in these establishments only the number of troops necessary for the maintenance of the police.

ART. 13. As to the right of France to fish upon the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, upon the coasts of the island of that name, and the adjacent islands, and in the gulf of St. Lawrence, every thing shall be replaced upon the same footing as in 1792.

ART. 14. The colonies, factories and establishments, which are to be restored to his most Christian majesty by his Britannick majesty, or his allies, shall be restored as follows :—Those which are in the North Seas, or in the seas and upon the continents of America and Africa, within three months ; and those which are beyond the Cape of Good Hope, within six months from the ratification of the present treaty.

ART. 16. The high contracting parties, wishing to cover with entire oblivion the divisions which have agitated Europe, declare and promise, that in the countries restored and ceded by the present treaty, no individual, of whatever class or condition he may be, shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or troubled, in person or property, under any pretext, or on account of his political conduct or opinions, or his attachment whether to either of the contracting parties, or to the governments which have ceased to exist, or for any other reason, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts posterior to the present treaty.

ART. 17. In all the countries which shall change masters, either in virtue of the present treaty, or of any succeeding arrangements, there shall be granted to the inhabitants, native and foreign, of whatever condition and nation they may be, a space of six years, counting from the exchange of ratifications, to dispose, if they shall think it expedient, of their property acquired either before the war, or during its actual continuance, and to retire into whatever country they shall choose.

ART. 18. The allied powers wishing to give to his most Christian majesty a new testimony of their desire to do away, as far as in them lies, the consequences of that epoch of misery so happily terminated by the present peace, renounce in the whole such sums as the government may claim of France on account of all contracts, supplies, or advances whatsoever, made to the French government, in the different wars, which have taken place, since 1792.

On his part, his most Christian majesty renounces all claim which he might form, against the allied powers, upon the same foundations. In execution of this article, the high contracting parties engage to deliver to each other all securities, obligations, and documents, which relate to the claims they have reciprocally relinquished.

ART. 31. All archives, charts, plans and documents whatsoever, belonging to the countries ceded, or concerning their administration, shall be faithfully restored at the same time with the country; or, if that be impossible, within a term not exceeding six months from the restoration of the countries themselves.

This stipulation is applicable to the archives, charts and plates which may have been seized in the countries, transiently occupied by the different armies.

ART. 32. In the space of two months, all the powers who have been engaged on one side or the other, in the present war, shall send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, to regulate, in a general congress, the arrangements which are to complete the dispositions of the present treaty.

Additional articles to the treaty with Great Britain.

ART. 1. His most Christian majesty, sharing, without reserve, all the sentiments of his Britannick majesty in relation to a species of commerce, repugnant both to the principles of natural justice, and the enlightened state of the times in which we live, engages to join, in the future congress, all his efforts with those of his Britannick majesty, to induce all the Christian powers to pronounce the abolition of the slave trade, so that the said trade may universally cease; as it shall cease definitively, and in all cases, on the part of France, in the space of five years; and that besides, during this delay, no slavedealer may import or sell them otherwise than in the colonies of that state of which he is a subject.

ART. 2. The British and French governments shall immediately appoint commissioners to liquidate their respective expenses for the support of prisoners of war, in order to arrange respecting the discharge of the balance, which shall be found in favour of one or the other of the two powers.

ART. 3. The respective prisoners of war shall be held to discharge, before their departure from the place of their detention, the private debts which they may have contracted, or at least to give sufficient security.

ART. 4. There shall be granted, by both the powers, immediately after the ratification of this treaty of peace, a release of all

sequestrations, which may have been put since the year 1792, upon all funds, revenues, credits, or other effects whatsoever, of the high contracting parties, or their subjects.

The same commissioners, mentioned in the second article, shall be charged with the examination and liquidation of the claims of the subjects of his Britannick majesty against the French government, for the value of property, moveable or immoveable, unduly confiscated by the French authorities, as well as for the total or partial loss of these debts, or other property unduly retained under sequestration, since the year 1792.

France engages to treat, in this respect, the English subjects with the same justice all French subjects have experienced in England; and the English government, desirous to concur, on its part, in the new testimony which the allied powers have wished to give to his most Christian majesty of their desire to obliterate the consequences of the unhappy epoch, so fortunately terminated by the present peace, engages, on his part, to renounce, as soon as complete justice shall have been done to his subjects, the whole balance which may be found in his favour, in relation to the support of prisoners of war; so that the ratification of the result of the labour of the commissioners above mentioned, and the payment of the sums, as well as the restitution of the effects, which shall be adjudged to belong to the subjects of his Britannick majesty, shall complete the renunciation.

ART. 5. The two high contracting parties, desirous of establishing the most amicable relations between their respective subjects, reserve to themselves, and promise to agree and arrange, as soon as may be, concerning their commercial interests, with a view of encouraging and increasing the prosperity of their respective states."

Soon after, the English metropolis had the gratification of a visit from their majesties the emperour of Russia and the king of Prussia, with several members of the royal family of Prussia, and marshal Blucher, the hetman Platoff, generals Barclay de Tolly, Bulow, Von York, and prince Metternich, of Austria. The prince regent went to Dover, to welcome his illustrious visiters, and they arrived in London, 7 June. They were received every where with acclamations, festivals, military exhibitions, and the greatest possible marks of respect and admiration.

The war with America, assumed a more decisive character. Some British subjects had been taken, while fighting in the American ranks, in one of the battles during the northern campaign, last season, and were sent to Great Britain, to be tried for treason. The president ordered the same number of British prisoners of war to be put into close confinement; and declared, that they should answer, with their lives, for any punishment the others might suffer. On this, the governour of Canada placed double the number of Americans, in confinement; and Mr. Madison, in “adherence to the retaliating resort, put a corresponding number of British officers, in duress, to abide the fate of those confined by the enemy.” This system appeared to meet, throughout the United States, the abhorrence which it justly merited; and it was abandoned by the government.

In consequence of the proposal for a direct negotiation, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, esquires, were added, in January, to the commissioners before appointed, on the part of the United States, to meet at Gottenburgh, such as might be appointed, on the part of Great Britain. The right honourable James Lord Gambier, admiral, &c. Henry Goulbourn, esquire, member of parliament and under secretary of state, and William Adams, esquire, doctor of laws, were appointed, in July, for this purpose; and the place of meeting was altered to Ghent, in Flanders.

The United States’ frigate *Essex*, David Porter, esquire, commander, was captured, 28 March, in Valpariso bay, by the British frigate *Phœbe*, James Hillyar, esquire, commander, and the sloop *Cherub*. Fort Erie was taken by the Americans, 3 July. A battle was fought, near Chippewa, on the 5th, in which the loss was severe on both sides; but the advantage was on that of the Americans. Eastport, in the district of Maine, was taken by the British, 11 July, without resistance.

Another sanguinary battle was fought, on the Niagara river, 25 July, by the Americans, under generals Scott and Brown, and the British, under generals Drummond and Riall; in which both sides claimed the victory. The latter, however, maintained their ground; while the former retired towards their own frontier. In July, the island of Nantucket, being in a defenceless state, secured, by a convention with the commander of the British squadron, the immunities of non-combatants. A large reinforcement, to the fleet

and troops of Britain, arrived in August; and the whole sea coast of the United States, was thrown into a state of excitement and alarm. The state authorities in New England, made the greatest exertions to provide for the protection of their towns, which had been almost wholly neglected by the general government.

An extraordinary session of congress was called, by a proclamation of the president, 8 August, to be holden, 19 September. Fort Erie was attacked, 14 August, by a detachment of the British, under lieutenant general Drummond; but he was repulsed with much loss; the garrison too suffered severely. In this month, a British fleet, under command of admiral Cochrane, entered the Potowmac; and a considerable number of ships sailed up a branch, called the Patuxent. The troops commenced their disembarcation, 19th, near Benedict, about 40 miles from the seat of government of the United States. On the 22d, in their march towards Washington, the flotilla, commanded by commodore Barney, was destroyed, by his order, to prevent its falling into the hands of his enemy. A battle was fought, near Bladensburg, between the invading force, under general Ross, and the American troops, under general Winder, on the 24th, in which the former were conquerours; and, on the next day, proceeded to Washington. They took possession of the city, without opposition, and destroyed the capital and the president's house; the navy yard was blown up by order of its commandant. The town of Alexandria capitulated, on the 29th; and with the provisions obtained there, the triumphant squadron left the river, 5, or 6 September. On the 12th, they landed 4, or 5,000 men, about 13 miles below Baltimore; and an engagement took place on that day, and again on the following. The British general, Ross, fell; and the expedition was abandoned, having proved very disastrous to the assailants, and in a high degree honourable to the courage and skill of the men of Maryland.

In the northern and eastern portions of the United States, some noticeable events took place, this season. On the river Penobscot, the town of Castine, was taken into peaceable possession, 1 September, and the corvette Adams, was destroyed, by the British. They also took the town, and fort of Machias. These encroachments on a part of their territory, roused the inhabitants of the sea coast of Massachusetts, to great and very

general exertions. A large body of the militia, by the order of the governour, was assembled in the neighbourhood of Boston, the capital of that state. Voluntary contributions of time and money were raised, to a great amount, in that place and the vicinity; and a fort, of large size, and admirable construction for beauty and strength, bearing the venerated name of **STRONG**, was among the fruits of the zeal and publick spirit produced by the occasion.

The fleets on lake Champlain, had a severe battle, 11 September, in which many valuable lives were sacrificed. Commodore Downie, of the British, was killed, early in the engagement, and the victory, by the Americans, under commodore Macdonough, was complete. On the same day, the British land forces, commanded by general sir George Prevost, attacked fort Moreau, near Plattsburgh; and were repulsed with great loss, by the troops under general Alexander Macomb.

On the arrival in England of the account of the failure of the attack on Baltimore, large reinforcements were sent to America, under general Packenham. Early in December, a large armament arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi, by the way of the West Indies, whence several regiments were brought out; and preparations were actively commenced for an attack on New Orleans. The defence of that place was assigned to general Andrew Jackson; who vigorously prosecuted measures for its security, and for the embodying of all the military force in the vicinity.

The British commissioners, for negotiation with America, sailed from Dover for the continent, early in August. They met those, of the other part, on the 8th, for the exchange of powers; and on the 10th, the discussions commenced in form. The most courteous civilities were interchanged, between these representatives of the powers at war. Through the remainder of the season, rumours were from time to time circulated, both in England and the United States, at one time, that the prospect of pacification was hopeless; and again, that a ray of light beamed on the pathway to peace. The negotiations, however, continued; with some temporary interruptions, to the close of the year.

The grand congress at Vienna, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, England, Prussia, Spain, Sweden, and

Portugal, was appointed to assemble, 1 October. Lord viscount Castlereagh, of Great Britain, the prince of Metternich, of Austria, count Nesselrode, of Russia, and the prince of Hardenburg, of Prussia, were to meet, previously, to fix the great plan of the final arrangement. The former, on his way, passed through Ghent, and had an interview with the commissioners. In October, despatches were received in the United States from their envoys; portions of which were very indecorously made publick, and the projected basis of negotiation, on the British side, was exhibited to the community, from high authority, as "the conditions on which *alone* that government is willing to put an end to the war." That a momentary excitement should have been produced, is not surprising; but inquiry soon pointed out the fallacy of the inference, which had been first drawn, from a few passages, in the correspondence; and the sober part of the community were generally agreed, that even on the terms first proposed, peace was both more honourable and prudent, than persistance in the war.

On the assembling of the congress of Europe, the celebrated counsellor, Gentz, was appointed secretary. The full powers of the members were communicated and verified; the treaty of Paris, in May, was established, as the basis of arrangements; notes were interchanged, expressing the wishes of the several representatives, in regard to particular parts of it; and then, on the 8th October, the session was adjourned, to 1 November. Meanwhile, the members were to confer together, and mature a result, then to be formally adopted.

The American frigate President, commodore Decatur, was captured, 15 January, by the Endymion, captain Hope, in company with some other ships, of the blockading squadron. [1815.]

The British expedition against New Orleans, wholly failed. Several skirmishes took place, previous to 8 January; when a bold attempt was made, to take by storm the works, erected about 5 miles below the city. The assailants were repulsed, with prodigious slaughter and loss. The report of the American inspector general, gave 700 killed, 1,400 wounded, 2,600 prisoners. The enterprize was soon after abandoned.

It was natural that this intelligence should occasion much re-

joining, in most of the places where it was received. But a new and far greater cause was soon afforded. His Britannick majesty's sloop of war *Favourite*, captain honourable James A. Maude, arrived at New York, 11 February, with the glad tidings that a TREATY OF PEACE, between Great Britain and America, was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December. It reached London on the 26th, and was ratified by the prince regent, on the 27th.

It came to Boston, by express from New York, a distance of 230 miles, in *thirty-two hours*, and was circulated, with rapidity, in every direction. Wherever it came, it was greeted with the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, illuminations, and other expressions of joy. These were renewed, and with still more zeal and fervour, on the intelligence that the treaty was ratified by the president, the 17th, with the unanimous advice of the senate. Civick processions, religious services, and social congratulations and festivities, seemed, for a while, to produce a happy oblivion of the origin and character of the contest; the sufferings, the reproach, the guilt, and the burdens, it had occasioned; and the total failure of every one of its avowed purposes. Without indulging in further reflections of a painful nature, or in any comment on the terms of the peace; this summary is closed, with an abstract of the instrument, and the sincere hope, the fervent prayer, that *the relations of AMITY AND COMMERCE between the two nations may be PERPETUAL!*

TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY

BETWEEN HIS BRITANNICK MAJESTY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ART. 1. There shall be a firm and universal Peace between His Britannick Majesty and the United States, and between their respective countries, territories, cities, towns, and people, of every degree, without exception of places or persons. All hostilities, both by sea and land, shall cease, as soon as this Treaty shall have been ratified by both parties, as herein mentioned. All territory, places, and possessions whatsoever, taken from either party by the other, during the war, or which may be taken after the signing of this treaty, excepting only the islands hereinafter mentioned, shall be restored without delay, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery, or other publick prop-

erty, originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any slaves or other private property. And all archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a publick nature, or belonging to private persons, which, in the course of the war, may have fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, shall be, as far as may be practicable, forthwith restored and delivered to the proper authorities and persons, to whom they respectively belong. Such of the islands in the bay of Passamaquoddy, as are claimed by both parties, shall remain in possession of the party in whose occupation they may be at the time of the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, until the decision respecting the title to the said islands shall have been made, in conformity with the fourth article of this treaty. No disposition made by this treaty, as to such possession of the islands and territories claimed by both parties, shall, in any manner whatever, be construed to affect the right of either.

ART. 2. Immediately after the ratification of this treaty by both parties, as hereinafter mentioned, orders shall be sent to the armies, squadrons, officers, subjects and citizens of the two powers, to cease from all hostilities. And to prevent all causes of complaint, which might arise on account of the prizes which may be taken at sea after the said ratification of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that all vessels and effects which may be taken after the space of twelve days from the said ratifications, upon all parts of the coast of North-America, from the latitude of twenty three degrees north, to the latitude of fifty degrees north, and as far eastward in the Atlantick Ocean as the thirty-sixth degree of west longitude from the meridian of Greenwich, shall be restored on each side: that the time shall be thirty days, in all other parts of the Atlantick Ocean, north of the equinoctial line or equator, and the same time for the British and Irish channels, for the gulf of Mexico, and all parts of the West-Indies: forty days for the North Seas, for the Baltick, and for all parts of the Mediterranean: sixty days for the Atlantick Ocean, south of the equator as far as the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope: ninety days for every part of the world south of the equator: and one hundred and twenty days for all other parts of the world, without exception.

ART. 3. All prisoners of war, taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, shall be restored as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty, as herein after mentioned, on their paying the debts which they may have contracted, during their captivity. The two contracting parties respectively engage to discharge, in specie, the advances which may have been made by the other, for the sustenance and maintenance of such prisoners.

Articles 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, respect the settling of all disputes concerning boundaries and territory, by commissioners, mutually appointed, their method of procedure, compensation, &c. &c.

ART. 9. Respects the Indian tribes; with whom both parties agree that hostilities cease.

ART. 10. Whereas the traffick in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice, and whereas both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object.

ART. 11. This Treaty, when the same shall have been ratified on both sides, without alteration by either of the contracting parties, and the ratification mutually exchanged, shall be binding on both parties; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington, in the space of four months from this day, or sooner if practicable.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHILE this sheet was in the press, intelligence was received of another desperate attempt, by the great disturber of the world, against its rights and peace. In violation of that compact, by which he held his life, Bonaparte sailed from Elba, 26 February; landed, on the 28th, in the gulf of Juan; circulated on the 1st March, an incendiary proclamation to the French people; and marching across the country, through Grenoble, Lyons, &c. on the 20th, reached Paris. His little band of about 800, was augmented by the revolt of several detachments of the army, from the house of Bourbon; and the inhabitants of most of the places,

through which he passed, were terrified into acquiescence; in many towns, he was hailed with acclamations. Louis XVIII. published a proclamation, 6 March, announcing the daring project which was begun, and branding its head as "*a traitor and a rebel.*" On the 19th, he issued another, in which "the defection of a part of the armed force," is lamented; and although his majesty relied on the "faithful and patriotick dispositions of the immense majority," yet he concluded, to prevent the effusion of blood, and the accumulated sufferings which must have followed a siege of the capital, or a combat within its walls, to retire to another part of his kingdom. The royal standard was soon after erected in Belgium.

The congress of Vienna, having finished their deliberations, and almost completed all their ultimate arrangements, to the mutual satisfaction of the representatives of the great powers, were about to dissolve, when the news of this perfidy reached them. The following spirited manifesto, which does them great honour, was immediately signed by all the members.

"The powers who have signed the treaty of Paris, assembled at the congress of Vienna, being informed of the escape of Napoleon Bonaparte, and of his entrance into France with an armed force, owe it to their own dignity and the interest of social order, to make a solemn declaration of the sentiments which this event has excited in them.

"By thus breaking the convention which has established him in the Island of Elba, Bonaparte destroys the only legal title on which his existence depended; by appearing again in France, with projects of confusion and disorder, he has deprived himself of the protection of the law, and has manifested to the universe that there can be neither peace nor truce with him.

"The powers consequently declare, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, and that as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he has rendered himself liable to publick vengeance.

"They declare, at the same time, that firmly resolved to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, of the 30th May, 1814, and the dispositions sanctioned by that treaty, and those which they have resolved on, to complete and to consolidate it; they will employ all their means, and will unite all their efforts, that the

general peace, the object of the wishes of Europe, and the constant purpose of their labours, may not again be troubled, and to guaranty against every attempt which threatens to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions.

“ And although entirely persuaded that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, will immediately annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; all the sovereigns of Europe, animated by the same sentiments, and guided by the same principles, declare, that if, contrary to all calculations, there should result from this event any real danger, they will be ready to give the king of France and the French nation, or to any other government that shall be attacked, as soon as they shall be called upon, all the assistance requisite to restore publick tranquillity, and to make a common cause against all those who shall undertake to compromise it.

*Done and attested, by the Plenipotentiaries of the high powers,
at Vienna, March 13, 1815.*

(Signed)

Prince METTERNICH,	}	<i>Austria.</i>	Count PAMELLA,	}	<i>Portugal</i>
Baron WISSEMBERG,			SALDOUHA LOBS,		
Don GOMEZ LABRADOR,	}	<i>Spain.</i>	Prince HARDENBURG,	}	<i>Prussia.</i>
Prince TAILEYRAND,			Baron HUMBOLDT,		
Duke of DALDERG,	}	<i>France.</i>	Count RASUMOWSKY,	}	<i>Russia.</i>
LA TOUR DU PIN,			Count STACKELBERG,		
CHARLES ALEXIS DE NOAILLES,			Count NESSELRODE,		
WELLINGTON,	}	<i>Great</i>	LAEMENHELM.	}	<i>Sweden.</i>
CLANCARTY,		<i>Britain.</i>			
STEWART,					

In the house of commons, 20 March, lord CASTLEREAGH, in a long and able speech, communicated for the information of the members, a sketch of the undoubted result of the long session of the grand congress.

“ He stated, That the great powers had pledged themselves to put an end to the slave trade; that France was to abolish it in five, and Spain and Portugal in eight years :—

“ That the Austrian dominions had been extended to the Po and Tessine, on the side of Italy :—

“ That Genoa had been annexed to the king of Sardinia’s dominions :—

“ That Prussia had received a part of Saxony :—

“ That Poland was to be erected into a separate kingdom, and to be governed as Poles :

“ That the Netherlands were to be attached to Holland, and that the Spanish government wished to cherish a friendly connexion with Great Britain. On the subject of France, in her present situation, his lordship said, he would give it as his opinion, that on the issue of the contest which now agitated her, depended the continuance of all the blessings to which this country could look forward ; and that it never could be said, if Bonaparte were re-established in France, England could look forward to tranquillity.”

Immediately throughout Europe, all was again commotion and warlike preparation. As soon as the news reached England, military and naval armaments commenced, and proceeded with a promptitude and energy, seldom equalled. The duke of WELINGTON, was appointed commander in chief of the British armies on the continent. Marshal BLUCHER, was commissioned by his king, generalissimo of the Prussian troops ; and the prospect appeared as encouraging, as the wish of every good man was fervent, that he, whom no principles of honour could influence, and no compact could bind, would speedily meet the retribution, so long due to his multiplied enormities and crimes, on the theatre where they have been principally perpetrated.

II. MAY, MDCCCXV.

THE END.



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AND TO THE

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